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PRESENTED BY
ABANI NATH MUKHARJI
OF UTTARPARA
EDINBURGH REVIEW

JANUARY, 1820.

N^o LXV.

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- ART. I. 1. *Ivanhoe*. A Romance. By 'the AUTHOR OF *Waverley*,' &c. 3 vols. Edinburgh, Constable & Co.
2. *The Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley; comprising Waverley, Guy Mannering, Antiquary, Rob Roy, Tales of My Landlord*, First, Second, and Third Series; New Edition, with a copious Glossary. Edinburgh, Constable & Co. 1820.

SINCE the time when Shakspeare wrote his thirty-eight plays in the brief space of his early manhood—besides acting in them, and drinking and living idly with the other actors—and then went carelessly to the country, and lived out his days, a little more idly, and apparently unconscious of having done any thing extraordinary—there has been no such prodigy of genius as the anonymous author before us. In the period of fewer years than five years, he has founded a new school of imitation; and established and endowed it with nearly thirty volumes of the most animated and original composition that have enriched English literature for a century—volumes that have cast sensibly into the shade all contemporary prose, and even all recent poetry—(except perhaps that inspired by the Genius—or the Demon, of Byron)—and, by their force of colouring and depth of feeling—by their variety, vivacity, magical facility, and living presentment of character, have rendered conceivable to this later age the miracles of the Mighty Dramatist.

Shakspeare, to be sure, is more purely original; but it should not be forgotten, that, in his time, there was much less to borrow—and that he too has drawn freely and largely from the sources that were open to him; at least for his fable and graver sentiment;—for his wit and humour, as well as his poetry, are always his own. In our times, all the higher walks of literature have been so long and so often trodden, that it is scarcely possible to keep

cut of the footsteps of some of our precursors; and the antients, it is well known, have stolen all our bright thoughts—and not only visibly beset all the patent approaches to glory—but swarm in such ambushed multitudes behind, that when we think we have gone fairly beyond their plagiarisms, and honestly worked out an original excellence of our own, up starts some deep-read antiquary, and makes it out, much to his own satisfaction, that heaven knows how many of these busy bodies have been before hand with us, both in the *genus* and the *species* of our invention.

The author before us is certainly in less danger from such detections, than any other we have ever met with; but, even in him, the traces of imitation are obvious and abundant; and it is impossible, therefore, to give him the same credit for absolute originality as those earlier writers, who, having no successful author to imitate, were obliged to copy directly from nature. In naming him along with Shakespeare, we meant still less to say that he was to be put on a level with him as to the richness and sweetness of his fancy, or that living vein of pure and lofty poetry which flows with such abundance through every part of his composition. On that level no other writer has ever stood, or will ever stand—though we do think that there is fancy and poetry enough in these contemporary pages, if not to justify the comparison we have ventured to suggest, at least to save it, for the first time for two hundred years, from being altogether ridiculous. In saying even this, however, we wish to observe, that we have in view the prodigious variety and facility of the modern writer—at least as much as the quality of the verbal productions. The variety stands out on the face of them; and the facility is attested, as in the case of Shakespeare himself, both by the inimitable freedom and happy carelessness of the style in which they are executed, and by the matchless rapidity with which they have been lavished on the public.

Such an author would really require a review to himself and one too of swifter than quarterly recurrence; and accordingly, we have long since acknowledged our inability to keep up with him, and fairly renounced the task of keeping a regular account of his successive publications; contenting ourselves with greeting him now and then in the pauses of his brilliant career, and casting, when we do meet, a hurried glance over the wide field he has traversed since we met before.

We gave it formerly, we think, as our reason for thus passing over, without special notice, some of the most remarkable productions of the age, that they were in fact too remarkable to need any notice of ours—that they were as soon, and as extensively read, as we could hope our account of them to be—and that in reality all the world thought just what we were in-

clined to say of them. Those reasons certainly remain in full force; and we may now venture to mention another, which had in secret, perhaps, as much weight with us as all the rest put together. We mean simply, that when we began with one of those works, we were conscious that we never knew how to leave off; but, finding the author's words so much more agreeable than our own, went on in the most unreasonable manner with description after description, and dialogue after dialogue, till we were abused, not altogether without reason, for selling our readers in small letter what they had already in large,—and, on the abominable nationality of filling up our pages with praises of our own author, and specimens of Scottish pleasantry and pathos. While we contritely admit the justice of these imputations, we humbly trust that our Southern readers will now be of opinion that the offence has been in some degree expiated, both by our late forbearance and our present proceeding: For while we have done violence to our strongest propensities, in passing over in silence two very tempting publications of this author, on Scottish subjects and in the Scottish dialect, we have at last recurred to him for the purpose of noticing the only work he has produced on a subject entirely English; and one which is nowhere graced either with a trait of our national character, or a sample of our national speech.

Before entering upon this task, however, we must be permitted, just for the sake of keeping our chronology in order, to say a word or two on those neglected works of which we constrained

ourselves to say nothing, at the time when they formed the subject of our other deceptation.

The *Heart of Mid-Lothian* is remarkable for containing fewer characters, and less variety of incident, than any of the author's former productions:—and it is accordingly, in some places, comparatively languid. The Porteous mob is rather heavily described; and the whole part of George Robertson, or Stanton, is extravagant and unpleasing. The final catastrophe, too, is needlessly improbable and startling; and both Saddletrees and Davie Deans become at last rather tedious and unreasonable; while we miss, throughout, the character of the generous and kindhearted rustic, which, in one form or another, gives such spirit and interest to most of the other stories. But with all these defects, the work has both beauty and power enough to vindicate its title to a legitimate descent from its mighty father—and even to a place in 'the valued file' of his productions. The trial and condemnation of Effie Deans are pathetic and beautiful in the very highest degree; and the scenes with the Duke of Argyle are equally full of spirit; and

strangely compounded of perfect knowledge of life and of strong and deep feeling. But the great boast of the piece, and the great exploit of the author—perhaps the greatest of all his exploits—is the character and history of Jeanie Deans, from the time she first reproves her sister's flirtations at St Leonard's, till she settles in the manse in Argyleshire. The singular talent with which he has engrafted on the humble and somewhat coarse stock of a quiet unassuming peasant girl, the heroic affection, the strong sense, and lofty purposes, which distinguish this heroine—or rather the art with which he has so tempered and modified those great qualities, as to make them appear noways ^{insulting} to the station or ordinary bearing of such a person; and so ordered and disposed the incidents by which they are called out, that they seem throughout adapted and native as it were to her condition,—is superior to any thing we can recollect in the history of invention; and must appear, to any one who attentively considers it, as a remarkable triumph over the greatest of all difficulties in the conduct of a fictitious narrative. Jeanie Deans, in the course of her adventurous undertaking, excites our admiration and sympathy a great deal more powerfully than most heroines, and is in the highest degree both pathetic and sublime;—and yet she never says or does any thing that the daughter of a Scotch cowfeeder might not be supposed to say—and scarcely any thing indeed that is not characteristic of her rank and habitual occupations. She is never sentimental, nor refined, nor elegant; and though acting always, and in very difficult situations, with the greatest judgment and propriety, never ^{exerts} more than that downright and obvious good sense which is so often found to rule the conduct of persons of her condition. This is the great ornament and charm of the work. Dumble-dykes, however, is an admirable sketch in the grotesque way;—and the Captain of Knockdunder is a very spirited, and though our Saxon readers will scarcely believe it, a very accurate representation of a Celtic deputy. There is less description of scenery, and less sympathy with external nature, in this, than in any of the other tales.

'The Bride of Lammermoor' is more sketchy and romantic than the usual vein of the author—and loses, perhaps, in the exaggeration that is incident to that style, some of the deep and heartfelt interest that belongs to more familiar situations. The humours of Caleb Balderstone are to our taste the least successful of this author's attempts at pleasantry—and belong rather to the school of French or Italian buffoonery, than to that of English humour;—and yet, to give scope to these farcical exhibitions, the poverty of the Master of Ravenswood is exaggerated beyond all credibility, and to the injury even of his per-

sonal dignity.—Sir W. Ashton is tedious; and Bucklaw and his Captain, though excellently drawn, take up rather too much room for subordinate agents.—There are splendid things, however, in this work also.—The picture of old Ailie is exquisite—and beyond the reach of any other living writer.—The bags that convene in the churchyard, have all the terror and sublimity, and more than the nature of Macbeth's witches; and the courtship at the Mermaiden's well, as well as some of the immediately preceding scenes, are full of dignity and beauty.—The catastrophe of the Bride, though it may be founded on fact, is too terrible for fiction.—But that of Ravenswood is magnificent—and, taken along with the prediction which it was doomed to fulfil, and the mourning and death of Balderstone, is one of the finest combinations of superstition and sadness which the gloomy genius of our fiction has ever put together.

'The Legend of Montrose' is also of the nature of a sketch or fragment, and is still more vigorous than its companion.—There is too much, perhaps, of Dalgetty—or, rather, he engrosses too great a proportion of the work,—for, in himself, we think he is uniformly entertaining;—and the author has nowhere shown more affinity to that matchless spirit who could bring out his Falstaffs and his Pistols, in act after act, and play after play, and exercise them every time with scenes of unbounded loquacity, without either exhausting their humour, or varying a note from its characteristic tone, than in his large and reiterated specimens of the eloquence of the redoubted Rhymsayer. The general idea of the character is familiar to our comic dramatists after the Restoration—and may be said in some measure to be compounded of Captain Fluellen and Bobadil;—but the ludicrous combination of the *soldado* with the Divinity student of Marischal College, is entirely original; and the mixture of talent, selfishness, courage, coarseness and conceit, was never so happily exemplified. Numerous as his speeches are, there is not one that is not characteristic—and, to our taste, divertingly ludicrous. Annot Lyle, and the Children of the Mist, are in a very different manner—and are full of genius and poetry. The whole scenes at Argyle's Castle, and in the escape from it—though trespassing too far beyond the bounds of probability—are given with great spirit and effect; and the mixture of romantic incident and situation, with the tone of actual business and the real transactions of a camp, give a life and interest to the warlike part of the story, which belong to the fictions of no other hand. There is but little made of Montrose himself; and the wager about the Candlesticks—though said to be founded in fact, and borrowed from a very well known and

entertaining book, is one of the few things in the writings of this Author, to which we are constrained to apply the epithets of stupid and silly.

Having thus hastily set our mark on those productions of which we have been prevented from speaking in detail, we proceed, without further preface, to give an account of the work before us.

The story, as we have already stated, is entirely English; and consequently no longer possesses the charm of that sweet Doric dialect, of which even strangers have been made of late to feel the force and the beauty. But our Southern neighbours will be no great gainers, after all, in point of familiarity with the personages, by this transference of the scene of action:—For the time is laid as far back as the reign of Richard I.—and we suspect that the Saxons and Normans of that age are rather less known to them than the Highlanders and Cameronians of the present. This was the great difficulty the author had to contend with, and the great disadvantage of the subject with which he had to deal. Nobody now alive can have a very clear or complete conception of the actual way of life and *maniere d'être* of our ancestors in the year 1194. Some of the more prominent outlines of their chivalry, their priesthood, and their villenage, may be known to antiquaries, or even to general readers; but all the filling up, and details; which alone could give body and life to the picture, have been long since effaced by time. We have scarcely any notion, in short, of the private life and conversation of any class of persons in that remote period; and, in fact, know less how the men and women occupied or amused themselves—what they talked about—how they looked—or what they habitually thought or felt, at that time in England, than we know of what they did or thought at Rome in the time of Augustus, or at Athens in the time of Pericles. The memorials and relics of those earlier ages and remoter nations are greatly more abundant and more familiar to us, than of our ancestors at the distance of seven centuries. Besides ample histories and copious orations, we have plays, poems, and familiar letters of the former period; while of the latter we have only some vague chronicles, some superstitious legends, and a few fragments of foreign romance. We scarcely know indeed what language was then either spoken or written. Yet, with all these helps, how cold and conjectural a thing would a novel be, of which the scene was laid in antient Rome! The author might talk with perfect propriety of the business of the Forum, and the amusements of the Circus—of the baths and the suppers, and the canvas for office—and the sacrifices and musters and assem-

blies. He might be quite correct as to the dress, furniture and utensils he had occasion to mention; and might even engross in his work various anecdotes and sayings preserved in contemporary authors. But when he came to represent the details of individual character and feeling, and to delineate the daily conduct, and report the ordinary conversation of his persons, he would find himself either frozen in among naked and barren generalities, or engaged with modern Englishmen in the masquerade habits of antiquity.

In stating these difficulties, however, we really mean less to account for the defects than to enhance the merits of the work before us. For though the author has not worked impossibilities, he has done wonders with his subject; and though we do sometimes miss those fresh and living pictures of the characters which we know, and the nature with which we are familiar—and that high and deep interest which the home scenes of our own times and our own people could alone generate or sustain, it is impossible to deny that he has made marvellous good use of the scanty materials at his disposal—and eked them out both by the greatest skill and dexterity in their arrangement, and by all the resources that original genius could render subservient to such a design. For this purpose he has laid his scene in a period when the rivalry of the victorious Norman, and the conquered Saxon had not been finally composed; and when the courtly petulance, and chivalrous and military pride of the one race might yet be set in splendid opposition to the manly steadiness and honest but homely simplicity of the other: And has at the same time given in his both of dignity and of reality to his story, by bringing in the personal prowess of Cœur de Lion himself, and other personages of historical fame, to assist in its development:— Though reduced in a great measure to the vulgar staple of armed knights and jolly friars or woodsmen, imprisoned damsels, lawless barons, collared serfs, and household fools—he has made such admirable use of his great talents for description, and invested those traditional and theatrical persons with so much of the feelings and humours that are of all ages and all countries, that we frequently cease to regard them—as it is generally right to regard them—as parts of a fantastical pageant; and are often brought to consider the knights who joust in panoply in the lists, and the foresters who shoot deer with arrows, and plunder travellers in the woods, as real individuals, with hearts of flesh and blood beating in their bosoms like our own—actual existences, in short, into whose views we may reasonably enter, and with whose emotions we are bound to sympathize. To all this he has added, out of the prodigality of his high and in-

ventive genius, the grace and the interest of some lofty and sweet and superhuman characters—for which, though evidently fictitious, and unnatural in any stage of society, the remoteness of the scene on which they are introduced, may serve as an apology—if they could need any other than what they bring along with them in their own sublimity and beauty.

In comparing this work then with the former productions of the same master-hand, it is impossible not to feel that we are passing in a good degree from the reign of nature and reality, to that of fancy and romance; and exchanging for scenes of wonder and curiosity, those more homely sympathies and deeper touches of delight that can only be excited by the people among whom we live, and the objects that are constantly around us. A far greater proportion of the work is accordingly made up of splendid descriptions of arms and dresses—moated and massive castles—tournaments of mailed champions—solemn feasts—formal courtesies, and other matters of external and visible presentment, that are only entitled to such distinction as connected with the older times, and novel by virtue of their antiquity—while the interest of the story is maintained far more by surprising adventures and extraordinary situations, the startling effect of exaggerated sentiments, and the strong contrast of exaggerated characters, than by the sober charms of truth and reality,—the exquisite representation of scenes with which we are familiar, or the skilful development of affections which we have often experienced.

These bright lights and deep shadows—this succession of brilliant pictures, addressed as often to the eye as to the imagination, and oftener to the imagination than the heart—this preference of striking generalities to homely details, all belong more properly to the province of poetry than of prose; and *Ivanhoe* accordingly seems to us much more akin to the most splendid of modern poems, than the most interesting of modern novels; and savours much more of the author of *Marmion* or the *Lady of the Lake*, than of that of *Waverley* or *Old Mortality*. For our part we prefer, and we care not who knows it, the prose to the poetry—whether in metre or out of it; and would willingly exchange, if the proud alternative were in our choice, even the great fame of Mr. Scott, for that which awaits the mighty unknown who has here raised his standard of rivalry within the ancient limits of his reign. We must now proceed, however, to give some account of his attempt, to the few among our readers to whom it may still be unknown: and to express our opinion—and we dare say theirs also—of its merits, to the rest.

The scene, as we have already said, is laid in the time of

Richard the Ist, and in the memorable year of his escape from his long imprisonment, and his brief and triumphant restoration to his English subjects. A great part of its interest, too, depends, as we have also intimated, on the contrast of the Norman and Saxon characters, and the splendid exhibition of what was peculiar in each: And to understand the slight abstract of the story with which we mean to accompany and connect our extracts, it is only necessary to premise, that Cedric, one of the few Saxon thanes who still retained the ample possessions of his forefathers, and bravely made head against the insolent usurpations of the Norman nobility, had long acted as guardian to the lady Rowena, a descendant of the illustrious Alfred, in whose issue he still nourished a feeble hope that the ancient line of the English monarchy might be restored. Though himself of the noblest race, he did not conceive his family entitled to aspire to this lofty alliance; and, while the great object of his patriotic anxiety was to unite the lovely Rowena to the noble Athelstane of Coningsburgh, he had banished his only son from his presence, for having presumed to solicit the favour of the royal beauty. Wilfrid of Ivanhoe, for so was the son called, though conscious of having made an impression on the tender heart of Rowena, had submitted in silence to this exile; and had not abated his father's displeasure by following the fortunes of the Norman Richard in his chivalrous exploits in Palestine, where it was understood he had performed many feats of valour, and endured many wrougs and hardships; though the imperfect communication that could be maintained with that distant region, had long rendered his fate uncertain.

The story opens, after some historical notices of great vigour and accuracy, with a picture of two of Cedric's domestics tending his herd of swine in a forest adjoining his domain in the central districts of Yorkshire: one of them is the keeper of the herd, the other is the household jester or fool of the worthy thane. That our readers may have an early taste of the force and liveliness of the descriptions in which the work abounds, we must present them with a few of these introductory sentences.

'The sun was setting upon one of the rich glassy glades of that forest, which we have mentioned in the beginning of the chapter. Hundreds of broad short-stemmed oaks, which had witnessed perhaps the stately march of the Roman soldiery, flung their broad gnarled arms over a thick carpet of the most delicious green sward; in some places they were intermingled with beeches, hollies, and copeswood of various descriptions, so closely as totally to intercept the level beams of the sinking sun; in others they receded from each other, forming those long sweeping vistas, in the intricacy of which the eye

delights to lose itself, while imagination considers them as the paths to yet wilder scenes of sylvan solitude. Here the red rays of the sun shot a broken and discoloured light, that partially hung upon the shattered boughs and mossy trunks of the trees; and there they illuminated in brilliant patches the portions of turf to which they made their way. A considerable open space, in the midst of this glade, seemed formerly to have been dedicated to the rites of Druidical superstition; for, on the summit of a hillock, so regular as to seem artificial, there still remained part of a circle of rough unhewn stones, of large dimensions. Seven stood upright; the rest had been dislodged from their places, probably by the zeal of some convert to Christianity, and lay, some prostrate near their former site, and others on the side of the hill. One large stone only had found its way to the bottom; and in stopping the course of a small brook, which glided smoothly round the foot of the eminence, gave, by its opposition, a feeble voice of murmur to the placid and elsewhere silent streamlet.

The human figures which completed this landscape, were in number two, partaking, in their dress and appearance, of that wild and rustic character which belonged to the woodlands of the West-Riding of Yorkshire at this early period. The eldest of these men had a stern, savage, and wild aspect. His garment was of the simplest form imaginable, being a close jacket with sleeves, composed of the tanned skin of some animal, on which the hair had been originally left, but which had been worn off in so many places, that it would have been difficult to distinguish, from the patches that remained, to what creature the fur had belonged. This primeval vestment reached from the throat to the knees, and served at once all the usual purposes of body-clothing; there was no wider opening at the collar, than was necessary to admit the passage of the head, from which it may be inferred, that it was put on by slipping it over the head and shoulders, in the manner of a modern shirt, or ancient hauberk. Sandals, bound with thongs made of boars' hide, protected the feet; and a sort of roll of thin leather was twined artificially round the legs, and, ascending above the calf, left the knees bare, like those of a Scottish Highlander. To make the jacket sit yet more close to the body, it was gathered at the middle by a broad leathern belt, secured by a brass buckle; to one side of which was attached a sort of scrip, and to the other a ram's horn, accoutred with a mouth-piece, for the purpose of blowing. In the same belt was stuck one of those long, broad, sharp-pointed, and two-edged knives, with a buck's-horn handle, which were fabricated in the neighbourhood, and bore even at this early period the name of a Sheffield whittle. The man had no covering upon his head, which was only defended by his own thick hair, matted and twisted together, and scorched by the influence of the sun into a rusty dark red colour, forming a contrast with the overgrown beard upon his cheeks, which was rather of a yellow or amber hue. One part of his dress only remains, but it is too remarkable to be suppressed: it was a brass ring, resembling a dog's collar

but without any opening, and soldered fast round his neck, so loose as to form no impediment to his breathing, yet so tight as to be incapable of being removed, excepting by the use of the file. On this singular gorget was engraved in Saxon characters, an inscription of the following purport:—"Gurth, the son of Beowulph, is the born thrall of Cedric of Rotherwood." I. 7-10.

The Fool, whose whole part is copied with considerable boldness and success from the specimens of that character in *Shakespeare*, and especially; we think, from the kind-hearted one who attended on the wanderings of the unhappy Lear, is described with equal effect; and a considerable and very characteristic dialogue is maintained between him and his companion, about their several occupations, and common sufferings from the Normans, when they are interrupted by the approach of the portly Prior of a neighbouring abbey, accompanied by a fierce and statey cavalier, attended by two Moorish slaves in habits of the gorgeous East. The bearing and equipments of the whole party are described with the greatest spirit; but as such objects have been often described before, we take leave to pass them over, as well as the conversation which passes as they inquire the way to the dwelling of Cedric, on whose hospitality they mean to encroach for that night's lodging, as they travel to an approaching tournament at Ashby-de-la-Zouche. They find a pilgrim in the wood, who guides them to the place of their destination; of which, and its potent proprietor, we have the following admirable description.

'The mansion was a low, irregular building, containing several court-yards or enclosures, extending over a considerable space of ground, and which, though its size argued the inhabitant to be a person of wealth, differed entirely from the tall, turreted, and castellated buildings in which the Norman nobility resided, and which had become the universal style of architecture throughout England.—Rotherwood was not, however, without defences; no habitation, in that disturbed period, could have been so, without the risk of being plundered and burnt before the next morning. A deep fosse, or ditch, was drawn round the whole building, and filled with water from a neighbouring stream. A double stockade, or palisade, composed of pointed beams, which the adjacent forest supplied, defended the outer and inner bank of the fosse. There was an entrance from the west through the outer stockade, which communicated by a drawbridge, with a similar opening in the interior defences.

'In a hall, the height of which was greatly disproportioned to its extreme length and width, a long oaken table, formed of planks rough-hewn from the forest, and which had scarcely received any polish, stood ready prepared for the evening meal of Cedric the Saxon. The roof, composed of beams and rafters, had nothing to divide the apartment from the sky excepting the planking and thatch.

There was a huge fire-place at either end of the hall ; but as the chimneys were constructed in a very clumsy manner, at least as much of the smoke found its way into the apartment as escaped by the proper vent. The constant vapour which this occasioned, had polished the rafters and beams of the low-browed hall, by encrusting them with a black varnish of soot. On the sides of the apartment hung implements of war and of the chase ; and there were at each corner folding doors, which gave access to other parts of the extensive building. — The other appointments of the mansion partook of the rude simplicity of the Saxon period, which Cedric piqued himself upon maintaining. The floor was composed of earth mixed with lime, trodden into such a hard substance, as is often employed in flooring our modern barns. For about one quarter of the length of the apartment, the floor was raised by a step ; and this space, which was called the dais, was occupied only by the principal members of the family and visitors of distinction. — Massive chairs and settles of carved oak were placed upon the dais ; and over these seats and the more elevated table was fastened a canopy of cloth, which served in some degree to protect the dignitaries who occupied that distinguished station from the weather, and from the rain, which in some places found its way through the ill constructed roof. — In the centre of the upper table were placed two chairs more elevated than the rest, for the master and mistress of the family, who presided over the scene of hospitality, and, from doing so, derived their Saxon title of honour, which signifies “ The Dividers of Bread.” — To each of these chairs was added a footstool, curiously carved and inlaid with ivory, which mark of distinction was peculiar to them.

One of these seats was at present occupied by Cedric the Saxon, who, though but in rank a thane, or, as the Normans called him, a Franklin, felt, at the delay of his evening meal, an irritable impatience which might have become an alderman whether of ancient or of modern times. — It appeared, indeed, from the countenance of this proprietor, that he was of a frank, but hasty and choleric temper. He was not above the middle stature, but broad-shouldered, long-armed, and powerfully made, like one accustomed to endure the fatigue of war or of the chase ; his face was broad, with large blue eyes, open and frank features, fine teeth, and a well formed head, altogether expressive of that sort of good humour which often lodges with a sudden and hasty temper. Pride and jealousy there was in his eye, for his life had been spent in asserting rights which were constantly liable to invasion ; and the prompt, fiery and resolute disposition of the man, had been kept constantly upon the alert by the circumstances of his situation. His long yellow hair was equally divided upon the top of his head and upon his brow, and combed down on each side to the length of his shoulders ; it had but little tendency to grey, although Cedric was approaching to his sixtieth year. — His dress was a tunic of forest green, furred at the throat and cuffs with what was called minever ; a kind of fur

inferior in quality to ermine, and formed, it is believed, of the skin of the grey squirrel. This doublet hung unbuttoned over a close, dress of scarlet which sate tight to his body; he had breeches of the same; but they did not reach lower than the lower part of the thigh, leaving the knee exposed. His feet had sandals of the same fashion with the peasants, but of finer materials, and secured in the front with golden clasps. He had bracelets of gold upon his arms, and a broad collar of the same precious metal around his neck. About his waste he wore a richly-studded belt, in which was stuck a short straight two-edged sword, with a sharp point, so disposed as to hang almost perpendicularly by his side. Behind his seat was hung a scarlet cloth cloak lined with fur, and a cap of the same materials richly embroidered, which completed the dress of the opulent landholder when he chose to go forth. A short boar spear, with a broad and bright steel head, also reclined against the back of his chair, which served him, when he walked abroad, for the purposes of a staff or of a weapon, as chance might require.' I. 45-52.

The horn of the travellers is now heard at the gate—and Cedric is informed that the Prior *Aymcr*, and the valiant Knight Templar *Brian de Bois-Guilbert*, crave the shelter of his roof. Though by no means pleased with Norman visitors, the hospitality of Rotherwood is not to be impeached; and the guests are marshalled, with much state and solemn welcoming, into the hall of the Saxon; where they are speedily joined by the Lady Rowena, whose anxiety to hear news from Palestine induced her, on this occasion, to disregard her guardian's recommendation to keep the state of her own apartment. We must gratify our fair readers with this description of her dress and person.

Formed in the best proportions of her sex, Rowena was tall in stature, yet not so much so as to attract observation on account of superior height. Her complexion was exquisitely fair; but the noble cast of her head and features prevented the insipidity which sometimes attaches to fair beauties. Her clear blue eye, which sate enshrined beneath a graceful eye-brow of brown sufficiently marked to give expression to the forehead, seemed capable to kindle as well as melt, to command as well as to beseech. If mildness were the more natural expression of such a combination of features, it was plain, that, in the present instance, the exercise of habitual superiority, and the reception of general homage, had given to the Saxon lady a loftier character, which mingled with and qualified that bestowed by nature. Her profuse hair, of a colour betwixt brown and flaxen, was arranged in a fanciful and graceful manner in numerous ringlets, to form which art had probably aided nature. These locks were braided with gems, and, being worn at full length, intimated the noble birth and free-born condition of the maiden. A golden chain, to which was attached a small reliquary of the same metal, hung round her neck. She wore bracelets on her arms, which were bare.

Her dress was an under-gown and kirtle of pale sea-green silk, over which hung a long loose robe, which reached to the ground, having very wide sleeves, which came down, however, very little below the elbow. This robe was crimson, and manufactured out of the very finest wool. A veil of silk, interwoven with gold, was attached to the upper part of it, which could be, at the wearer's pleasure, either drawn over the face and bosom after the Spanish fashion, or disposed as a sort of drapery round the shoulders. I. 73, 74.

The ardent gaze of the Templar soon obliges the Princess to put this drapery to its proper use—and a conversation ensues, in which, though the Templar speaks with arrogance, and the Prior with studied courtesy, we cannot say that there is much which reminds us either of the red talk of strangers thus assembled, or of those exquisite imitations of real talk which abound in this author's other performances. By and by, a wandering Jew seeks the shelter of Cedric's hall from the night-storm that is howling without; and is introduced, by his orders, to a very disdainful and discourteous society. Every one, even to the lowest menial, shrinks in abhorrence from the hated unbeliever—till the Pilgrim, who had modestly stationed himself at the lower end of the hall, taking compassion on his silver beard and venerable age, resigns his humble place to him, and passes over to the other side of the apartment. After the commotion occasioned by this intrusion has subsided, the Lady Rowena turns the conversation to the Holy Land, and inquires of the Templar, who were the most distinguished of the Christian champions in that arduous warfare.—He answers, that none were to be compared to the valiant knights of his order.

"Were there then none in the English army," said the Lady Rowena, "whose names are worthy to be mentioned with the Knights of the Temple, and of St John?"—"Forgive me, lady," replied De Bois-Guilbert; "the English monarch did, indeed, bring to Palestine a host of gallant warriors, second only to those whose breasts have been the unceasing bulwark of that blessed land."—"Second to none," said the Pilgrim, who had stood near enough to hear, and had listened to this conversation with marked impatience. All turned toward the spot from whence this unexpected asseveration was heard. "I say," repeated the Pilgrim in a firm and strong voice, "that the English chivalry were second to none who ever drew sword in defence of the Holy Land. I say besides, for I saw it, that King Richard himself, and five of his knights, held a tournament after the taking of St John-de-Acre, as challengers against all comers. I say that, on that day, each knight ran three courses, and cast to the ground three antagonists. I add, that seven of these assailants were Knights of the Temple—and Sir Brian de Bois-Guilbert well knows the truth of what I tell you."—It is impossible for language to do

scribe the bitter scowl of rage which rendered yet darker the swarthy countenance of the Templar. In the extremity of his resentment and confusion, his quivering fingers gripped towards the handle of his sword, and perhaps only withdrew, from the consciousness that no act of violence could be safely executed in that place and presence. Cedric, whose feelings were all of a right onward and simple kind, and were seldom occupied by more than one object at once, omitted, in the joyous glee with which he heard of the glory of his countrymen, to remark the angry confusion of his guest; "I would give thee this golden bracelet, Pilgrim, could'st thou tell me the names of those knights who upheld so gallantly the renown of merry England." — "That will I do blythely," replied the Pilgrim, "and that without guerdon; my oath, for a time, prohibits me touching gold." — "The first in honour as in arms, in renown as in place," said the Pilgrim, "was the brave Richard, King of England." — "I forgive him," said Cedric; "I forgive him his descent from the tyrant Duke William." — "The Earl of Leicester was the second," continued the Pilgrim; "Sir Thomas Multon of Gilsland was the third." — "Of Saxon descent, he at least," said Cedric, with exultation. — "Sir Foulk Doilly the fourth," said the Pilgrim. — "Saxon also, at least by the mother's side," continued Cedric, who listened with the utmost eagerness, and forgot, in part at least, his hatred to the Normans, in the common triumph of the King of England and his islanders. "And who was the fifth?" he demanded. — "The fifth was Sir Edwin Turneham." — "Genuine Saxon, by the soul of Hengist!" shouted Cedric. — "And the sixth?" he continued with eagerness. — "How name you the sixth?" — "The sixth," said the Palmer, after a pause, in which he seemed to recollect himself, "was a young knight of lesser renown and lower rank, assumed into that honourable company less to aid their enterprise than to make up their numbers—his name dwells not in my memory."

"Sir Palmer," said Sir Brian de Bois-Guilbert scornfully, "this assumed forgetfulness, after so much has been remembered, comes too late to serve your purpose. I will myself tell the name of the knight before whose lance fortune and my horse's fault occasioned my falling—it was *THE KNIGHT OF IVANHOE*;—nor was there one of the six that, for his years, had more renown in arms.—Yet this will I say, and loudly,—that were he in England, and durst repeat, in this week's tournament, the challenge of St John de Acre, I, mounted and armed as I now am, would give him every advantage of weapons, and abide the result." — "Your challenge would be soon answered," replied the Palmer, "were your antagonist near you. As the matter is, disturb not this peaceful hall with vaunts of the issue of a conflict, which you well know cannot take place. If *Ivanhoe* ever returns from Palestine, I will be his surety that he meets you."

A crowd of conflicting emotions seemed to have occupied Cedric, and kept him silent during this discussion. Gratiified pride, resentment, embarrassment, chased each other over his broad and

open brow, like the shadow of clouds drifting over a harvest-field; while his attendants, on whom the name of the sixth knight seemed to produce an effect almost electrical, hung in suspense upon their master's looks.' I. 89-95.

After some more pacific talk, the guests retire to their repose—the Templar reviling the Jew as he passes, and talking apart to his Moorish attendants.—The Pilgrim is called into the chamber of the Lady Rowena, and questioned with much earnestness and emotion as to the fate of the Knight of Ivanhoe, of whom he disclaims any farther knowledge than that he proposed about that time to have returned to his native land.—Betimes in the morning he calls on the neglected Jew, and throws him into an agony of terror and gratitude, by informing him that Bois-Guilbert and his Moors meant to waylay him on his road, and offering at the same time to guide him in safety through the forest, if he would instantly set out along with him. A word whispered in the ear of Gurth procures them an easy exit from the fortified grange of Cedric—and they prick through the woodlands before the dawn. When they approach the town of Sheffield, the Palmer proposes to part—

“Not till you have had the poor Jew's thanks,” said Isaac; “for I presume not to ask you to go with me to my kinsman Zareth's, who might aid me with some means of repaying your good offices.”—“I have already said,” answered the Pilgrim, “that I desire no recompense. If, among the huge list of thy debtors, thou wilt, for my sake, spare the gyves and the dungeon to some unhappy Christian who stands in thy danger, I shall hold this morning's service to thee well bestowed.”—“Stay, stay,” said the Jew, laying hold of his garment; “something would I do more than this, something for thyself.—God knows the Jew is poor—yes, Isaac is the beggar of his tribe. Yet I can tell thee what thou lackest, and, it may be, supply it too. Thy wish even now is for a horse and armour.”—The Palmer started, and turned suddenly towards the Jew:—“What fiend prompted that guess?” said he hastily.—“No matter,” said the Jew, smiling, “though it be a true one—and, as I can guess thy want, so I can supply it.”—“But consider,” said the Palmer, “my character, my dress, my vow.”—“Forgive me!” said the Jew. But there dropt words from you last night and this morning, that, like sparks from flint, showed the metal within; and in the bosom of that Palmer's gown, is hidden a knight's chain and spurs of gold. They glanced as you stooped over my bed in the morning.”—The Pilgrim could not forbear smiling. “Were thy garments searched by as curious an eye, Isaac,” said he, “what discoveries might not be made?”—“No more of that,” said the Jew, changing colour; and drawing forth his writing materials in haste, as if to stop the conversation, he began to write upon a piece of paper which he supported on the top of his yellow cap, without dismounting from his

mule. When he had finished, he delivered the scroll, which was in the Hebrew character, to the Pilgrim, saying, "In the town of Leicester all men know the rich Jew, Kirgath Jairam of Lombardy; give him this scroll—he hath on sale six Milan harnesses, the worst would suit a crowned head—ten goodly steeds, the worst might mount a king, were he to do battle for his throne. Of these he will give thee thy choice, with every thing else that can furnish thee forth for the tournament: when it is over, thou wilt return them safely—unless thou shouldst have wherewith to pay their value to the owner."—"But, Isaac," said the Pilgrim, smiling, "dost thou know that in these sports, the arms and steed of the knight who is unhorsed are forfeit to his victor? Now, I may be unfortunate, and so lose what I cannot replace or repay."—The Jew looked somewhat astounded at this possibility; but collecting his courage, he replied hastily, "No—no—no—It is impossible—I will not think so. The blessing of our Father will be upon thee. Thy lance will be powerful as the rod of Moses."—So saying, he was turning his mule's head away, when the Palmer, in his turn, took hold of his gaberline. "Nay, but Isaac, thou knowest not all the risk. The steed may be slain, the armour injured—for I will spare neither horse nor man. Besides, those of thy tribe give nothing for nothing; something there must be paid for their use."—The Jew twisted himself in his saddle, like a man in a fit of the cholick; but his better feelings predominated over those which were most familiar to him. "I care not," he said, "I care not—let me go. If there is damage, it will cost you nothing—if there is usage money, Kirgath Jairam will forgive it for the sake of his kinsman Isaac. Fare thee well!—Yet hark thee, good youth," said he, turning about, "thrust thyself not too forward into this vain hurley burley—I speak not for endangering the steed, and coat of armour, but for the sake of thine own life and limbs."—"Gramercy for thy caution," said the Palmer, again smiling; "I will use thy courtesy frankly, and it will go hard with me but I will requite it." I. 125–129.

We come now to the tournament, or Passage of Arms of Ashby, in the description of which the author has made use of all his resources, and presented us at once with a more learned and a more lively picture of that stately and chivalrous divertisement, than is to be found in any other writer. We must treat our readers to a little corner of this splendid exhibition.

The scene, he observes, 'was singularly romantic. On the verge of a wood, which approached to within a mile of the town of Ashby, was an extensive meadow of the finest and most beautiful green turf, surrounded on one side by the forest, and fringed on the other by straggling oak trees, some of which had grown to an immense size. The ground, as if fashioned on purpose for the martial display which was intended, sloped gradually down on all sides to a level bottom, which was enclosed for the lists with strong palisades.

forming a space of a quarter of a mile in length, and about half as broad. The form was square, save that the corners were considerably rounded off, in order to afford more convenience for the spectators. The openings for the entry of the combatants were at the northern and southern extremities of the lists, accessible by strong wooden gates, each wide enough to admit two horsemen riding abreast. At each of these portals were stationed two heralds, attended by six trumpets, as many pursuivants, and a strong body of men-at-arms for maintaining order, and ascertaining the quality of the knights who proposed to engage in this martial game. — On a platform beyond the southern entrance, formed by a natural elevation of the ground, were pitched five magnificent pavilions, adorned with pennons of russet and black, the chosen colour of the five knights challengers. The cords of the tents were of the same colour. Before each pavilion was suspended the shield of the knight by whom it was occupied, and beside it stood his squire, quaintly disguised as a savage or sylvan man, or in some other fantastic dress, according to the taste of his master, and the character which he was pleased to assume during the game. The central pavilion, as the place of honour, had been assigned to Brian de Bois-Guilbert, whose renown, in all games of chivalry, no less than his connexion with the knights who had undertaken this Passage of Arms, had occasioned him to be eagerly received into the company of the challengers, and even adopted as a chief. On one side of his tent were pitched those of Reginald Front-de-Bœuf and Richard de Malvoisin; and on the other was the pavilion of Hugh de Gentmesnil, &c.

‘The exterior of the lists was in part occupied by temporary galleries spread with tapestry and carpets, and accommodated with cushions for the convenience of those ladies and nobles who were expected to attend upon the tournament. A narrow space, betwixt these galleries and the lists, gave accommodation for yeomanry and spectators of a better degree than the mere vulgar, and might be compared to the pit of a theatre. The promiscuous multitude arranged themselves upon large banks of turf prepared for the purpose, which, aided by the natural elevation of the ground, enabled them to look over the galleries, and obtain a fair view into the lists. Besides the accommodation which these stations afforded, many hundreds had perched themselves on the branches of the trees which surrounded the meadow; and even the steeple of a country church, at some distance, was crowded with spectators.’ I. 133–167.

Prince John, who was then engaged with Philip of France in his base and treasonable plots against the life and liberty of his heroic brother, and had appointed this festival, partly to muster and display the force of his faction, and partly to court popular favour, was conspicuous in the midst of the splendid assemblage, and caracoled within the lists at the head of a jovial and laughing party, eyeing with bold and lascivious glances the beauties who adorned the lofty galleries. Among the most

conspicuous of those was the lovely Rowena, under the protection of Cedric and his sluggish kinsman of Coningsburgh; and not the least distinguished in the throng, was the fair Rebecca, the daughter of the insulted Jew, who having got over his perils and terrors, appeared here in sumptuous raiment, with this beautiful creature on his arm. Several occurrences, partly of a ludicrous, and all of a characteristic nature, are described with infinite spirit and felicity. But we must go on to the material business of the scene.

The lists now presented a most splendid spectacle. The sloping galleries were crowded with all that was noble, great, wealthy, and beautiful in the northern and midland parts of England; and the contrast of the various dresses of these dignified spectators, rendered the view as gay as it was rich, while the interior and lower space, filled with the substantial burgesses and yeomen of merry England, formed, in their more plain attire, a dark fringe, or border, around this circle of brilliant embroidery, relieving, and at the same time setting off, its splendour.

The enclosed space at the northern extremity of the lists, large as it was, was now completely crowded with knights desirous to prove their skill against the challengers, and, when viewed from the galleries, presented the appearance of a sea of waving plumage, intermixed with glistening helmets and tall lances, to the extremities of which were, in many cases, attached small pennons of about a span's-breadth, which, fluttering in the air as the breeze caught them, joined with the restless motion of the feathers to add liveliness to the scene. — The champions now advanced through the lists, restraining their fiery steeds, and compelling them to move slowly, while, at the same time, they exhibited their paces, together with the grace and dexterity of the riders. As the procession entered, the sound of a wild Barbaric music was heard from behind the tents of the challengers, where the performers were concealed. It was of eastern origin, having been brought from the Holy Land; and the mixture of the cymbals and bells seemed to bid welcome at once, and defiance, to the knights as they advanced. With the eyes of an immense concourse of spectators fixed upon them, the five knights advanced up to the platform upon which the tents of the challengers stood; and there separating themselves, each touched slightly, and with the reverse of his lance, the shield of the antagonist to whom he wished to oppose himself. The lower orders of spectators in general—nay, many of the higher, and it is even said several of the ladies, were rather disappointed at the champions choosing the arms of courtesy. For the same sort of persons, who, in the present day, applaud most highly the deepest tragedies, were then interested in a tournament exactly in proportion to the danger incurred by the champions engaged. I. 154—158.

• The fortune of the day is at first decidedly in favour of the challengers; and after several courses had been run, no fresh champion appearing to oppose them, there was a pause, and apparent cessation in the game of war.

At length, as the Saracenic music of the challengers concluded one of those long and high flourishes with which they had broken the silence of the lists, it was answered by a solitary trumpet, which breathed a note of defiance from the northern extremity. All eyes were turned to see the new champion which these sounds announced; and no sooner were the barriers opened than he paced into the lists. As far as could be judged of a man sheathed in armour, the new adventurer did not greatly exceed the middle size, and seemed to be rather slender than strongly made. His suit of armour was formed of steel, richly inlaid with gold, and the device on his shield was a young oak-tree pulled up by the roots, with the Spanish word *Desdichado*, signifying Disinherited. He was mounted on a gallant black horse; and as he passed through the lists he gracefully saluted the Prince and the ladies by lowering his lance. The dexterity with which he managed his horse, and something of youthful grace which he displayed in his manner, won him the favour of the multitude, which some of the lower classes expressed by crying, "Touch Ralph de Vipont's shield—touch the Hospitaller's shield; he has the least sure seat, he is your cheapest bargain."

• The champion, moving onward amid these well-meant hints, ascended the platform by the sloping alley which led to it from the lists, and, to the astonishment of all present, riding straight up to the central pavilion, struck with the sharp end of his spear the shield of Brian de Bois-Guilbert until it rung again. All stood astonished at his presumption, but none more than the redoubted Knight whom he had thus defied to mortal combat. — "Have you confessed yourself, brother," said the Templar, "and have you heard mass this morning, that you peril your life so frankly?" — "I am fitter to meet death than thou art," answered the Disinherited Knight, for by this name the stranger had recorded himself in the books of the tourney. — "Then take your place in the lists," said De Bois-Guilbert, "and look your last upon the sun; for this night thou shalt sleep in paradise." — "Gramercy for thy courtesy," replied the Disinherited Knight; "and to requite it, I advise thee to take a fresh horse and a new lance, for by my honour you will need both." — Having expressed himself thus confidently, he reined his horse backwards down the slope which he had ascended, and compelled him in the same manner to move backwards through the lists, till he reached the northern extremity, where he remained stationary, in expectation of his antagonist. This feat of horsemanship again attracted the applause of the multitude. — When the two champions stood opposed to each other at the two extremities of the lists, the public expectation was strained to the highest pitch. Few augured the possibility that the encounter could terminate well for the Disinherited

Knight; yet his courage and gallantry secured the general good wishes of the spectators. — The trumpets had no sooner given the signal, than the champions vanished from their posts with the speed of lightning, and closed in the centre of the lists with the shock of a thunderbolt. The lances burst into shivers up to the very grasp, and it seemed at the moment that both knights had fallen, for the shock had made each horse recoil backwards upon its hams. The address of the riders recovered their steeds by use of the bridle and spur, and having glared on each other for an instant with eyes which seemed to flash fire through the bars of their visors, each made a demi-volte, and retiring to the extremity of the lists, received a fresh lance from the attendants. — A loud shout from the spectators, waving of scarfs and handkerchiefs, and general acclamations, attested the interest taken by the spectators in this encounter; the most equal, as well as the best performed, which had graced the day. But no sooner had the knights resumed their station, than the clamour of applause was hushed into a silence, so deep and so dead, that it seemed the multitude were afraid even to breathe. — A few minutes' pause having been allowed, that the combatants and their horses might recover breath, Prince John with his truncheon signed to the trumpets to sound the onset. The champions a second time sprung from their stations, and closed in the centre of the lists, with the same speed, the same dexterity, the same violence, but not the same equal fortune as before.

In this second encounter, the Templar aimed at the centre of his antagonist's shield, and struck it so fair and forcibly that his spear went to shivers, and the Disinherited Knight reeled in his saddle. On the other hand, that champion had, in the beginning of his career, directed the point of his lance towards Bois-Guilbert's shield, but, changing his aim almost in the moment of encounter, he addressed it to the helmet, a mark more difficult to hit, but which, if attained, rendered the shock more irresistible. Yet, even at this disadvantage, the Templar sustained his high reputation; and had not the girths of his saddle burst, he might not have been unhorsed. As it chanced, however, saddle, horse, and man, rolled on the ground under a cloud of dust. — To extricate himself from the stirrups and fallen steed, was to the Templar scarce the work of a moment; and stung with madness, both at his disgrace and at the acclamations with which it was hailed by the spectators, he drew his sword and waved it in defiance of his conqueror. The Disinherited Knight sprung from his steed, and also unsheathed his sword. The marshals of the field, however, spurred their horses between them, and reminded them, that the laws of the tournament did not, on the present occasion, permit this species of encounter: — "We shall meet again, I trust," said the Templar, casting a resentful glance at his antagonist; "and where there are none to separate us." — "If we do not," said the Disinherited Knight, "the fault shall not be mine. On foot or horseback, with spear, with axe, or with sword, I am alike ready to encounter thee." I. 164–170.

He discomfits the other four challengers in the same manner, and is declared victorious amidst the acclamation of thousands. He is then led up to receive the congratulation of the Prince, to which he answers with a mute obeisance; and is entrusted with the mystic crown, with which he is desired to invest the lady he most admires, with the title of Queen of Love and Beauty for the remainder of the festival. With this coronet on the point of his lance, he turned from the royal pavilion, and 'pacing forwards as slowly as he had hitherto rode swiftly around the lists, he seemed to exercise his right of examining the numerous fair faces which adorned that splendid circle.'—It was worth while to see the different conduct of the beauties who underwent this examination, during the time it was going forward. Some blushed, some assumed an air of pride and dignity, some looked straight forward, and essayed to seem utterly unconscious of what was going on, some endeavoured to forbear smiling, and there were two or three who laughed outright. There were also some who dropped their veils over their charms; but as the Wardour Manuscript says these were beauties of ten years standing, it may be supposed that, having had their full share of such vanities, they were willing to withdraw their claim, in order to give a fair chance to the rising beauties of the age. — At length the champion paused beneath the balcony in which the Lady Rowena was placed, and the expectation of the spectators was excited to the utmost. — Whether from indecision or some other motive of hesitation, the champion of the day remained stationary for more than a minute, while the eyes of the silent audience were riveted upon his motions; and then, gradually and gracefully sinking the point of his lance, he deposited the coronet which it supported, at the feet of the fair Rowena. The trumpets instantly sounded, while the heralds proclaimed the Lady Rowena the Queen of Beauty and of Love for the ensuing day, menacing with suitable penalties those who should be disobedient to her authority. They then repeated their cry of *Largesse*, to which Cedric, in the height of his joy, replied by an ample donative, and to which Athelstane, though less promptly, added one equally large.

The valorous champion has not been long retired to his tent, when he is called out to receive the salutations of the squires of his five vanquished competitors, who humbly make offer to him of their war-horses and armour, with a request that he would intimate his pleasure, either to retain or to ransom them. To the squire of Bois-Guilbert, who spoke first, he did not immediately answer; But

"To you, four sirs," replied the Knight, addressing those who had last spoken, "and to your honourable and valiant masters, I have one common reply. Commend me to the noble Knights, your masters, and say, I should do ill to deprive them of steeds and arms which can never be used by braver cavaliers.—I would I could here send my message to these gallant knights; but being, as I term my-

self, in truth and earnest, the Disinherited, I must be thus far bound to your masters, that they will, of their courtesy, be pleased to ransom their armour, since that which I wear I can hardly term mine own." — "We stand commissioned," answered the squire of Reginald Front-de-Bœuf, "to offer each a hundred zecchins in ransom of these horses and suits of armour." — "It is sufficient," said the Disinherited Knight. "Half the sum my present necessities compel me to accept; of the remaining half, distribute one moiety among yourselves, sir squires, and divide the other half betwixt the heralds and the pursuivants, and minstrels and attendants." — The squires, with cap in hand, and low reverences, expressed their deep sense of a courtesy and generosity not often practised, at least upon a scale so extensive. The Disinherited Knight then addressed his discourse to Baldwin, the squire of Brian de Bois-Guilbert. "From your master," said he, "I will accept neither arias nor ransom. Say to him in my name, that our strife is not ended—no, not till we have fought as well with swords as with lances—as well on foot as on horseback. To this mortal quarrel he has himself defied me, and I shall not forget the challenge.—Meantime, let him be assured, that I hold him not as one of his companions, with whom I can with pleasure exchange courtesies: but rather as one with whom I stand upon terms of mortal defiance." — "My master," answered Baldwin, "knows how to requite scorn with scorn, and blows with blows, as well as courtesy with courtesy. Since you disdain to accept from him any share of the ransom at which you have rated the arms of the other knights, I must leave his armour and his horse here, being well assured that he will never mount the one nor wear the other." — "You have spoken well, good squire," said the Disinherited Knight, "well and boldly, as it beseemeth him to speak who answers for an absent master. Leave not, however, the horse and armour here. Restore them to thy master; or, if he scorns to accept them, retain them, good friend, for thine own use. So far as they are mine, I bestow them upon you freely." — Baldwin made a deep obeisance, and retired with his companions; and the Disinherited Knight entered the pavilion. L 197-200.

This is all very stately and imposing—and is given, moreover, with infinite spirit and likelihood. But there is another day's work of it; and we fear we must hasten to the end of this gallant exhibition. Our readers, we suppose, or such at least as have any experience of romances, have already discovered that the Disinherited Knight is the Palmer of Rotherwood; and probably surmised further, that the said Palmer is no other than the brave Wilfrid of Ivanhoe, of whose feats in arms he was so tardy to speak. Gurth, the faithful swineherd, is also transformed into his squire, and has two excellent scenes in that character in the interval of the tournament—one with old Isaac the Jew and his lovely and magnanimous daughter, and the other

with a band of jolly outlaws, who stop, but deal handsomely with him as he passes through the forest. For those, however, as well as for the details of the second day's jousting, we must refer our readers to the book. Wilfrid, by the potent aid of an unknown champion in black armour, is again triumphant; and is led to receive the chaplet of honour from the fair hands of Rowena, to whom, as to all the other spectators, his person, and the dangerous wounds under which he is sinking, are yet unknown. He kneels gently, however, at the foot of her throne; and then,

Rowena, descending from her station with a graceful and dignified step, was about to place the chaplet which she held in her hand upon the helmet of the champion, when the marshals exclaimed with one voice, "It must not be thus—his head must be bare." The knight muttered faintly a few words, which were lost in the hollow of his helmet, but their purport seemed to be a desire that his casque might not be removed, — Whether from love of form or from curiosity, the marshals paid no attention to his expressions of reluctance, but unhelmed him by cutting the laces of his casque, and undoing the fastening of his gorget. When the helmet was removed, the well-formed, yet sun-burnt features of a young man of twenty-five were seen, amidst a profusion of short fair hair. His countenance was as pale as death, and marked in one or two places with streaks of blood. — Rowena had no sooner beheld him than she uttered a faint shriek; but at once summoning up the energy of her disposition, and compelling herself, as it were, to proceed, while her frame yet trembled with the violence of sudden emotion, she placed upon the drooping head of the victor the splendid chaplet which was the destined reward of the day, and pronounced, in a clear and distinct tone, these words: "I bestow on thee this chaplet, Sir Knight, as the meed of valour assigned to this day's victor:" Here she paused a moment, and then firmly added; "And upon brows more worthy could a wreath of chivalry never be placed!" — The knight stooped his head, and kissed the hand of the lovely sovereign by whom his valour had been rewarded; and then, sinking yet farther forward, lay prostrate at her feet. I. 256, 257.

In the midst of these transactions, Prince John receives from Philip of France that memorable intimation of the heroic Richard's escape from their machinations, which was couched in those emphatic words—"Take heed to yourself, for the Devil is unchained;" and, in his terror and consternation, proposes immediately to break up the assembly. He is reminded, however, that the populace and yeomanry, whom it is now more than ever his interest to conciliate, would be disappointed if the prizes of archery, for which alone persons of their order could contend, were not contested and adjudged; and the humbler lists are set forth accordingly for this true English display.—A

bold stout yeoman had offended the Prince repeatedly in the course of the tournament by the sturdy freedom and independence of his deportment, and had been ordered, under grievous penalties, to try his skill against the bowmen of Needwood and Charnwood; and we must lay before our readers the first proofs of the prowess of this worthy person, who is the Dandy Dinmont of the present tale, and makes no small figure in its sequel.

One by one the archers, stepping forward, delivered their shafts yeomanlike and bravely. Of twenty-four arrows, shot in succession, ten were fixed in the target, and the others ranged so near it, that, considering the distance of the mark, it was accounted good archery. Of the ten shafts which hit the target, two within the inner ring were shot by Hubert, a forester in the service of Malvoisin, who was accordingly pronounced victorious. — “Now, Locksley,” said Prince John to the devoted yeoman, with a bitter smile, “wilt thou try conclusions with Hubert, or wilt thou yield up bow, baldrick, and quiver to the Provost of the sports?” — “Sith it may be no better,” said Locksley, “I am content to try my fortune; on condition that when I have shot two shafts at yonder mark of Hubert’s, he shall be bound to shoot one at that which I shall propose.” — “That is but fair,” answered Prince John, “and it shall not be refused thee. — If thou dost beat this braggart, Hubert, I will fill the bugle with silver-pennies for thee.” — “A man can but do his best,” answered Hubert; “but my great-grandsire drew a good long bow at Hastings, and I trust not to dishonour his memory.” — The former target was now removed, and a fresh one of the same size placed in its room. Hubert, who, as victor in the first trial of skill, had the right to shoot first, took his aim with great deliberation, long measuring the distance with his eye, while he held in his hand his bended bow, with the arrow placed on the string. At length he made a step forward, and raising the bow at the full stretch of his left arm, till the centre or grasping-place was nigh level with his face, he drew the bow-string to his ear. The arrow whistled through the air, and lighted within the inner-ring of the target, but not exactly in the centre. — “You have not allowed for the wind, Hubert,” said his antagonist, bending his bow; “or that had been a better shot.” — So saying, and without showing the least anxiety to pause upon his aim, Locksley stepped to the appointed station, and shot his arrow as carelessly in appearance as if he had not even looked at the mark. He was speaking almost at the instant that the shaft left the bow-string, yet it alighted in the target two inches nearer to the white spot which marked the centre than that of Hubert. — “By the light of heaven!” said Prince John to Hubert, “an thou suffer that rumpate knave to overcome thee, thou art worthy of the gallows.” — Hubert had but one set speech for all occasions. “An your highness were to hang me,” he said, “a man can but do his best. Nevertheless, my grandsire drew a good bow.” — “The foul fiend on thy grandsire and all his generation,” interrupted John; “shoot, knave, and

shoot thy best, or it shall be the worse for thee." — Thus exhorted, Hubert resumed his place, and not neglecting the caution which he had received from his adversary, he made the necessary allowance for a very light air of wind, which had just arisen, and shot so successfully, that his arrow alighted in the very centre of the target. — "A Hubert! a Hubert!" shouted the populace, more interested in a known person than in a stranger. "In the clout!—in the clout!—a Hubert for ever!" — "Thou can'st not mend that shot, Locksley," said the Prince, with an insulting smile. — "I will notch his shaft for him, however," replied Locksley. — And letting fly his arrow with a little more precaution than before, it lighted right upon that of his competitor, which it split to shivers. The people who stood around were so astonished at his wonderful dexterity, that they could not even give vent to their surprise in their usual clamour. "This must be the devil, and no man of flesh and blood," whispered the yeomen to each other; "such archery was never seen since a bow was first bent in Britain."

"And now," said Locksley, "I crave your grace's permission to plant such a mark as is used in the north country; and welcome every brave yeoman who shall try a shot at it to win a smile from the bonny lass he loves best." — He then turned to leave the lists. "Let your guards attend me," he said, "if you please—I go but to cut a rod, from the next willow bush." — Prince John made a signal that some attendants should follow him in case of his escape; but the cry of "Shame! shame!" which burst from the multitude, induced him to alter his ungenerous purpose. — Locksley returned almost instantly with a willow wand about six feet in length, perfectly straight, and rather thicker than a man's thumb. He began to peel this with great composure, observing, at the same time, that to ask a good woodsman to shoot at a target so broad as had hitherto been used, was to put shame upon his skill. "For his own part," he said, "and in the land where he was bred, men would as soon take for their mark King Arthur's round-table, which held sixty knights around it. A child of seven years old," he said, "might hit it with a headless shaft; but," added he, walking deliberately to the other end of the lists, and sticking the willow wand upright in the ground, "he that hits that rod at five-score yards, I call him an archer fit to bear both bow and quiver before a king, as it were the stout King Richard himself." — "My grandsire," said Hubert, "drew a good bow at the battle of Hastings, and never shot at such a mark in his life—and neither will I. If this yeoman can cleave that rod, I give him the bucklers—or rather, I yield to the devil that is in his jerkin, and not to any human skill; a man can but do his best, and I will not shoot where I am sure to miss. I might as well shoot at the edge of our parson's whistle, or at a wheat straw, or at a sun-beam, as at a twinkling white mark which I can hardly see." — "Cowardly dog!" said Prince John,—"Sirrah Locksley, do thou shoot; but, if thou hittest such

a mark, I will say thou art the first man ever did so. Howe'er it be, thou shalt not crow over us with a mere show of superior skill." — "I will do my best, as Hubert says," answered Locksley; "no man can do more." — So saying, he again bent his bow, but on the present occasion looked with attention to his weapon, and changed the string, which he thought was no longer truly round, having been a little frayed by the two former shots. He then took his aim with some deliberation, and the multitude awaited the event in breathless silence. The archer vindicated their opinion of his skill: his arrow split the willow rod against which it was aimed. A jubilee of acclamations followed; and even Prince John, in admiration of Locksley's skill, lost his dislike to his person. "These twenty nobles," he said, "which, with the bugle, thou hast fairly won, are thine own; we will make them fifty, if thou wilt take livery and service with us as a yeoman of our body guard, and be near to our person. For never did so strong a hand bend a bow, or so true an eye direct a shaft." — "Pardon me, noble Prince," said Locksley; "but I have vowed, that if ever I take service, it should be with your royal brother King Richard. These twenty nobles I leave to Hubert, who has this day drawn as brave a bow as his grandsire did at Hastings. Had his modesty not refused the trial, he would have hit the wand as well as I." — Hubert shook his head as he received with reluctance the bounty of the stranger; and Locksley, anxious to escape further observation, mixed with the crowd, and was seen no more. I. 270-277.

The Prince afterwards entertains Cedric and Athelstane, at a gorgeous banquet, where their Saxon blood is inflamed by the sarcasms on their Saxon simplicity; and they take horse for their own homes, in no very good humour with the Norman chivalry, and with increased contempt and dislike of their entertainer.

The plot now thickens, and assumes a complication which would be a little perplexing to vulgar makers of abstracts. Bracy, a profligate knight of Prince John's faction, enters into a plot with Bois-Guilbert to waylay the Saxon party, and carry them off to Front-de-Bœuf's castle, where the lady Rowena is to be forced to marry Bracy, and the rest liberated on ransom. Ivanhoe, in the mean time, had been carried from the lists in the litter of the fair Jewess, Rebecca, and tended and half cured by her medical skill, when she and her father are again obliged to travel, and agree to carry their valiant patient along with them. This party accidentally falls in with that of Cedric in the forest, and are with difficulty admitted to the protection of their company—when they are all set upon by the gang of Bracy and Bois-Guilbert, in the disguise of woodsmen, and led off in the night to the castle of their ruffian accomplice. The faithful jester and the sturdy Gurth contrive to escape, and give notice of the out-

rage to the valiant Locksley, whom they meet, with some of his followers, in their proper vocation of huntsmen and outlaws, and who engages to make a bold push for their rescue, or even their deliverance from the castle of their oppressors, and proceeds to collect his associates for this generous enterprise. In this quest he is fortunate enough to fall on an unexpected and puissant auxiliary, to explain whose appearance some further details are necessary.

The Black Knight, whose prowess had so materially contributed to Wilfrid's victory, had glided from the lists the moment the contest had ceased, and paced along the woodlands till night-fall; when he lost his way, and found himself at last before a lonely hermitage, placed beside a fountain and a ruined chapel, in an open glade of the forest. Here he knocked long for admittance, and only obtained it at last by threats of force and compulsion.—A hermit of portentous bulk and vigour at last opened the door, and reluctantly allowed him to enter: We must indulge ourselves with a pretty long quotation for the result of this meeting, which is given in the very best manner of the author.

‘ They sat down, and gazed with great gravity at each other; each thinking in his heart that he had seldom seen a stronger or more athletic figure than was placed opposite to him. — “ Reverend hermit,” said the knight, after looking long and fixedly at his host, “ were it not to interrupt your devout meditations, I would pray to know three things of your holiness; first, where I am to put my horse?—secondly, what I can have for supper?—thirdly, where I am to take up my couch for the night?” — “ I will reply to you,” said the hermit, “ with my finger, it being against my rule to speak by words where signs can answer the purpose.” So saying, he pointed successively to two corners of the hut. “ Your stable,” said he, “ is there—your bed there; and,” reaching down a platter with two handfuls of parched peas upon it from the neighbouring shelf, and placing it upon the table, he added, “ your supper is there.” — The knight shrugged his shoulders, and leaving the hut, brought in his horse, (which in the interim he had fastened to a tree), unsaddled him with much attention, and spread upon the steed's weary back his own mantle. — The hermit was apparently somewhat moved to compassion by the anxiety as well as address which the stranger displayed in tending his horse; for, muttering something about provender left for the keeper's palfrey, he dragged out of a recess a bundle of forage, which he spread before the knight's charger, and immediately afterwards shook down a quantity of dried fern in the corner which he had assigned for the rider's couch. The knight returned him thanks for his courtesy; and, this duty done, both resumed their seats by the table, whereon stood the trencher of peas placed between them.

The hermit, after a long grace, which had once been Latin, but of which original language few traces remained, excepting here and there the long rolling termination of some word or phrase, set example to his guest, by modestly putting into a very large mouth, furnished with teeth which might have ranked with those of a boar both in sharpness and whiteness, some three or four dried peas,—a miserable grist as it seemed for so large and able a mill. — The knight, in order to follow so laudable an example, laid aside his helmet, his eorslet, and the greater part of his armour, and showed to the hermit a head thick-curled with yellow hair, high features, blue eyes, remarkably bright and sparkling, a mouth well formed, having an upper lip clothed with mustachios darker than his hair, and bearing altogether the look of a bold, daring, and enterprising man, with which his strong form well corresponded. — The hermit, as if wishing to answer to the confidence of his guest, threw back his cowl, and shewed a round bullet-head belonging to a man in the prime of life. His close-shaven crown, surrounded by a circle of stiff curled black hair, had something the appearance of a parish pinfold begirt by its high hedge. The features expressed nothing of monastic austerity, or of ascetic privations; on the contrary, it was a bold bluff countenance, with broad black eyebrows, a well turned forehead, and cheeks as round and vermilion as those of a trumpeter, from which descended a long and curly black beard. Such a visage, joined to the brawny form of the holy man, spoke rather of sirloins and haunches, than of peas and pulse. This incongruity did not escape the guest. After he had with great difficulty accomplished the mastication of a mouthful of the dried peas, he found it absolutely necessary to request his pious entertainer to furnish him with some liquor; who replied to his request by placing before him a large can of the purest water from the fountain. — “It is from the well of St Dunstan,” said he, “in which, betwixt sun and sun, he baptized five hundred heathen Danes and Britons—blessed be his name!” And applying his black beard to the pitcher, he took a draft much more moderate in quantity than his encomium seemed to warrant. — “It seems to me, reverend father,” said the Knight, “that the small morsels which you eat, together with this holy, but somewhat thin beverage, have thriven with you marvellously. You appear a man more fit to win the ram at a wrestling match, or the ring at a bout at quarter-staff, or the bucklers at a sword-play, than to linger out your time in this desolate wilderness, saying masses and living upon parched peas and cold water. — “Sir Knight,” answered the hermit, “your thoughts, like those of the ignorant laity, are according to the flesh. It has pleased our Lady and my patron saint to bless the pittance to which I restrain myself, even as the pulse and water was blessed to the children Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego, who drank the same rather than defile themselves with the wine and meats which were appointed them by the King of the Saracens.” — “Holy Father,” said the Knight, “upon whose countenance it

bath pleased Heaven to work such a miracle, permit a sinful layman to crave thy name?" — "Thou may'st call me," answered the hermit, "the Clerk of Copmanhurst, for so am I termed in these parts — they add, it is true, the epithet holy, but I stand not upon that, as being unworthy of such addition. And now, valiant Knight, may I pray ye for the name of my honourable guest?" — "Truly," said the Knight, "Holy Clerk of Copmanhurst, men call me in these parts the Black Knight — many, Sir, add to it the epithet of Sluggard, whereby I am no way ambitious to be distinguished." — The hermit could scarcely forbear from smiling at his guest's reply. — "I see," said he, "Sir Sluggish Knight, that thou art a man of prudence and of counsel; and moreover, I see that my poor monastic fare likes thee not, accustomed, perhaps, as thou hast been, to the license of courts and of camps, and the luxuries of cities; and now I bethink me, Sir Sluggard, that when the charitable keeper of this forest-walk left these dogs for my protection, and also those bundles of forage, he left me also some food, which, being unfit for my use, the very recollection of it had escaped me amid my more weighty meditations." — "I dare be sworn he did so," said the Knight; "I was convinced that there was better food in the cell, Holy Clerk, since you first doffed your cowl: — your keeper is ever a jovial fellow: and none who beheld thy grinders contending with these peas, and thy throat flooded with this ungenial element, could see thee doomed to such horse-provender and horse-beverage," (pointing to the provisions upon the table), "and refrain from mending thy cheer. — Let us see the keeper's bounty therefore without delay."

The hermit cast a wistful look upon the knight, in which there was a sort of comic expression of hesitation, as if uncertain how far he should act prudently in trusting his guest. There was, however, as much of bold frankness in the knight's countenance as was possible to be expressed by features. His smile, too, had something in it irresistibly comic, and gave an assurance of faith and loyalty, with which his host could not refrain from sympathizing. — After exchanging a mute glance or two, the hermit went to the further side of the hut, and opened a hutch, which was concealed with great care and some ingenuity. Out of the recesses of a dark closet, into which this aperture gave admittance, he brought a large pasty, baked in a pewter platter of unusual dimensions. This mighty dish he placed before his guest; who, using his poniard to cut it open, lost no time in making himself acquainted with its contents. — "I have been in Palestine, Sir Clerk," said the knight, stopping short of a sudden, "and I bethink me it is a custom there, that every host who entertains a guest shall assure him of the wholesomeness of his food, by partaking of it along with him. Far be it from me to suspect so holy a man of aught inhospitable; nevertheless I will be highly bound to you would you comply with this eastern custom." — "To ease your unnecessary scruples, Sir Knight, I will for once depart from my rule," replied the hermit. And as there were no forks in these days, his

clutches were instantly in the bowels of the pasty. — The ice of ceremony being once broken, it seemed matter of rivalry between the guest and the entertainer which should display the best appetite; and although the former had probably fasted longest, yet the hermit fairly surpassed him. — “Holy Clerk,” said the knight, when his hunger was appeased, “I would gage my good horse yonder against a zecchin, that that same honest keeper to whom we are obliged for the venison, has left thee a stoup of wine, or a runlet of canary, or some such trifle, by way of ally to this noble pasty. This would be a circumstance, doubtless, totally unworthy to dwell in the memory of so rigid an anchorite; yet, I think, were you to search yonder crypt once more, you would find that I am right in my conjecture.” — The hermit only replied by a grin; and, returning to the hutch, he produced a leathern bottle, which might contain about four quarts. He also brought forth two large drinking cups, made out of the horn of the urus, and hooped with silver. Having made this goodly provision for washing down the supper, he seemed to think no further ceremonious scruple necessary on his part; but, filling both cups, and saying, in the Saxon fashion, “*Waes hael, Sir Sluggish Knight!*” he emptied his own at a draught. — “*Drink hael! Holy Clerk of Copmanhurst,*” answered the warrior, and did his host reason in a similar bribe. II. 26–36.

After this auspicious beginning, the scene goes on as might have been expected. The two boon companions carouse and carol till cock-crowing; and are in the midst of their obstreperous joviality, when Locksley and his woodmen arrive at the hermitage, to summon its brawny inmate to bear a part in their expedition. Though somewhat startled at the appearance of the Black Knight, they propounded the adventure to him also; in which, after the merits of the case have been explained to him, he heartily engages; and the friar being donned the equipments of a forester over his frock and tunic, and taken a long composing draught of the blessed spring of St Dunstan, sets gaily forward at the head of them.

In the interior of the castle, in the mean time, a great variety of scenes are enacting. The worthy owner, with the Templar’s two black slaves, are in the dungeon, threatening to broil the poor Jew on a gridiron, unless he instantly comes down with a mighty ransom. Bracy is unsuccessfully striving with the scorn and the tears of the Lady Rowena in one turret, and the Templar menacing all manner of abominations to the fair Jewess in another; while the valiant Cedric is bursting with indignation in his prison hall—and the noble Athelstane beside him, grumbling violently at the delay of his noon-tide meal. It is impossible for us to enter into each of these compartments; and we prefer that which exhibits the wooing of the lovely Rebecca. We have

hitherto said too little of this delightful personage; who is from the beginning the most angelic character in the story, and ends with engrossing its chief interest. The author, it may be observed, has generally one poetical or impossible character in each of his pieces—somebody too good and enchanting to be believed in—and yet so well humanized and identified with our lower nature as to pass for a reality;—and Rebecca is the goddess of the work before us. We know so little, indeed, what a Jewish damsel really was in the days of Richard the 1st, that the author may be allowed to have had some scope for his inventions; and certainly a being of more ‘nymph-like form, or goddess-like deport,’ never has been represented in the fictions of painting or poetry. We must pass over some very beautiful and touching scenes of her tendance on the wounded and thankless Wilfrid, when feelings, rather more tender than those of pity, are represented as stealing unconsciously into the pure and pitying heart of the Jewess—and come at once to her agonizing interview with the daring and-unprincipled Templar.—He approaches her first in that disguise of an outlaw in which he had seized on her party; and when, misled by this garb, she offers him her jewels and wealth for her deliverance, he drops the mask, and says—

“I am not an outlaw, then, fair rose of Sharon. And I am one who will be more prompt to hang thy neck and arms with pearls and diamonds, which so well become them, than to deprive thee of these ornaments.”—“What wouldst thou have of me,” said Rebecca, “if not my wealth?—We can have nought in common between us—you are a Christian—I am a Jewess.—Our union were contrary to the laws, alike of the church, and the synagogue.”—“It were so indeed,” replied the Templar, laughing; “wed with a Jewess? *Despardiens!*—not if she were the queen of Sheba. And know, besides, sweet daughter of Zion, that were the most Christian king to offer me his most Christian daughter with Languedoc for a dowry I could not wed her. It is against my vow to love any maiden, otherwise than *par amours*, as I will love thee. I am a Templar. Behold the cross of my holy order.”—“Darest thou appeal to it,” said Rebecca, “on an occasion like the present?”—“And if I do so,” said the Templar, “it concerns not thee, who art no believer in the blessed sign of our salvation.”—“I believe as my fathers taught,” said Rebecca; and may God forgive my belief if erroneous! But you, Sir Knight, what is *yours*, when you appeal without scruple to that which you deem most holy, even while you are about to transgress the most solemn of your vows as a knight, and as a man of religion?”—“It is gravely and well preached, O daughter of Sion!” answered the Templar; “but, gentle Ecclesiastica, thy narrow Jewish prejudices make thee blind to our high privilege. Marriage were an enduring crime on the part of a Templar; but what

lesser folly I may practise, I shall speedily be absolved from at the next Preceptory of our Order. Not the wisest of monarchs, not his father, whose examples you must needs allow are weighty, claimed wider privileges than we poor soldiers of the Temple of Zion have won by our zeal in its defence. The protectors of Solomon's Temple may claim license by the example of Solomon."—"If thou redest the Scripture," said the Jewess, "and the lives of the saints, only to justify thine own license and profligacy, thy crime is like that of him who extracts poison from the most healthful and necessary herbs."—The eyes of the Templar flashed fire at this reproof—"Hearken," he said, "Rebecca; I have hitherto spoke mildly to thee, but now my language shall be that of a conqueror. Thou art the captive of my bow and spear—subject to my will by the laws of all nations; nor will I abate an inch of my right, or abstain from taking by violence what thou refusest to entreaty or necessity."—"Stand back," said Rebecca—"stand back, and hear me ere thou offerest to commit a sin so deadly! My strength thou may'st indeed overpower, for God made women weak, and trusted their defence to man's generosity. But I will proclaim thy villany, Templar, from one end of Europe to the other. I will owe to the superstition of thy brethren what their compassion might refuse me.—Each Preceptory—each Chapter of thy Order, shall learn, that, like a heretic, thou hast sinned with a Jewess. Those who tremble not at thy crime, will hold thee accursed for having so far dishonoured the cross thou wearest, as to follow a daughter of my people."—"Thou art keen-witted, Jewess," replied the Templar, well aware of the truth of what she spoke, and that the rules of his Order condemned in the most positive manner, and under high penalties, such intrigues as he now prosecuted, and that, in some instances, even degradation had followed upon it—"thou art sharp-witted," he said, "but loud must be thy voice of complaint, if it is heard beyond the iron walls of this castle; within these, murmurs, laments, appeals to justice, and screams for help, die alike silent away. One thing only can save thee, Rebecca. Submit to thy fate—embrace our religion, and thou shalt go forth in such state, that many a Norman lady shall yield as well in pomp as in beauty to the favourite of the best lance among the defenders of the Temple."—"Submit to my fate!" said Rebecca—"and, sacred Heaven! to what fate?—embrace thy religion! and what religion can it be that harbours such a villain—*thou* the best lance of the Templars!—craven Knight!—forsworn Priest! I spit at thee, and I defy thee.—The God of Abraham's promise hath opened an escape to his daughter—even from this abyss of infamy."

As she spoke, she threw open the latticed window which led to the bartizan, and in an instant after, stood on the very verge of the parapet, with not the slightest screen between her and the tremendous depth below. Unprepared for such a desperate effort, for she had hitherto stood perfectly motionless, Bois-Guilbert had

neither time to intercept nor to stop her. As he offered to advance, she exclaimed, "Remain where thou art, proud Templar, or at thy choice advance!—one foot nearer, and I plunge myself from the precipice; my body shall be crushed out of the very form of humanity upon the stones of that court-yard, ere it becomes the victim of thy brutality." — As she spoke this, she clasped her hands and extended them towards Heaven, as if imploring mercy on her soul before she made the final plunge. The Templar hesitated; and a resolution which had never yielded to pity or distress, gave way to his admiration of her fortitude. "Come down," he said, "rash girl!—I swear by earth, and sea, and sky, I will offer thee no offence." — "I will not trust thee, Templar," said Rebecca; "thou hast taught me better how to estimate the virtues of thine Order. The next Preceptory would grant thee absolution for an oath, the keeping of which concerned nought but the honour or the dishonour of a miserable Jewish maiden." — "You do me injustice," said the Templar; "I swear to you by the name which I bear—by the cross on my bosom—by the sword on my side—by the ancient crest of my fathers do I swear, I will do thee no injury whatsoever. If not for thyself, yet for thy father's sake forbear. I will be his friend, and in this castle he will need a powerful one." — "Alas!" said Rebecca, "I know it but too well—dare I trust thee?" — "May my arms be reversed, and my name dishonoured," said Brian de Bois-Guilbert, "if thou shalt have reason to complain of me! Many a law, many a commandment have I broken, but my word never." — "I will then trust thee," said Rebecca, "thus far;" and she descended from the verge of the battlement, but remained standing close by one of the embrasures, or *machicollers*, as they were then called. "Here," she said, "I take my stand. Remain where thou art; and if thou shalt attempt to diminish, by one step, the distance now between us, thou shalt see that the Jewish maiden will rather trust her soul with God, than her honour to the Templar."

While Rebecca spoke thus, her high and firm resolve, which corresponded so well with the expressive beauty of her countenance, gave to her looks, air, and manner, a dignity that seemed more than mortal. Her glance quailed not, her cheek blanched not, for the fear of a fate so instant and so horrible; on the contrary, the thought that she had her fate at her command, and could escape at will from infamy to death, gave a yet deeper colour of carnation to her complexion, and a yet more brilliant fire to her eye. Bois-Guilbert, proud himself and high-spirited, thought he had never beheld beauty so animated and so commanding. — "Let there be peace between us, Rebecca," he said. — "Peace, if thou wilt," answered Rebecca. — "Peace—but with this space between." — "Thou needst no longer fear me," said Bois-Guilbert. — "I fear thee not," replied she; "thanks to him that reared this dizzy tower so high, that nought could fall from it and live—thanks to him, and to the God of Israel!—I fear thee not." 11: 169-76.

We must stop here, though the rest of the dialogue is sustained in a tone still more impressive: But it is suddenly broken off, along with the different occupations of the various other persons we have mentioned, by the sound of a bugle of defiance, and the mustering of Locksley and his followers before the gates of the castle. After various hopeless attempts at negotiation, it occurs to the besiegers to send Wamba the jester into the place, in the disguise of a friar, come to pray with the unhappy captives whom the Normans had menaced with instant death, if their deliverers did not retire—and the valiant and faithful fool readily takes on him the hazardous office. For the honour of this worshipful person, whom also we have too much neglected, we must give the close of his interview with his master. Cedric is at first imposed on by the ecclesiastical habit, and proposes to go to prayers—when

“Wait yet a moment, good uncle,” said the Jester, in his natural tone; “better look long before ye leap in the dark.” — “By my faith,” said Cedric, “I should know that voice.” — “It is that of your trusty slave and jester,” answered Wamba, throwing back his cowl. “Had you taken a fool’s advice formerly, you would not have been here at all. Take a fool’s advice now, and you will not be here long.” — “How mean’st thou, knave?” answered the Saxon. — “Even thus,” replied Wamba; “take thou this frock and cord, which are all the orders I ever had, and march quietly out of the castle, leaving me your cloak and girdle to take the long leap in thy stead.” — “Leave thee in my stead!” said Cedric, astonished at the proposal; “why, they would hang thee, my poor knave.” — “E’en let them do as they are permitted,” said Wamba; “I trust — no disparagement to your birth—that the son of Witless may hang in a chain with as much gravity as the chain hung upon his ancestor the alderman.” — “Well, Wamba,” answered Cedric, “for one thing will I grant thy request. And that is, if thou wilt make the exchange of garments with Lord Athelstane instead of me.” — “No, by St Dunstan,” answered Wamba; “there were little reason in that. Good right there is, that the son of Witless should suffer to save the son of Hereward; but little wisdom there were in his dying for the benefit of one whose fathers were strangers to his.” — “Villain,” said Cedric, “the fathers of Athelstane were monarchs of England.” — “They might be whomsoever they pleased,” replied Wamba; “but my neck stands too straight upon my shoulders to have it twisted for their sake.” — “I am like John-a-Duck’s mare, that will let no man mount her but John-a-Duck. I came to save my master, and if he will not consent—basta—I can but go away home again. Kind service cannot be chucked from hand to hand like a shuttlecock or stool-ball. I’ll hang for no man but my own born-master.” — “Go, then, noble Cedric,” said Athelstane; “neglect not this opportunity. Your presence without may encourage friends to our rescue—your

remaining here would ruin us all." — "And is there any prospect, then, of rescue from without?" said Cedric, looking to the Jester. — "Prospect, indeed!" echoed Wamba; "let me tell you, when you fill my cloak, you are wrapped in a general's cassock. Five hundred men are there without, and I was this morning one of their chief leaders. My fool's-cap was a casque, and my bauble a truncheon. Well, we shall see what good they shall make by exchanging a fool for a wise man. Truly, I fear they will lose in valour what they may gain in discretion. And so farewell, master, and be kind to poor Gurth and his dog Fangs; and let my cockscomb hang in the hall at Rotherwood, in memory that I flung away my life for my master, like a faithful—fool." — The last word came out with a sort of double expression, betwixt jest and earnest. The tears stood in Cedric's eyes. — "Thy memory shall be preserved," he said, "while fidelity and affection have honour upon earth. But that I trust I shall find the means of saving Rowena, and thee, Athelstan; and thee also, my poor Wamba, thou shouldst not overbear me in this matter." II. 206-210.

By means of this disguise, Cedric, with some difficulty, finds his way out of the castle, though not till he has had a strange and distressing interview with an antient and unamiable hag, in whom he at last recognises the once fair and virtuous daughter of the last Saxon proprietor, who was supposed to have fallen in the general slaughter of her kindred, which signalized the Norman seizure of the mansion—but appeared to have been reserved for the violence and worse corruptions of the victors. Though debased by her long association with such inmates, and familiar participation in their guilty indulgences, she had still nourished a rooted hatred of her oppressors; and, now that old age had rendered her an object of scorn and avoidance, resolved to take a signal vengeance for her wrongs, and assures the valiant and disgusted Cedric of her effectual cooperation in the enterprise he has in hand.

By the humanity of the domestics, the fair Rebecca is allowed to resume her attendance on the wounded Knight of Ivanhoe, in this moment of preparation and alarm: and while he frets and pants, like the restrained war-horse, at the spirit-stirring sounds which announce the approaching combat, she is induced to climb up to the lofty and iron-bound window of his prison, and to report what she could thence descry of the tumultuous scene before her. We know no passage in Epic or dramatic poetry more full of life, interest and energy, than the magnificent descriptive dialogue which ensues. On her first looking forth, she reports, that

"The skirts of the wood seem lined with archers, although only a few are advanced from its dark shadow." — "Under what

banner?" asked Ivanhoe. — "Under no ensign of war which I can observe," answered Rebecca. — "A singular novelty," muttered the knight, "to advance to storm such a castle without pennon or banner displayed.—See'st thou who they be that act as leaders?" — "A knight, clad in sable armour, is the most conspicuous," said the Jewess; "he alone is armed from head to heel, and seems to assume the direction of all around him." — "What device does he bear on his shield?" replied Ivanhoe. — "Something resembling a bar of iron, and a padlock painted blue on the black shield." — "A fetterlock and shackle bolt azure," said Ivanhoe; "I know not who may bear the device, but well I ween it might now be mine own. Canst thou not see the motto?" — "Scarce the device itself at this distance," replied Rebecca; "but when the sun glances fair upon his shield, it shows as I tell you." — "Seem there no other leaders?" exclaimed the anxious inquirer. — "None of mark and distinction that I can behold from this station," said Rebecca; "but, doubtless, the other side of the castle is also assailed. They seem even now preparing to advance.—God of Zion, protect us!—What a dreadful sight!—Those who advance first bear huge shields, and defences made of plank; the others follow, bending their bows as they come on.—They raise their bows!—God of Moses, forgive the creatures thou hast made!" — Her description was here suddenly interrupted by the signal for assault, which was given by the blast of a shrill bugle, and at once answered by a flourish of the Norman trumpets from the battlements, which, mingled with the deep and hollow clang of the nakers (a species of kettle-drum), retorted in notes of defiance the challenge of the enemy. — "And I must lie here like a bedridden monk," exclaimed Ivanhoe, "while the game that gives me freedom or death is played out by the hand of others!—Look from the window once again, kind maiden, but beware that you are not marked by the archers beneath—Look out once more, and tell me if they yet advance to the storm." — With patient courage, strengthened by the interval which she had employed in mental devotion, Rebecca again took post at the lattice, sheltering herself, however, so as not to be visible from beneath. — "What dost thou see, Rebecca?" again demanded the wounded knight. — "Nothing but the cloud of arrows, flying so thick as to dazzle mine eyes, and to hide the bowmen who shoot them." — "That cannot endure," said Ivanhoe; "if they press not right on to carry the castle by pure force of arms, the archery may avail but little against stone walls and bulwarks. Look for the knight of the fetterlock, fair Rebecca, and see how he bears himself; for as the leader is, so will his followers be." — "I see him not," said Rebecca. — "Foul craven!" exclaimed Ivanhoe; "does he blench from the helm when the wind blows highest?" — "He blenches not! he blenches not!" said Rebecca, "I see him now; he leads a body of men close under the outer barrier of the barbican.—They pull down the piles and palisades; they hew down the barriers with axes—His high black plume floats abroad over the throng, like

a raven over the field of the slain.—They have made a breach in the barriers—they rush in—they are thrust back!—Front-de-Bœuf heads the defenders, I see his gigantic form above the press. They throng again to the breach, and the pass is disputed hand to hand and man to man. God of Jacob! it is the meeting of two fierce tides—the conflict of two oceans moved by adverse winds.”

“She turned her head from the lattice, as if unable longer to endure a sight so terrible.—“Look forth again, Rebecca,” said Ivanhoe, mistaking the cause of her retiring; “the archery must in some degree have ceased, since they are now fighting hand to hand—Look again, there is now less danger.”—Rebecca again looked forth, and almost immediately exclaimed, “Holy prophets of the law! Front-de-Bœuf and the Black Knight fight hand to hand on the breach, amid the roar of their followers, who watch the progress of the strife—Heaven strike with the cause of the oppressed and of the captive!” She then uttered a loud shriek, and exclaimed, “He is down!—he is down!”—“Who is down?” cried Ivanhoe; “for our dear Lady’s sake, tell me which has fallen?”—“The Black Knight,” answered Rebecca, faintly; then instantly again shouted with joyful eagerness—“But no—but no!—the name of the Lord of Hosts be blessed!—he is on foot again, and fights as if there were twenty men’s strength in his single arm—His sword is broken—he snatches an axe from a yeoman—he presses Front-de-Bœuf with blow on blow—The giant stoops and totters like an oak under the steel of the woodman—he falls—he falls!”—“Front-de-Bœuf!” exclaimed Ivanhoe.—“Front-de-Bœuf,” answered the Jewess; “his men rush to the rescue, headed by the haughty Templar—their united force compels the champion to pause—They drag Front-de-Bœuf within the walls.”—“The assailants have won the barriers, have they not?” said Ivanhoe.—“They have—they have—and they press the besieged hard upon the outer wall; some plant ladders, some swarm like bees, and endeavour to ascend upon the shoulders of each other—down go stones, beams, and trunks of trees upon their heads, and as fast as they bear the wounded to the rear, fresh men supply their places in the assault—Great God! hast thou given men thine own image, that it should be thus cruelly defaced by the hands of their brethren!”—“Think not of that,” replied Ivanhoe; “this is no time for such thoughts.—Who yield?—who push their way?”—“The ladders are thrown down,” replied Rebecca, shuddering; “the soldiers lie grovelling under them like crushed reptiles—the besieged have the better.”—“Saint George strike for us,” said the Knight, “do the false yeomen give way?”—“No!” exclaimed Rebecca, “they bear themselves right yeomanly—the Black Knight approaches the postern with his huge axe—the thundering blows which he deals, you may hear them above all the din and shouts of the battle—stones and beams are hailed down on the bold champion—he regards them no more than if they were thistle-down or feathers.”—“By St John of Acre,” said Ivanhoe, raising him-

self joyfully on his couch, "methought there was but one man in England that might do such a deed."—"The postern gate shakes," continued Rebecca; "it crushes—it is splintered by his blows—they rush in—the out-work is won—Oh God!—they hurry the defenders from the battlements—they throw them into the moat—O men, if ye be indeed men, spare them that can resist no longer!"—"The bridge—the bridge which communicates with the castle—have they won that pass?" exclaimed Ivanhoe.—"No," replied Rebecca, "the Templar has destroyed the plank on which they crossed—few of the defenders escaped with him into the castle—the shrieks and cries which you hear tell the fate of the others—Alas! I see that it is still more difficult to look upon victory than upon battle."—"Seest thou nothing else, Rebecca, by which the Black Knight may be distinguished?"—"Nothing," said the Jewess; "all about him is black as the wing of the night raven. Nothing can I spy that can mark him further—but having once seen him put forth his strength in battle, methinks I could know him again among a thousand warriors. He rushes to the fray as if he were summoned to a banquet. There is more than mere strength—there seems as if the whole soul and spirit of the champion were given to every blow which he deals upon his enemies. God assoilzie him of the sin of bloodshed!—it is fearful, yet magnificent, to behold how the arm and heart of one man can triumph over hundreds." II. 290-301.

The roar of the combat is now hushed for a season, while the assailants collect their strength in the position they have won; and the exhausted frame of Ivanhoe sinks into slumber at the first cessation of the excitement. The heroic Jewess bends over him with emotions warmer and deeper than those of mere compassion.

"He sleeps!" she said; "nature exhausted by sufferance and the waste of spirits, his wearied frame embraces the first moment of temporary relaxation to sink into slumber. Alas! is it a crime that I should look upon him, when it may be for the last time?—When yet but a short space, and those fair features will be no longer animated by the bold and buoyant spirit which forsakes them not even in sleep!—When the nostril shall be distended, the mouth agape, the eyes fixed and blood-shot; and when the proud and noble knight may be trodden on by the lowest caitiff of this accursed castle, yet stir not when the heel is lifted up against him!—And my father!—oh, my father! evil is it with his daughter, when his grey hairs are not remembered because of the golden locks of youth!—What know I but that these evils are the messengers of Jehovah's wrath to the unnatural child, who thinks of a stranger's captivity before a parent's? who forgets the desolation of Judah, and looks upon the comeliness of a Gentile and a stranger?—But, I will tear this folly from my heart, though every fibre bleed as I rend it away!"—She wrapped herself closely in her veil, and sat down at a distance from the couch of the wounded knight, with her back turned towards it, fortifying or

endeavouring to fortify her mind, not only against the impending evils from without, but also against those treacherous feelings which assailed her from within.' II. 306, 307.

The rest of the storming of the castle is equally magnificent with what we have extracted. The Black Knight thunders at the gates, and, bearing down all opposition, forces his way, followed by the valiant Cedric, into the court-yard. The men-at-arms fall before the shafts of the unerring bowyer of Sherwood; and, in the mean time, the vengeful hag sets fire to the castle in the rear, and, after bawling curses in the ear of the dying Front de-Bœuf, stations herself on a lofty turret in the midst of the flames, and then singing a strain of wild and demoniac execration, leaps madly into the heart of the conflagration.—De Bracy is made captive by the Black Knight; who rescues Ivanhoe just as the flames are ascending to his couch—and Cedric does as much for Rowena. But the Templar, after leveling the noble Athelstane to the earth, seizes the lovely Rebecca; and, making a desperate sally, cuts his way through the assailants, and makes clear off with his prize. The poor Jew is rescued by the jolly Friar, who, peering into the cellars in quest of a cup of liquor, stumbles upon his dungeon;—and captives and victors are soon assembled to divide the spoil before the sylvan throne of the gallant Locksley.—De Bracy is dismissed by the Black Knight, who receives from the hand of Locksley a bugle horn, on the winding of which in any part of the midland forest, he is assured that resort will be made for his rescue.—Gurth obtains his freedom for his gallant services; and Cedric and Rowena march off to prepare for the funeral of Athelstane.—The Jew and the Friar are handsomely ransomed by the outlaws; and the former sets forward to the Precceptory of the Templars, to which he understood that Rebecca had been conducted, in order to negotiate for her rescue.

In the mean time, the treacherous John learns from De Bracy, what our more sagacious readers have probably already discovered, that the Black Knight of the Fetterlock is no other than Richard of the Lion Heart himself;—and basely despatches a band of mercenaries to beset and assassinate him in the woods, before he has an opportunity of rearing his royal standard, or strengthening himself in the love of his people.—This company of caitiffs accordingly overtake him, with no better escort than the faithful jester of Cedric,—who again does better service than could have been expected from a better man. As they are jogging gaily on, the sage Wamba observes,

“ And now let Valour rouse himself, and shake his mane; for, if I mistake not, there are company in yonder brake that are on the look-out for us.” — “ What makes thee judge so?” said the Knight.

— “ Because I have twice or thrice noticed the glance of a morrion from amongst the green leaves. Had they been honest men, they had kept the path. But yonder thicket is a choice chapel for the Clerks to St Nicholas.” — “ By my faith,” said the Knight, closing his visor, “ I think thou be’st in the right on’t.” — And in good time did he close it, for three arrows flew at the same instant from the suspected spot against his head and breast, one of which would have penetrated to the brain, had it not been turned aside by the steel visor. The other two were averted by the gorget, and by the shield which hung around his neck. — “ Thanks, trusty armourer,” said the Knight. — “ Wamba, let us close with them,” — and he rode straight to the thicket. He was met by six or seven men-at-arms, who ran against him with their lances at full career. Three of the weapons struck against him, and splintered with as little effect as if they had been driven against a tower of steel. The Black Knight’s eyes seemed to flash fire even through the aperture of his visor. He raised himself in his stirrups with an air of inexpressible dignity, and exclaimed, “ What means this, my masters ! ” — The men made no other reply than by drawing their swords and attacking him on every side, crying, “ Die, tyrant ! ” — “ Ha ! Saint Edward ! Ha ! Saint George ! ” said the Black Knight, striking down a man at every invocation ; “ have we traitors here ? ” — The assailants, desperate as they were, bore back from an arm which carried death in every blow ; and it seemed as if the terror of his single strength was about to gain the battle against such odds, when a knight, in blue armour, who had hitherto kept himself behind the other assailants, spurred forward with his lance, and taking aim, not at the rider but at the steed, wounded the noble animal mortally. — “ That was a felon stroke ! ” exclaimed the Black Knight, as the steed fell to the earth, bearing his rider along with him. — And at this moment, Wamba winded the bugle, for the whole had passed so speedily that he had not time to do so sooner. The sudden sound made the murderers bear back once more ; and Wamba, though so imperfectly weaponed, did not hesitate to rush in and assist the Black Knight to arise. — “ Shame on ye, false cowards ! ” exclaimed the Knight, who seemed to lead the assailants ; “ do ye fly from the empty blast of a horn blown by a Jester ? ”

The Jester now hovered on the skirts of the fight, and effectually checked the fatal career of the Blue Knight, by hamstringing his horse with a stroke of his sword. Horse and man went to the ground ; yet the situation of the Knight of the Fetterlock continued very precarious, as he was pressed close by several men completely armed, and began to be fatigued by the violent exertions necessary to defend himself on so many points at nearly the same moment, when a gray-goose shaft suddenly stretched on the earth one of the most formidable of his assailants, and a band of yeomen broke forth from the glade, headed by Locksley and the jovial Friar, who, taking ready and effectual part in the fray, soon dis-

posed of the assailants, all of whom lay on the spot dead or mortally wounded. The Black Knight thanked his deliverers with a dignity they had not observed in his former bearing, which hitherto seemed rather that of a blunt bold soldier, than of a person of exalted rank. — "It concerns me much," he said, "even before I express my full gratitude to my ready friends, to discover, if I may, who have been my unprovoked enemies.—Open the visor of that Blue Knight, Wamba, who seems the chief of these villains."

The Jester instantly made up to the leader of the assassins, who, bruised by his fall, and entangled under the wounded steed, lay incapable either of flight or resistance. — "Come, valiant sir," said Wamba, "I must be your armourer as well as your equerry—I have dismounted you, and now I will unhelm you." — So saying, with no very gentle hand he undid the helmet of the Blue Knight, which, rolling to a distance on the grass, displayed to the Knight of the Fetterlock grizzled locks, and a countenance he did not expect to have seen under such circumstances. — "Waldemar Fitzurse!" he said in astonishment; "what could urge one of thy rank and seeming worth to so foul an undertaking?—Stand back, my masters, I would speak to him alone.—And now, Waldemar Fitzurse, say me the truth,—confess who set thee on this traitorous deed." — "Thy father's son," answered Waldemar, "who, in so doing, did but avenge on thee thy disobedience to thy father." — Richard's eyes sparkled with indignation; but his better nature overcame it. He pressed his hand against his brow, and remained an instant gazing on the face of the humbled baron, in whose features pride was contending with shame. — "Thou dost not ask thy life, Waldemar," said the King. — "He that is in the lion's clutch," answered Fitzurse, "knows it were needless." — "Take it then unasked," said Richard; "the lion preys not on prostrate carcasses." — "Let this knight have a steed, Locksley, for I see your yeomen have caught those which were running loose, and let him depart unharmed." — "But that I judge I listen to a voice whose behests must not be disputed," answered the yeoman, "I would send a shaft after the skulking villain, that should spare him the labour of a long journey." — "Thou bearest an English heart, Locksley," said the Black Knight, "and well dost judge thou art the more bound to obey my behest—I am Richard of England!"

At these words, pronounced in a tone of majesty suited to the high rank, and no less distinguished character, of Cœur de Lion, the yeomen at once kneeled down before him, and at the same time tendered their allegiance, and implored pardon for their offences. — "Rise, my friends," said Richard, in a gracious tone, looking on them with a countenance in which his habitual good humour had already conquered the blaze of hasty resentment, and whose features retained no mark of the late desperate conflict, excepting the flush arising from exertion, — "Arise," he said, "my friends!—Your misdemeanours, whether in forest or field, have been atoned by the loyal services you render-

ed my distressed subjects before the walls of Torquilstone, and the rescue you have this day afforded to your sovereign. Arise, my liegemen, and be good subjects in future.—And thou, brave Locksley”——“ Call me no longer Locksley, my liege, but know me under the name, which, I fear, fame hath blown too widely not to have reached even your royal ears—I am Robin Hood, of Sherwood Forest.” — “ King of Outlaws, and Prince of good fellows!” said the King, “ who hath not heard a name that has been borne as far as Palestine? But be assured, brave Outlaw, that no deed done in our absence, and in the turbulent times to which it hath given rise, shall be remembered to thy disadvantage.” III. 253–261.

We must hurry over the rest of the story.—Ivanhoe, though still suffering from his wounds, now joins the monarch, and repairs with him to the castle of Athelstane, whose whole vassalage are engaged in the festivities that constituted his funeral rites,—and, by the powerful intercession of his royal patron, is at last reconciled to his father, whose consent to his alliance with Rowena might now be reasonably expected, since his favoured rival is withdrawn. This hope, however, is somewhat strangely overcast, and the funeral preparations suddenly interrupted, by the very unexpected apparition of the worthy Athelstane, himself,—attired indeed in the habiliments of the grave—but in perfect vigour of health and appetite, and clamouring lustily for a share of the viands so profusely prepared in honour of his memory. This is the most extravagant and foolish of all the incidents in the book, and seems introduced out of the very wantonness of merriment. It is very clumsily explained, by supposing that he had recovered from the stupor of the Templar’s blow, after he was laid in his coffin; and that the monks, in whose charge he was placed, had prevented his escape. This little dip into Tartarus, however, as well as some of the things he had seen recently before it, seems entirely to have extinguished the very feeble spark of love which had led him to solicit the alliance of the unwilling Rowena; and he now formally abjures his pretensions. The hopes of Ivanhoe, of course, are revived; and he is again about to urge his suit, when, upon a billet being put into his hands by an unknown messenger, he instantly darts from the presence, throws himself on horseback, and, feeble and suffering as he still was from his wounds, rides furiously away.

To explain this sudden movement, it is necessary to go back to the concerns of the daring Templar and the lovely Rebecca. He lodges her safely in the precinct of the Preceptory of Templestowe; but is soon detected by the severe and bigotted eye of the venerable Grand Master of his order, who had come rather unseasonably over to England, to visit and reform the discipline of his insular establishments. To save his friend the

Templar, and the credit of his own house, the Warden gives out that Rebecca had prevailed on her lover, by philters, sorceries and incantations; and that his apparently profligate conduct was owing to the spells with which her hellish art had bound him; and, under this impression, the heroic maiden is solemnly arraigned on the capital charge of sorcery and witchcraft. The trial is set forth learnedly, and with poetical effect; but we have been too lavish of our citations to be able now to afford any considerable report of it. The following short passage conveys a striking picture.

At this period of the trial, the Grand Master commanded Rebecca to unveil herself. Opening her lips for the first time, she replied patiently, but with dignity,—“That it was not the wont of the daughters of her people to uncover their faces when alone in an assembly of strangers.” The sweet tones of her voice, and the softness of her reply, impressed on the audience a sentiment of pity and sympathy. But Beaumanoir, in whose mind the suppression of each feeling of humanity which could interfere with his imagined duty, was a virtue of itself, repeated his commands that his victim should be unveiled. The guards were about to remove her veil accordingly, when she stood up before the Grand Master and said, “Nay, but for the love of your own daughters—Alas,” she said, recollecting herself, “ye have no daughters!—but for the remembrance of your mothers—for the love of your sisters, and of female decency, let me not be thus handled in your presence; it suits not a maiden to be disrobed by such rude grooms. I will obey you,” she added, with an expression of patient sorrow in her voice, which had almost melted the heart of Beaumanoir himself; “ye are elders among your people, and at your command I will show the features of an ill-fated maiden.”—She withdrew her veil, and looked on them with a countenance in which bashfulness contended with dignity. Her exceeding beauty excited a murmur of surprise; and the younger knights told each other with their eyes, in silent correspondence, that Brian’s best apology was in the power of her real charms, rather than of her imaginary witchcraft. III. 174, 175.

The evidence was sufficient to convince a superstitious auditory of her guilt; and she was asked if she had any thing to say against the sentence she had incurred.

“To invoke your pity,” said the lovely Jewess, with a voice somewhat tremulous with emotion, “would, I am aware, be as useless as I should hold it mean. To state that to relieve the sick and wounded of another religion, cannot be displeasing to the acknowledged Founder of both our faiths, were also unavailing; to plead that many things which these men (whom may Heaven pardon!) have spoken against me are impossible, would avail me but little, since you believe in their possibility; and still less would it advantage me to explain, that the peculiarities of my dress, language, and manners,

are those of my people—I had well nigh said of my country—but alas! we have no country. Nor will I even vindicate myself at the expense of my oppressor, who stands there listening to the fictions and surmises which seem to convert the tyrant into the victim.—God be judge between him and me! but rather would I submit to ten such deaths as your pleasure may denounce against me, than listen to the suit which that man of Belial has urged upon me—friendless, defenceless, and his prisoner. But he is of your own faith, and his lightest affirmance would weigh down the most solemn protestations of the distressed Jewess. I will not therefore return to himself the charge brought against me;—but to himself—yes, Brian de Bois-Guilbert, to thyself I appeal, whether these accusations are not false? as monstrous and calumnious as they are deadly?” — There was a pause; all eyes turned to Brian de Bois-Guilbert. He was silent. — “Speak,” she said, “if thou art a man—if thou art a Christian, speak!—I conjure thee, by the habit which thou dost wear—by the name thou dost inherit—by the knighthood thou dost vaunt—by the honour of thy mother—by the tomb and the bones of thy father—I conjure thee to say, are these things true?” III. 180, 181.

The Templar, choked by contending passions, remains silent, and can with difficulty recal her attention to a scroll he had privately handed to her, suggesting that she should demand a champion to prove her innocence in battle. His silence is construed by the judicious brotherhood to be the effect of her continued sorcery; and the Grand Master resumes—

“Rebecca, thou canst derive no benefit from the evidence of this unhappy knight, for whom, as we well perceive, the Enemy is yet too powerful. Hast thou aught else to say?” — “There is yet one chance of life left to me,” said Rebecca, “even by your own fierce laws. Life has been miserable—miserable, at least, of late—but I will not cast away the gift of God, while he affords me the means of defending it. I deny this charge—I maintain my innocence, and I declare the falsehood of this accusation—I challenge the privilege of trial by combat, and will appear by my champion.” — “And who, Rebecca,” replied the Grand Master, “will lay lance in rest for a sorceress?—who will be the champion of a Jewess?” — “God will raise me up a champion,” said Rebecca—“It cannot be that in merry England—the hospitable, the generous, the free, where so many are ready to peril their lives for honour, there shall not be found one to fight for justice. But it is enough that I challenge the trial by combat—there lies my gage.” — She took her embroidered glove from her hand, and flung it down before the Grand Master with an air of mingled simplicity and dignity, which excited universal surprise and admiration.

Even Lucas Beaumanoir himself was affected by the mien and appearance of Rebecca. He was not originally a cruel or even a severe man; but with passions by nature cold, and with a high, though mistaken, sense of duty, his heart had been gradually harden-

ed by the ascetic life which he pursued, the supreme power which he enjoyed, and the supposed necessity of subduing infidelity and eradicating heresy, which he conceived peculiarly incumbent on him. His features relaxed in their usual severity as he gazed upon the beautiful creature before him, alone, unfriended, and defending herself with so much spirit and courage. He crossed himself twice, as doubting whence arose the unwonted softening of a heart, which on such occasions used to resemble in hardness, the steel of his sword. At length he spoke—

"Damsel," he said, "if the pity I feel for thee arise from any practice thine evil arts have made on me, great is thy guilt. But I rather judge it the kinder feelings of nature which grieves that so goodly a form should be a vessel of perdition. Repent, my daughter—confess thy witchcrafts—turn thee from thine evil faith—embrace this holy emblem, and all shall yet be well with thee here and hereafter. In some sisterhood of the strictest order, shalt thou have time for prayer and fitting penance, and that repentance not to be repented of. This do and live—what has the law of Moses done for thee that thou shouldest die for it?"—"It was the law of my fathers," said Rebecca; "it was delivered in thunders and in storms upon the mountain of Sinai, in cloud and in fire. This, if ye are Christians, ye believe—it is, you say, recalled, but so my teachers have not taught me."—"Let our chaplain," said Beaumanoir, "stand forth, and tell this obstinate infidel"—"Forgive the interruption," said Rebecca, meekly; "I am a maiden, unskilled to dispute for my religion—but I can die for it, if it be God's will.—Let me pray your answer to my demand of a champion."—"Give me her glove," said Beaumanoir. "This is indeed," he continued, as he looked at the flimsy texture and slender fingers, "a slight and frail gage for a purpose so deadly—Seest thou, Rebecca, as this thin and light glove of thine is to one of our heavy steel gauntlets, so is thy cause to that of the Temple, for it is our Order which thou hast defied."—"Cast my innocence into the scale," answered Rebecca, "and the glove of silk shall outweigh the glove of iron."—"Then thou doest persist in thy refusal to confess thy guilt, and in that bold challenge which thou hast made?"—"I do persist, noble sir," answered Rebecca.—"So be it then, in the name of Heaven," said the Grand Master; "and may God show the right!"—"Amen!" replied the Preceptors around him, and the word was deeply echoed by the whole assembly. III. 182–187.

The gage of battle is now delivered to the Templar himself, as the proper avenger of his own wrongs and that of the Order; and the third day is appointed for the combat. Rebecca writes to her father, whose agony, on learning her condition, is described with great pathos; but it is less affecting than the letter of the damsel herself, which appears to us to be one of the finest imitations we have ever met with, of the simple and heart-searching pathos of the Scriptures. It is of this tenor.

"My father, I am as one doomed to die for that which my soul knoweth not—even for the crime of witchcraft. My father, if a strong man can be found to do battle for my cause with sword and spear, according to the custom of the Nazarenes, and that within the lists of Godstowe, on the third day from this time, peradventure our fathers' God will give him strength to defend the innocent, and her who hath none to help her. But if this may not be, let the virgins of our people mourn for me as for one cast off, and for the hart that is stricken by the hunter, and for the flower which is cut down by the scythe of the mower. Wherefore look now what thou doest, and whether there be any rescue. One Nazarene warrior might indeed bear arms in my behalf, even Wilfrid, son of Cedric, whom the Gentiles call *Ivanhoe*. But he may not yet endure the weight of his armour. Nevertheless, send the tidings unto him, my father; for he hath favour among the strong men of his people, and, as he was our companion in the house of bondage, he may find some one to do battle for my sake. And say unto him, even unto him, even unto Wilfrid, the son of Cedric, that if Rebecca live, or if Rebecca die, she liveth or dieth wholly free of the guilt she is charged withal. And if it be the will of God that thou shalt be deprived of thy daughter, do not thou tarry, old man, in this land of bloodshed and cruelty; but betake thyself to Cordova, where thy brother liveth in safety, under the shadow of the throne, even of the throne of Boabdil the Saracen; for less cruel are the cruelties of the Moors unto the race of Jacob, than the cruelties of the Nazarenes of England." III. 198–200.

There is a superb scene between her and the Templar, in which he urges her to fly with him; and offers, for her sake, to renounce all his darling and long-cherished schemes of ambition, and to devote his life to her happiness and honour. When this is rejected with calm and compassionate disdain, he informs her that he must then enter the lists against her,—since he cannot make this great sacrifice for nothing less than her. We can give out the close of this noble dialogue, which, with a very little alteration, would make a more striking scene in tragedy, than any that has been offered for the stage for more than a century. The whole strain of it is dramatic and poetical, and the interest of the most exalted description. Towards the close, when the Templar says, that when he looks on her, he could almost wish that he had been born one of her degraded and ignoble race, and never known the pride of honourable daring, the national pride of the devoted maiden is kindled, even in that hour of personal misery; and she bids him

"Know, proud knight, we number names amongst us to which our boasted northern nobility is as the gourd compared with the cedar—names that ascend far back to those high times when the Divine Presence shook the mercy-seat between the cherubim, and which de-

give their splendour from no earthly prince, but from the awful Voice, which bade their fathers be nearest of the congregation to the Vision—Such were the princes of the House of Jacob.”—Rebecca’s colour rose as she boasted the ancient glories of her race, but faded as she added, with a sigh, “Such *were* the princes of Judah, now such no more!—They are trampled down like the shorn grass, and mixed with the mire of the ways. Yet are there those among them who shame not such high descent, and of such shall be the daughter of Isaac the son of Adonikam!—Farewell!—I envy not thy blood-won honours—I envy not thy barbarous descent from northern heathens—I envy thee not thy faith, which is ever in thy mouth, but never in thy heart nor in thy practice.”—“There is a spell on me, by Heaven!” said Bois-Guilbert. “I well nigh think yon besotted skeleton spoke truth, and that the reluctance with which I part from thee hath something in it more than is natural.—Fair creature!” he said, approaching near her, but with great respect,—“so young, so beautiful, so fearless of death! and yet doomed to die, and with infamy and agony! Who would not weep for thee?—The tear, that has been a stranger to these eyelids for twenty years, moistens them as I gaze on thee. But it must be—nothing may now save thy life. Thou and I are but the blind instruments of some irresistible fatality, that hurries us along, like goodly vessels driving before the storm, which are dashed against each other, and so perish. Forgive me, then, and let us part at least as friends part. I have assailed thy resolution in vain, and mine own is fixed as the adamantine decrees of fate.”—“Thus,” said Rebecca, “do men throw on fate the issue of their own wild passions. But I do forgive thee, Bois-Guilbert, though the author of my early death. There are noble things which cross over thy powerful mind; but it is the garden of the sluggard, and the weeds have rushed up, and conspired to choak the fair and wholesome blossom.”—“Yes,” said the Templar, “I am, Rebecca, as thou hast spoken me. I have been a child of battle from my youth upward, high in my views, steady and inflexible in pursuing them. Such must I remain—proud, inflexible, and unchanging; and of this the world shall have proof.—But thou forgivest me, Rebecca?”—“As freely as ever victim forgave her executioner.”—“Farewell, then,” said the Templar, and left the apartment. III. 221–224.

The appointed day at last arrives. Rebecca is led out to the scaffold—faggots are prepared by the side of the lists—and in the lists appears the relentless Templar, mounted and armed for the encounter. No champion appears for Rebecca; and the heralds ask her if she yields herself as justly condemned.

“Say to the Grand Master,” replied Rebecca, “that I maintain my innocence, and do not yield me as justly condemned, lest I become guilty of mine own blood. Say to him, that I challenge such delay as his forms will permit, to see if God, whose opportunity is in man’s extremity, will raise me up a deliverer; and when such uttermost space is passed, may his Holy will be done!” The herald re-

tired to carry this answer to the Grand Master. — " God forbid," said Lucas Beaumanoir, " that Jew or Pagan should impeach us of injustice.—Until the shadows be cast from the west to the eastward, will we wait to see if a champion will appear for this unfortunate woman. When the day is so far passed, let her prepare for death " — The herald communicated the words of the Grand Master to Rebecca, who bowed her head submissively, folded her arms, and, looking up towards heaven, seemed to expect that aid from above which she could scarce promise herself from man.' III. 234, 235.

The hours pass away—and the shadows begin to pass to the eastward. The assembled multitudes murmur with impatience and compassion—and the Judges whisper to each other, that it is time to proceed to doom.

' At this instant a knight, urging his horse to speed, appeared on the plain advancing towards the lists. An hundred voices exclaimed, " A champion! a champion!" And, despite the prepossession and prejudices of the multitude, they shouted unanimously as the knight rode into the tilt-yard. The second glance, however, served to destroy the hope that his timely-arrival had excited. His horse, urged for many miles to its utmost speed, appeared to reel from fatigue, and the rider, however undauntedly he presented himself in the lists, either from weakness, weariness, or both, seemed scarce able to support himself in the saddle. — To the summons of the herald, who demanded his rank, his name, and purpose, the stranger knight answered readily and boldly, " I am a good knight and noble, come hither to sustain with lance and sword the just and lawful quarrel of this damsel, Rebecca, daughter of Isaac of York; to uphold the doom pronounced against her to be false and truthless, and to defy Sir Brian de Bois-Guilbert, as a traitor: murderer, and liar; as I will prove in this field with my body against his, by the aid of God, of Our Lady, and of Monseigneur Saint George, the good knight." " The stranger must first show," said Malvoisin, " that he is a good Knight, and of honourable lineage. The Temple sendeth not forth her champions against nameless men." — " My name," said the Knight, raising his helmet, " is better known, my lineage more pure, Malvoisin, than thine own. I am Wilfrid of Ivanhoe." — " I will not fight with thee," said the Templar, in a changed and hollow voice. " Get thy wounds healed, purvey thee a better horse, and it may be I will hold it worth my while to scourge out of thee this boyish spirit of bravade." — " Ha! proud Templar," said Ivanhoe, " hast thou forgotten that twice didst thou fall before this lance? Remember the lists at Acre—remember the Passage of Arms at Ashby—remember thy proud vaunt in the halls of Rotherwood, and the gage of your gold chain against my reliquary, that thou wouldst do battle with Wilfrid of Ivanhoe, and recover the honour thou hadst lost! By that reliquary, and the holy relique it contains, I will proclaim thee, Templar, a coward in every court in Europe—in every

Preceptory of thine Order—unless thou do battle without farther delay." — Bois-Guilbert turned his countenance irresolutely towards Rebecca, and then exclaimed looking fiercely at Ivanhoe, "Dog of a Saxon, take thy lance, and prepare for the death thou hast drawn upon thee!" — "Does the Grand Master allow me the combat?" said Ivanhoe. — "I may not deny what you have challenged," said the Grand Master, "providing the maiden accepts thee as her champion. Yet I would thou wert in better plight to do battle. An enemy of our Order hast thou ever been, yet would I have thee honourably met with." — "Thus—thus as I am, and not otherwise," said Ivanhoe; "it is the judgment of God—to his keeping I commend myself.—Rebecca," said he, riding up to the fatal chair, "dost thou accept of me for thy champion?" — "I do," she said—"I do," flattered by an emotion which the fear of death had been unable to produce, "I do accept thee as the champion whom Heaven hath sent me. Yet, no—no—thy wounds are uncured—Meet not that proud man—why shouldst thou perish also?" — But Ivanhoe was already at his post, and had closed his visor, and assumed his lance.' III. 339-342.

We cannot make room for the whole of this catastrophe. The overtired horse of Ivanhoe falls in the shock; but the Templar, though scarcely touched by the lance of his adversary, reels, and falls also;—and, when they seek to raise him, is found to be utterly dead!—a victim to his own contending passions.

We will give but one scene more—and it is in honour of the divine Rebecca—for the fate of all the rest may easily be divined. Richard forgives his brother; and Wilfrid weds Rowena.

'It was upon the second morning after this happy bridal, that the Lady Rowena was made acquainted by her handmaid Elgitha, that a damsel desired admission to her presence, and solicited that their parley might be without witness. Rowena wondered, hesitated, became curious, and ended by commanding the damsel to be admitted, and her attendants to withdraw. — She entered—a noble and commanding figure, the long white veil in which she was shrouded, overshadowing rather than concealing the elegance and majesty of her shape. Her demeanour was that of respect, unmingled by the least shade either of fear, or of a wish to propitiate favour. Rowena was ever ready to acknowledge the claims, and attend to the feelings of others. She arose, and would have conducted the lovely stranger to a seat; but she looked at Elgitha, and again intimated a wish to discourse with the Lady Rowena alone. Elgitha had no sooner retired with unwilling steps, than, to the surprise of the Lady of Ivanhoe, her fair visitant kneeled on one knee, pressed her hands to her forehead, and, bending her head to the ground, in spite of Rowena's resistance, kissed the embroidered hem of her tunic. — "What means this?" said the surprised bride; "or why do you offer to me a deference so

unusual?"—"Because to you, Lady of Ivanhoe," said Rebecca, rising up and resuming the usual quiet dignity of her manner, "I may lawfully, and without rebuke, pay the debt of gratitude which I owe to Wilfrid of Ivanhoe. I am—forgive the boldness which has offered to you the homage of my country—I am the unhappy Jewess, for whom your husband hazarded his life against such fearful odds in the ~~the~~ yard of Templestowe."—"Damsel," said Rowena, "Wilfrid of Ivanhoe on that day rendered back but in a slight measure your unceasing charity towards him in his wounds and misfortunes. Speak, is there aught remains in which he and I can serve thee?"—"Nothing," said Rebecca, calmly, "unless you will transmit to him my grateful farewell."—"You leave England, then," said Rowena, scarce recovering the surprise of this extraordinary visit.—"I leave it, lady, ere this moon again changes. My father hath a brother high in favour with Mohammed Boabdil, King of Grenada—thither we go, secure of peace and protection, for the payment of such ransom as the Moslem exact from our people."—"And are you not then as well protected in England?" said Rowena. "My husband has favour with the King—the King himself is just and generous."—"Lady," said Rebecca, "I doubt it not—but the people of England are a fierce race, quarrelling ever with their neighbours or among themselves, and ready to plunge the sword into the bowels of each other. Such is no safe abode for the children of my people. Ephraim is an heartless dove—Issachar an over-laboured drudge, which stoops between two burthens. Not in a land of war and blood, surrounded by hostile neighbours, and distracted by internal factions, can Israel hope to rest during her wanderings."—"But you, maiden," said Rowena—"you surely can have nothing to fear. She who nursed the sick-bed of Ivanhoe," she continued, rising with enthusiasm—"she can have nothing to fear in England, where Saxon and Norman will contend who shall most do her honour."—"Thy speech is fair, lady," said Rebecca, "and thy purpose fairer; but it may not be—there is a gulph betwixt us. Our breeding, our faith, alike forbid either to pass over it. Farewell—yet, ere I go, indulge me one request. The bridal-veil hangs over thy face; raise it, and let me see the features of which fame speaks so highly."—"They are scarce worthy of being looked upon," said Rowena; "but, expecting the same from my visitant, I remove the veil."—She took it off accordingly, and partly from the consciousness of beauty, partly from bashfulness, she blushed so intently, that cheek, brow, neck, and bosom, were suffused with crimson. Rebecca blushed also, but it was a momentary feeling; and, mastered by higher emotions, past slowly from her features like the crimson cloud, which changes colour when the sun sinks beneath the horizon.

"Lady," she said, "the countenance you have deigned to show me will long dwell in my remembrance. There reigns in it gentleness and goodness; and if a tinge of the world's pride or vanities may mix with an expression so lovely, how may we chide

that which is of earth for bearing some colour of its original? Long long will I remember your features, and bless God that I leave my noble deliverer united with"—She stopped short—her eyes filled with tears. She hastily wiped them, and answered to the anxious inquiries of Rowena—"I am well, Lady—well. But my heart swells when I think of Torquilstone and the lists of Templestowe.—Farewell. One, the most trifling part of my duty, remains unperformed. Accept this casket—startle not at its contents."—Rowena opened the small silver chased casket, and perceived a casket of precious stones, with ear-jewels, of diamonds, which were visibly of immense value.—"It is impossible," she said, tendering back the casket—"I dare not accept a gift of such consequence."—"Yet keep it, lady," returned Rebecca.—"You have power, rank, command, influence; we have wealth, the source both of our strength and weakness; the value of these toys, ten times multiplied, would not influence half so much as your slightest wish. To you, therefore, the gift is of little value—and to me, what I part with is of much less. Let me not think you deem so wretchedly ill of my nation as your commons believe. Think ye that I prize these sparkling fragments of stone above my liberty? or that my father values them in comparison to the honour of his only child? Accept them, lady—to me they are valueless—I will never wear jewels more."—"You are then unhappy," said Rowena, struck with the manner in which Rebecca uttered the last words. "O, remain with us—the counsel of holy men will wean you from your unhappy law, and I will be a sister to you."—"No, lady," answered Rebecca, the same calm melancholy reigning in her soft voice and beautiful features—"that may not be. I may not change the faith of my fathers like a garment unsuited to the climate in which I seek to dwell; and unhappy, lady, I will not be. He, to whom I dedicate my future life, will be my comforter, if I do His will."—"Have you then convents, to one of which you mean to retire?" asked Rowena.—"No, lady," said the Jewess; "but among our people, since the time of Abraham downward, have been women who have devoted their thoughts to Heaven, and their actions to works of kindness to men, tending the sick, feeding the hungry, and relieving the distressed. Among these will Rebecca be numbered. Say this to thy lord, should he inquire after the fate of her whose life he saved."—There was an involuntary tremor in Rebecca's voice, and a tenderness of accent, which perhaps betrayed more than she would willingly have expressed. She hastened to bid Rowena adieu.—"Farewell," she said, "may He, who made both Jew and Christian, shower down on you his choicest blessings."

She glided from the apartment, leaving Rowena surprised as if a vision had passed before her. The fair Saxon related the singular conference to her husband, on whose mind it made a deep impression. He lived long and happily with Rowena, for they were attached to each other by the bonds of early affection, and they loved each other

the more, from recollection of the obstacles which had impeded their union. Yet it would be inquiring too curiously to ask whether the recollection of Rebecca's beauty and magnanimity did not recur to his mind more frequently than the fair descendant of Alfred might altogether have approved.' III. 363—370.

When we look back on the space we have already occupied, we are afraid to add any more; and, when we glance at the extracts with which it is nearly filled, we feel that it is almost necessary. The work before us shows at least as much genius as any of those with which it must now be numbered—and excites perhaps, at least on the first perusal, as strong an interest: but it does not delight so deeply—and we rather think it will not please so long. Rebecca is almost the only lovely being in the story—and she is evidently a creature of the fancy—a mere poetical personification. Next to her—for Isaac is but a milder Shylock, and by no means more natural than his original—the heartiest interest is excited by the outlaws and their merry chief—because the tone and manners ascribed to them are more akin to those that prevailed among the yeomanry of later days, than those of the Knights, Priors and Princes, are to any thing with which this age has been acquainted.—Cedric the Saxon, and Bois-Guilbert the Templar, are to us but theoretical or mythological persons. We know nothing about them—and never feel assured that we fully comprehend their drift, or enter rightly into their feelings. The same genius which now busies us with their concerns, might have excited an equal interest for the adventures of Oberon and Pigwiggin—or for any legendary community of Giants, Amazons, or Cynocephali. The interest we do take is in the situations—and the extremes of peril, terrorism, and atrocity, in which the great latitude of the fiction enables the author to indulge. Even with this advantage, we soon feel, not only that the characters he brings before us are contrary to our experience, but that they are actually impossible. There could in fact have been no such state of society as that of which the story before us professes to give us but samples and ordinary results. In a country beset with such worthies as Fitz-Aldric, Bœuf, Malvoisin, and the rest, Isaac the Jew could neither have grown rich, nor lived to old age; and no Rebecca could either have acquired her delicacy, or preserved her honour. Neither could a plump Prior Aymer have followed venery in woods swarming with the merry men of Robin Hood.—Rotherwood must have been burned to the ground two or three times every year—and all the knights and thanes of the land been killed off nearly as often.—The thing, in short, when calmly considered, cannot be imagined to be a reality; and, after gazing

for a while on the splendid pageant which it presents, and admiring the exaggerated beings who counterfeit, in their grand style, the passions and feelings of our poor human nature, we soon find that we must turn again to our *Waverleys* and *Antiquaries* and *Old Mortalities*, and become acquainted with our neighbours and ourselves, and our duties and dangers and true felicities, in the exquisite pictures which our author *there* exhibits of the follies we daily witness or display, and of the prejudices, habits and affections, by which we are hourly obstructed, governed, or cheered.

We end, therefore, as we began—by preferring the home scenes, and the copies of originals which we know—but admiring, in the highest degree, the fancy and judgment and feeling by which this more distant and ideal prospect is enriched. It is a splendid Poem—and contains matter enough for six good Tragedies. As it is, it will make a glorious melodrame for the end of the season. Perhaps the author does better—for us and for himself—by writing mere novels; but we have an earnest wish that he would try his hand in the bow of Shakespeare—venture fairly within his enchanted circle—and reassert the Dramatic Sovereignty of England, by putting forth a genuine Tragedy of passion, fancy, and incident. He has all the qualifications to ensure success*—except perhaps the art of compression:—for we suspect it would cost him something to confine his story, and the development of his characters, to some fifty or sixty small pages. But the attempt is worth making; and he may be certain, that he cannot fail without glory. It would be a relief to us, and to our readers too, if he would make his scenes rather shorter;—for it is at least as much the feeling that we cannot do justice to his delineations in a scanty extract, as the fascination of the matter we are extracting, that leads us to such copious and redundant citations as we have now been making.

* We take it for granted, that the charming extracts from ‘*Old Plays*,’ that are occasionally given as mottoes to the chapters of this and some of his other works, are original compositions of the author whose prose they garnish:—and they show that he is not less a master of the most beautiful style of Dramatic versification, than of all the higher and more inward secrets of that forgotten art.

ART. II. 1. *Reports from the Select Committee on Finance, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons in the Sessions of 1817, 1818, and 1819.*

2. *Resolutions on the Retrenchment of the Public Expenditure, ordered to be printed July 1st, 1819.*

WE sometimes fatigue our readers, we fear, with our details of Finance, and dissertations on Political Economy:— But at present we mean to be very clear, concise, and elementary. Our affairs have come at last to a crisis which makes it necessary that every man in the country should be aware of their true situation;—and as merchants call a general meeting of their creditors when any great embarrassment compels them to solicit their aid or forbearance, so the hazard in which we now seem to be placed, of an actual insolvency in the Treasury, makes it indispensable that every one should know the true state of the danger, and consider of the sacrifices which should be made to avert so great a calamity. We do not propose, therefore, on this occasion, to go into any controversial or disputable matters; but to confine ourselves almost entirely to a plain and simple exposition of our actual condition, and a short and dispassionate survey of the steps by which we have been led into it. In a subsequent article of this Number, we shall probably take a more extended view of the history and consequences of our present system of taxation; but in this we mean only to lay before our readers its plain and undeniable results; and to suggest, without arguing upon them, the alternatives to which it appears to have reduced us. For this purpose, we shall first take a slight review of the various financial contrivances by which it has been successively pretended, since the commencement of the late war, that the mischief of loans and taxes would be prevented—then shortly consider the state into which our reliance on them has actually brought us—and finally suggest what it yet remains for us to do, to restore or preserve what is left of our financial resources.

The first great war measure, then, by which we were to be protected from the evils of the war expenditure, was the new settling of the *Sinking Fund* in the year 1793: And when we say, that the whole plan, from the beginning to the end, has proved a mere deception, we mean to impute no improper motives to its authors, but only to state the fact as it ought to be stated,—and as it may be shown in a single sentence that it must be stated, in order to express the truth: For it is a fact equally decisive and notorious, that this sinking fund has been formed ever since the year 1793, wholly out of the loans which have been annually borrowed. In no year since that period, has there been a surplus of revenue beyond the expenditure. But such a surplus alone could have made this fund in any way operative towards

its avowed object of liquidating debt; and, therefore, though we have been amused with fine statements, showing how many millions have been paid off, the upshot of the whole is, that a new debt has been created, to the exact amount of the debt which has been paid off. This result indeed will be self-evident to any one who will take the trouble of reflecting on the necessary consequences of the revenue falling uniformly short of the expenditure. When this is the case, it is plain, that the loan to be borrowed must amount to the difference between the revenue and the expenditure. But if a sinking fund is to be provided, it makes an additional item in the *expenditure*; and the loan must just be so much larger. By the official trick of charging the sinking fund against the taxes which form the income of the consolidated fund, its actual effect in increasing the debt is kept for a moment out of sight; but the slightest reflection must show, that if the whole sinking fund be annually borrowed, it cannot possibly produce any annual diminution of the debt. The only service it has performed, has been that of enabling ministers to make loans with greater facility, and to persuade the public to bear taxation with more good humour, while it has encouraged a most profuse expenditure, and actually cost the public, for the expenses of the commissioners and office, the sum of 187,000*l.* *

In the year 1798, when it was found difficult to obtain a loan for the expenses of the war, Mr Pitt proposed his plan for *Equalizing the Income and Expenditure*. He assured the public, that if they would consent to such a scale of taxation as he then proposed to them, the war might be carried on without any great increase of the debt, or any ultimate injury to the financial resources of the country. The arguments and eloquence of that eminent person, had their usual success; and the Income tax was the first result of this new system. The successors of Mr Pitt, under the sanction of his authority, easily persuaded the public, at subsequent periods, to pay the Property-tax, and other taxes, called the Customs and Excise War Taxes, for the same declared object of equalizing the income and expenditure. In this way a revenue of 22 millions a year was obtained over and above the ordinary revenue of the country; and although the total amount received from these taxes, during the war, was nearly 300 millions. † The debt went on increasing from 397 millions, which was its amount at that period, to 800

* Parliamentary Papers, Sess. 1819, No. 68. p. 10.

† Mr Vansittart states 200 millions to have been paid up to 1813.
—See Outlines of a Plan of Finance, p. 5.

millions, its amount at the end of the war. This plan, therefore, of equalizing the Income and Expenditure, has, in point of fact, proved, like the Sinking Fund, to be a great delusion. It was, no doubt, eminently successful in supplying the Exchequer with money, and in enabling Government to go on without difficulty in providing for the expenses of the war; but it has probably contributed, more than any other measure, to promote that waste of our treasure which has involved us in our present difficulties.

Although the *Bank Restriction* had originally no other object than to relieve a temporary pressure on the Bank,—from the moment that this pressure ceased, it became a mere financial measure to assist ministers in carrying on the war. On each renewal of the Restriction act, the public were told how many benefits the nation had derived from substituting paper for cash; how much our trade, manufactures, agriculture and revenue, had been increased by the aid of Bank discounts; what gigantic efforts we had been enabled to make in carrying on the war with vigour; and how utterly impossible it was that the nation could ever suffer any ultimate inconvenience from the most extended use of paper money.

But if we look calmly at the events which have actually happened, we shall find the benefits of the Paper system rather more questionable even than those of the Sinking Fund and the War Duties. We have experienced, in the course of the last eight years, three periods of universal distress, viz. the years 1812, 1816, and 1819; and although many circumstances may have concurred to produce it, there can be no doubt that the general practice of overtrading, which was the natural consequence of the paper system, has been the main cause of that glut of goods, and also of labour, in the market, which has occasioned the fall of prices and of wages, which is at the root of our present distress. Another great evil of the system has been the necessity in which it has placed us of paying many millions of debt at the rate of 20s. in the pound, though no more than 15s. or 16s. were received from the lenders. A still greater evil has been, that mass of manufacturing population which it has forced into existence, beyond the means of the country, when it shall be restored to a healthy state of currency and capital to provide with employment. The measures adopted by Parliament in the last Session, for the gradual resumption of cash payments, has arrested, we trust, the growing evils that threatened us from this prolific source. But, like other remedies that have been too long delayed, there is reason to fear that some additional suffering may be the con-

sequence of its first application;—and it is at this moment a question of infinite importance, whether the taxes are likely to yield the same, or any thing like the same revenue, with a currency of the legal value, that they have yielded, up to this time, with one so greatly depreciated. For our own part, we cannot help apprehending that prices must still come down much lower than they now are; in which case, we take it to be pretty obvious, that a great falling off in the Revenue will necessarily follow. It appears from tables of prices, of the best authority, that, from about the year 1636; when the discovery of the American mines had produced their full effect on the value of the precious metals, up to the year 1797, when the Bank Restriction took place, little or no change had occurred in the value of the precious metals, or in the general prices of commodities. The price of the quarter of wheat, of 9 bushels, from 1636 to 1701, was 51s. 1½d.;—from 1700 to 1765, 40s. 6d.; *—from 1764 to 1794, the quarter of 8 bushels was 44s. 7d. † The following prices of other things, for the period from 1728 to 1798, are taken from the Appendix to the Lords' Bank Report. Those items have been selected which are the least affected by direct taxation.

	S.	D.		S.	D.
Flesh, per cwt. was	29	1	Bricklayers' wages per day	2	6
Butter per lib.	0	5½	Masons' ditto	2	8
Cheese per lib.	0	3½	Plumbers' ditto	2	10

It is worthy to be remarked, that the price of the quartern loaf, previous to 1797, varied from 4d. to 6d.;—and very few instances had occurred of its having exceeded the latter sum.

Now, let us see what have been the prices, since 1797, of the same commodities.

For eight years, from 1797 to 1805, the quarter of wheat was 73s. 6d.; from 1804 to 1813, 88s. 11d.; and the general average price of the whole period, from 1797 to 1819, has been 81s. 8d. ‡

	S.	D.		S.	D.
Flesh per cwt., for this period, has been	66	1	Bricklayers' wages per day	4	3½
Butter per lib.	1	0½	Masons' ditto	5	2
Cheese ditto	0	7½	Plumbers' ditto	5	2

If the prices of a hundred, or a thousand other commodities, were taken, it would be found that they had all of them ad-

* Wealth of Nations, I. 358.

† Report, Corn Committee, 1813.

‡ Lords' Bank Report.

vanced in the same ratio; and the comparison gives this general result, that the prices of the last 22 years have exceeded those of the preceding 161 years by about 100 per cent.

From this state of things, the two following questions arise; *first*, What have been the causes of this great rise? and, *second*, What grounds are there for supposing, that these new and high prices will revert to the old rates, which had continued, without any great interruption, for so many years previous to 1797?

To the *first* question it may be answered, That the rise of prices, since 1797, has been occasioned, 1st, by taxation; 2^{dly}, by an increasing demand for commodities, arising from the increasing wages of labour, giving the people the means of paying larger sums for what they desired to have; 3^{dly}, by a depreciation of the currency. To the *second* question it will be safe to reply, That prices will fall, or remain high, in proportion as these three causes cease or continue to operate in time to come. Now, the effect of depreciation has in a great measure ceased, and also the effect of the high wages of labour; therefore, taxation alone remains as a permanent cause to keep them high. If we could exactly ascertain in what proportion each of these three causes operated originally to produce the rise, we should have no great difficulty in determining, now, how far prices will still fall; but as we have no *data* for such an equation, we shall content ourselves with saying, that, in our apprehension, the restoration of a metallic currency will have a greater effect in producing such a fall than has generally been imagined, or may seem proportionate to the estimated amount of the depreciation. To account for this, we must beg leave to remind our readers, that about the same time that this country had recourse to a paper money, it appears, from the evidence before the Bank Committees, that all Europe and North America did exactly the same thing; and that, in this way, a prodigious quantity of gold was thrown into the bullion market. It is generally supposed that 30 millions of gold was withdrawn from circulation in this country alone; and as this great supply occurred at the time when the demand for gold to be made into coin had nearly ceased, it must be presumed that a considerable fall in its real value must have been the consequence; in which case, our bank paper must not only have been of less value than in 1797, by the amount of its depreciation below the value of gold, but also by the diminution which had actually taken place in that of gold itself. But it also appears, from the evidence already referred to, that other countries are, at this very time, tracing back their steps, as well as ourselves,

from a paper to a metallic currency; and therefore, it can scarcely fail to follow, that the demand for gold will be greatly increased, and that its value will rise, in all probability, up to its original level: the consequence of which must be, a still further depression of prices, and an increased difficulty in paying the numerical amount of our great permanent taxation.

Having thus cursorily examined the three great finance measures of the war, which served each, for its day, to persuade the public that the resources of the country were inexhaustible, we shall proceed to compare the actual state of those resources with their condition at the beginning of that war in 1793. And here we are exempted from any risk of error, by being enabled to refer throughout to the successive Reports of two Committees of the House of Commons, on the State of the Income and Expenditure. *First*, then, as to the public Income, it appears, from the Report of 1791, that the Permanent Taxes, at that time, produced 13,472,286*l.*, and that the annual taxes produced 2,558,000*l.*; making the whole of the income of 1790 16,030,286*l.*† And now it appears, from the 1st Report of the Committee of Finance of the last Session, that the total income of Great Britain, *excluding* Ireland, in 1818, was 48,982,960*l.*: So that the taxes are now greater than they were in 1791, by 32,952,674*l.*, or something more than two-thirds. *Secondly*, in respect to the Public Expenditure, the comparison appears from the following statement, taken from the same Reports, to stand thus—

	1790.	1819.
Interest and charges of the public debt, including the annual million for the sinking fund	L. 10,317,972	L. 44,940,834
Unfunded debt	260,000	2,000,000
Civil list	898,000	1,190,692
Other charges on the consolidated fund	105,385	1,269,274
Navy	2,000,000	6,436,781
Army, including Militia	1,844,153	8,900,000
Ordnance	375,000	1,191,000
Miscellaneous services, including appropriated duties	168,668	1,851,301
	<hr/> L. 15,969,178	<hr/> L. 67,779,882

† Calculated upon the average produce of the last three years, and exclusive of any additional allowance for the Teas imported in 1789, or for the increase upon Tobacco.

From this statement it appears, that the annual charge for the Funded and Unfunded debt is greater now, than it was in 1790, by 36,362,862*l.*; and that the Peace establishment for the army, navy, ordnance, and miscellaneous services for 1819, exceeds that for 1790 by 13,991,261*l.* Thirdly, and lastly, as to the Public Debt, it will be found, by reference to official documents, that in the year 1792, the whole debt was 238,231,218*l.*; and that it amounted, excluding Ireland, to 700,000,000*l.* at the beginning of last year.

The following may be considered as an accurate exposition of the actual state of our income and expenditure at the commencement of 1819. The total income of the United Kingdom for this year, taking the produce of the taxes as in 1818, would be—

For Great Britain	-	-	-	-	L.48,982,960
For Ireland	-	-	-	-	4,588,977
					<hr/>
					L.53,571,937
The Lottery	-	-	-	-	240,000
Produce of Naval Stores sold	-	-	-	-	250,000
					<hr/>
Total					L 54,061,937 †

Which sum, set against the expenditure of 67,779,882*l.*, makes the Deficiency of the income 13,725,945*l.* for the year 1819.

In this state of things, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the course of last Session, proposed the three following resolutions to the House of Commons. * 1. That the existing revenue applicable to the supplies, cannot be estimated at more than 7,000,000*l.*, leaving the sum of 13,500,000*l.* to be raised by loan, or other extraordinary resources. 2. That the sinking fund applicable to the reduction of the national debt, in the present year, may be estimated at about 15,500,000*l.*; exceeding the above sum necessary to be raised for the service of the year, by about 2,000,000*l.* only. 3. That to provide for the exigencies of the public service, to make such progressive reduction of the national debt, as may adequately support public credit, and to afford to the country a prospect of future relief from a part of its present burthens, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a clear surplus of the income of the country, beyond the expenditure, of not less than 5,000,000*l.*: and that, with the view to the attainment of this most important object, it is expedient now to increase the income of the

† 1st Report, Committee of Finance, 1819.

* Debates, Vol. XL. p. 915.

‘country, by the imposition of taxes to the amount of three millions per annum.’ These resolutions were adopted by Parliament; and bills were passed, framed upon them: So that the grand result of all our finance plans is shortly this—*First*, that instead of being relieved by the Peace from taxation, by the repeal of all war taxes, Customs war duties have been made permanent to the amount of 2,760,000*l.*; Excise war duties have been continued to 1821, to the amount of 3,500,000*l.*; and they also must be also made permanent, to accomplish the object of these resolutions: while, in addition to these war taxes so continued, new taxes have been imposed, estimated to pay in to the Exchequer the net sum of 3,190,000*l.* *Secondly*, that instead of an efficient sinking fund of 22,195,900*l.*, * to reduce the national debt, we have one, on paper, of 5,000,000*l.*, but, according to the probable production of the revenue, one which will fall very far short of this sum.

Under all these circumstances, it becomes a question of infinite importance to determine, What can, or ought to be done, to restore our finances; for we take it for granted, that no man of sound understanding can suppose that they should remain where the finance plan of the last Session has placed them. Let us just glance calmly and dispassionately at a few of its items. *First*, there is our Peace Establishment, amounting to 18,000,000*l.* a year. Will any candid man say, that it is really impossible to reduce it to a much smaller sum? It is true, no doubt, that the question involves that of the whole policy of our Government: For if Catholic emancipation were granted to Ireland, 20,671 men could not be necessary to assist the civil power, in times of acknowledged tranquillity; and if public opinion were at all consulted in Great Britain, and such concessions made to it as the state of the country obviously requires, 29,895 men could not be necessary to induce us to obey the laws:—Nor, if the defence of our colonies were entrusted to our Navy, could 30,275 men be wanted for their garrisons. We are persuaded, therefore, that very great and material reductions might be made under this head, by the simple policy of recurring to a government that will condescend to rule upon the old cheap system of the Constitution. In respect to our Navy, whether it is because this service is no longer in fashion, or that it is not applicable to the existing system of domestic government, there has been no difficulty in reducing the num-

* The income of the sinking fund has been reduced 7,632,969*l.* by the operation of Mr Vansittart's plan of finance of 1813.—*Parl. Papers*, 1819, No. 68. p. 10.—See 53 Geo. III. c. 95.

ber of seamen nearly to what it was in 1792; but great reductions might still be made in all the civil establishments of the Navy. In regard to the Ordnance expenditure of 1,190,000*l.*, it appears to be quite enormous for the fourth year of Peace; since, in 1797, the fourth year of War, it was no more than 221,024*l.* But retrenchment may be carried on, though with less effect, not only in the expenditure peculiarly belonging to the defence of the country, but also in that part of it which relates to the various establishments for managing the revenue, and for carrying on the civil government. The following statement, taken from the Resolutions already quoted, will show the great progress of profusion in these departments, in which the expenses of 1797, the fourth year of war, are compared with those of 1819, the fourth year of peace.

	Cost in 1797.	In 1819.
The office of Secretary at War	L. 31,290	L. 55,290
Ditto of Paymaster	19,280	30,506
Ditto of Comptrollers of Army Accounts	4,470	12,458
Civil Department of the Ordnance	51,618	82,891

The Civil Departments of the Navy amounted, in 1792, to 125,109*l.*; to 572,373*l.* in 1813; and to 506,000*l.* in 1819.—The total expenditure upon the public departments that are employed to manage and audit the public money, after it has come into the Exchequer, appears to amount to 1,100,000*l.* a year. The expenses of the offices of the three Secretaries of State, have advanced from 39,824*l.* in 1796, to 122,880*l.* in 1819; and those for the civil government of Scotland, from 84,167*l.* to 129,627*l.* It seems at first sight to be very unaccountable, that these establishments should be, in peace, many of them, higher than they were in war; but the matter is in some degree explained, by the complaint so justly made by the Committee of the House of Commons in 1810, of ‘the system of progressive additions which have been made to the expenditure in all the public departments, by augmentations of salaries, by official incidents, by allowances, by superannuations, and, above all, by compensations.’

The more we examine this subject of office establishments, the more we are convinced of the necessity and practicability of effecting a considerable retrenchment in their expenses: But the work must be gone about relentlessly and in good earnest; patronage must be sacrificed:—the distressed state of the finances must always be held in remembrance; and every salary, allowance, and pension, ought to be revised with a reference to the means we possess of paying them, and not with a reference to what is their existing amount, fixed as it has been, in times of

unexampled public prodigality; and in a currency of depreciated value. Government are naturally interested in sustaining the patronage of the Crown; and their official information gives them the means of bringing forward some plausible justification for keeping every office, and every salary, just as it now is. But the glaring facts which we have stated, showing, that, during a period of vigorous and expensive war, the civil establishments were almost all of them much lower than they now are in peace, are sufficient, we think, at once to expose the delusion; and to prove beyond all dispute, both the practicability and the necessity of reducing all these establishments at least to their former condition.

Passing now from the Expenditure to the Income of the country, there are two questions that naturally present themselves. *First*, Whether the income is likely to be as high as it has been estimated by Ministers? *Second*, What course is to be taken, in the event of its continued or progressive deficiency? The diminished receipt, in the last October quarter, of 1,100,000*l.*, and the still further diminution of 150,000*l.* up to the 10th of December, have naturally led many persons to apprehend, that the future income will be far short of the estimated amount of 56,753,937*l.*: But as the Excise revenue still keeps its ground, and as the general depression of trade, which has occasioned the falling off in the Customs, may only be temporary, the trial may justly be said to be too short to justify any decided conclusion on the subject. The real wealth of the country, consisting in the rent of land, the profits of trade, and the dividends on the debt, is undoubtedly still very great; and we would fain hope may be ultimately found equal to bear the whole burdens imposed on it. But if the income *should* fall so much below the estimated amount, that there should not be a sufficiency to pay the dividends (which will speedily be the case, if the Revenue continues to fall off for the future, as it has fallen of late), what must then be done? Must the deficiency be made good by an annual Loan, or by imposing new Taxes; or must the plea of irresistible necessity be set forth, and the public creditor be deprived of a part of his Dividend? One of these three ways of proceeding must be pursued; and, should the course of events impose upon Parliament the necessity of choosing one of them, it will have a more difficult task to perform, than any that has ever been imposed on it. To obtain, by annual loans, the means of paying the annual dividends, is plainly quite impossible; and therefore the choice would be, between the imposition of new taxes after the failure of the old had shown that the legitimate sources of taxation

were exhausted, the reduction, for a time at least, of the dividends of the public creditors. Now, it is no doubt true, that the first duty of Government, in matters of finance, is to keep faith with the public creditor; and it was on this principle that Parliament imposed the new taxes of the last Session. But if, even with these new taxes, such a *deficit* were to arise as we are now contemplating, it is impossible not to see, that a case would be made out for the country, and against the stockholder, to which no former practice or acknowledged principle would any longer be applicable. So long as taxes can be levied from the free income of the subject, so long the most rigid faith must be kept with the public creditor. But, when they come to encroach on the *capital*, and, of course, to diminish those springs of wealth from which all expenditure must be supplied, their increase becomes not only oppressive, but *impossible*, and their cessation a matter not of nominal, but actual necessity. In such a state of things, therefore, which can no longer be represented as extremely unlikely to occur, we shall soon become familiar with other maxims than those to which we have been so long accustomed;—and after having witnessed the facility with which the public was led to approve of the application of the Sinking Fund to the current expenses of the State, we should not be at all surprised to find the reduction of the dividends become a topic of general speculation, and even a favourite project of finance. We mean neither to argue the question here, nor to express any opinion of our own with regard to it; but we have no doubt that a multitude of plausible arguments will very speedily be mustered up for its support—and that, besides assimilating the purchasers of stock to the purchasers into any other concern, where the prospect of gain is compensated by the risk of loss, it will be strongly urged that they are, in strict justice, bound to submit to some deduction on account of the increased value of the currency, since the period when at least 300,000,000*l.* of the existing debt was borrowed. Had the depreciation been openly avowed at the time, no subscriber could have objected to its being made a condition, that he should be repaid with a sum equal in value, though smaller in nominal extent, to what he had actually advanced.

Those things may become necessary. But even though they should be submitted to, they would afford but an imperfect relief: For the practical evil is not in the paying of the dividends, but in withdrawing, by the loans, such an enormous proportion of the capital of the country from the support of its productive industry. The payment of the dividends is little more than the transfer of so much money from the right hand to the left.

The general wealth of the State is but little diminished by that operation; since, whether it be the contributor of the tax, or the receiver of it, who consumes or accumulates so much value, is a matter of little importance to the bulk of the community.

It is not, therefore, from means like these, that any effectual or permanent relief can be expected, since it is only by retrenching our expenditure, and by accumulating the savings from income, that the national capital can be increased. If this be effected, there needs be no alarm about the revenue, or the dividends, however appalling their nominal amount may appear. The only policy about which we should be at all anxious, is that which will build up again the dilapidated capital of the country, and secure, from the fruits of its industry, a surplus beyond the necessary charges and total expenditure of its owners. If this point were once gained, all the rest would soon fall into good order;—and it is chiefly as inconsistent with its attainment, that the increase of taxation is to be deprecated. Some diminution, on the contrary, ought almost at any hazard to be effected: And, to make a beginning of so good a work, we would humbly suggest, that all those taxes which restrain, or altogether prevent, the natural extension of our manufactures, ought to be repealed;—for instance, the tax of 5s. 6d. a lib. on the importation of raw silk;—the effect of which is, to limit our manufacture almost entirely to our home supply, and to give France a decided superiority in the foreign markets; since, but for this tax, we should have the raw material, particularly for all the coarser goods, at least as cheap as our neighbours, whom we already excel in skill and machinery. On the same principle, the taxes on cotton, foreign wool, hemp, flax, hides, soap, ashes, dyewoods, and all other things which are either the raw materials, or necessary ingredients in our manufactures, ought to be repealed. If the revenue were lowered in this way to the amount of the three millions of new taxes imposed last Session, we will venture to say, that the greatest benefits would result, not only to our manufactures, but to the Revenue itself; the great increase of our manufactures naturally increasing the consumption of all taxed commodities, and consequently the produce of the other taxes.

Another obvious means of improving the national capital, would be the total extinction of those barbarous prohibitory duties which belong to the old and exploded system of excluding foreign manufactures. If this system were once abandoned, the great consumption of foreign goods which would be its necessary result, would lead to an increased exportation of our

own manufactures; because such an exportation would be the only way by which we could pay foreign countries for what they would send to us. Even if, from the obstinacy of France, we should be obliged to send bullion to pay for her wines, the only effect would be, that we should have to send our cottons or hardware or woollens to America to obtain this bullion; so that for every 100*l.* worth of wine imported from France, we should send, either to France or some other country, value to the same amount of our own produce; and our merchants who carried on this new traffic, would have the profits of it, in addition to the profits which they now make. If all these duties were diminished, so that one half should cease in three years, and the other half in five years from this time, all who are now engaged in any business which might suffer by the competition with foreign goods, would have ample time to withdraw their capital from it, and invest it in some new employment. As we were the first to begin the system of excluding foreign manufactures, we must also be the first to get rid of it, in order to induce other countries again to follow our example. Without this, we cannot reasonably expect that they should move—and it is a step which we may take, not only in safety and without loss, but one which will redound greatly to our advantage, even if it should not be the object of immediate imitation. Should trade, and the spirit of industry, be thus freed from its shackles, at home and abroad, we have no doubt that our national capital would speedily make such advances, as not only to afford a surplus of more than five millions beyond our expenditure, but; if the peace continued but a few years, to admit of our making a great effort of taxation to render the Sinking Fund equal to the liquidation of a very considerable portion of the debt. Such an effort should never be lost sight of, and ought most certainly to be made, whenever circumstances will allow it; for, let the general prosperity of the country be what it may, our present enormous debt must be very much reduced, in order to place us in a state of security from financial embarrassments, and to enable us to engage in any war which our honour or our interest may render unavoidable.

Before leaving the subject of the Public Revenue, we have a word to say on two very important matters respecting it. The expense of collection in 1818 was 4,300,000*l.* The gross revenue, after deducting drawbacks and allowances, was 58 millions. The expense of collecting, therefore, was, and still is, something more than 7 per cent. That this may be very greatly reduced, is we believe the decided opinion of all who have ever examined a revenue establishment at any of the public offices. The num-

ber of persons employed in the Revenue was stated by Mr Rose to be about 8000; and to these must be added the Irish officers, probably 2000 more. Perplexed accounts; complicated processes for transacting business; a multitude of contradictory laws; numerous boards; sinecure employments; excessive salaries; extravagant incidents and expenses,—are some few of the causes of this profuse expenditure: If it were possible to reduce it to 5 per cent. on the gross receipt of the Revenue, the saving to the public would be greatly above a million.

The last topic we have to notice concerning the Public Income, is the Revenue of Ireland. At present, it yields to the Exchequer only 4,500,000*l.*: And the whole annual expense of Ireland, including the charge on her debt, is 6,500,000*l.* The two millions of deficit are paid by England—a burthen which is the natural result of the Policy which has led her to govern Ireland for the last twenty-five years by a standing army. Now, since Ireland is equal in size, and superior in fertility to half of England and Wales, and has a population exceeding six millions of inhabitants; and as her taxes are nearly the same as those of England, —if all those measures were adopted which are wanting to conciliate the people, and to establish an efficient civil power in that country, so that there might be security to persons and property, the capital of England would naturally flow out in that direction, and these taxes would give a much greater revenue than they have ever yet afforded. In Great Britain, the taxes amount to about 3*l.* 10*s.* a head; in Ireland, to 15*s.*: But, if every thing were done that ought to be done, to attach the people to the laws, and to promote order and tranquillity in the interior, Ireland might pay 30*s.* a head, and be a richer and a happier country than she is at present. At this low rate, in comparison with the rate of Great Britain, Ireland would assist the general income of the United Kingdom with an additional revenue of nearly five millions a year. If, therefore, there should exist no better reason for acting justly and wisely towards her, than the profit which would be derived from such a course, this should be sufficient, in the present state of things, to induce the Cabinet to set at work, in good earnest, to render her great resources as available as they might be made to the financial interests of England.

In holding out any probability of future financial prosperity, we are anxious to have it distinctly understood upon what grounds we do so. Mr Vansittart stated, in his published Speech of last Session, that the resolutions he then proposed, contained a permanent and systematic view of what might be considered the Peace Establishment of the country. Now, we do not hesitate

to say, that, if Parliament and the country rest satisfied with this plan, bankruptcy and disaster can be at no great distance. The first war that occurs, will find the country with a capital depressed by the taxes which directly obstruct industry; with a revenue scarcely able to pay the dividends on its debt; and with its debt, not only undiminished, but in all probability augmented. To save us from such a condition, we are very firmly of opinion, that all the measures which we have suggested are absolutely indispensable. Nor would there be found any real difficulty in carrying them into execution. A government that would form its resolutions upon the plain exigencies of the public service, and not on the conveniences or the sufferings, the anticipated complaints, or the probable calumnies of individuals enjoying the emoluments or the patronage of office, would feel themselves strong in the support of all the honest part of the nation, and would soon have it in their power to confer far greater and more lasting benefits even on individuals, than any that can ever be at the disposal of those who are reduced to the miserable policy of governing by expedients. The abolition of all useless and sinecure offices; the cutting down of all salaries, pensions, and allowances; the sacrifice of patronage; the temporary surrender even of revenue, and the resistance to old mercantile notions; are become indispensably necessary, by the probability of a want of means to pay the dividends, by the intolerable evils and sufferings that would result from such an occurrence, and by the certainty of our not being able to embark in any new war, however we may be insulted, unless we can, during peace, bring about a complete regeneration of our finances. We are placed in a situation which no longer admits of temporizing or half measures. All the old rules of finance have been set aside by the innovations of Mr Pitt, which gave to Government the unlimited command of the public purse. The effect of his innovations must now be counteracted by others of an opposite character;—and our only hopes of safety seem now to lie in those measures which will reform official extravagance, extinguish restrictive commercial legislation, and put down the every way ruinous system of governing a Free People by a Military Police.

ART. III. *Statistical Annals of the United States of America.*
By ADAM SEYBERT. 4to. Philadelphia, 1818.

THIS is a book of character, and authority; but it is a very large book; and therefore we think we shall do an accept-

able service to our readers, by presenting them with a short epitome of its contents, observing the same order which has been chosen by the author. The whole, we conceive, will form a pretty complete picture of America, and teach us how to appreciate that country, either as a powerful enemy or a profitable friend. The first subject with which Mr Seybert begins, is the Population of the United States.

Population.—As representatives and direct taxes are apportioned among the different States in proportion to their numbers, it is provided for in the American Constitution, that there shall be an actual enumeration of the people every ten years. It is the duty of the marshals in each State to number the inhabitants of their respective districts: and a correct copy of the lists, containing the names of the persons returned, must be set up in a public place within each district, before they are transmitted to the Secretary of State:—they are then laid before Congress by the President. Under this act three census, or enumerations of the people, have been already laid before Congress—for the years 1790, 1800, and 1810. In the year 1790, the population of America was 3,921,826 persons, of whom 697,697 were slaves. In 1800, the numbers were 5,319,762, of which 896,849 were slaves. In 1810, the numbers were 7,239,903, of whom 1,191,364 were slaves; so that at the rate at which free population has proceeded between 1790 and 1810, it doubles itself, in the United States, in a very little more than 22 years. The slave population, according to its rate of proceeding in the same time, would be doubled in about 26 years. The increase of the slave population in this statement is owing to the importation of negroes between 1800 and 1808, especially in 1806 and 1807, from the expected prohibition against importation. The number of slaves was also increased by the acquisitions of territory in Louisiana, where they constituted nearly half the population. From 1801 to 1811; the inhabitants of Great Britain acquired an augmentation of 14 per cent.; the Americans, within the same period, were augmented 36 per cent.

Emigration seems to be of very little importance to the United States. In the year 1817, by far the most considerable year of emigration, there arrived in ten of the principal ports of America, from the Old World, 22,000 persons as passengers. The number of emigrants, from 1790 to 1810, is not supposed to have exceeded 6000 per annum. None of the separate States have been retrograde during these three enumerations, though some have been nearly stationary. The most remarkable increase is that of New York, which has risen from 340,120 in the year 1790, to 959,049 in the year 1810. The emigration from the Eastern to the West-

ern States is calculated at 60,000 persons per annum. In all the American enumerations, the males uniformly predominate in the proportion of about 100 to 92. We are better off in Great Britain and Ireland,—where the women were to the men, by the census of 1811, as 110 to 100. The density of population in the United States, is less than 4 persons to a square mile; that of Holland, in 1803, was 275 to the square mile; that of England and Wales, 169. So that the fifteen provinces, which formed the Union in 1810, would contain, if they were as thickly peopled as Holland, 135 millions souls.

The next head is that of *Trade and Commerce*.—In 1790, the Exports of the United States were above 19 millions dollars; in 1791, above 20 millions; in 1792, 26 millions; in 1793, 33 millions of dollars. Prior to 1795, there was no discrimination, in the American Treasury accounts, between the exportation of domestic, and the reexportation of foreign articles. In 1795, the aggregate value of the merchandise exported, was 67 millions dollars, of which the foreign produce reexported was 26 millions. In 1800, the total value of exports was 94 millions; in 1805, 101 millions; and in 1808, when they arrived at their maximum, 108 millions dollars. In the year 1809, from the effects of the French and English Orders in Council, the exports fell to 52 millions of dollars; in 1810, to 66 millions; in 1811, to 61 millions. In the first year of the war with England, to 38 millions; in the second to 27; in the year 1814, when peace was made, to 6 millions. So that the exports of the republic, in six years, had tumbled down from 108 to 6 millions of dollars: After the peace, in the years 1815–16–17, the exports rose to 52, 81, 87 millions dollars.

In 1817, the exportation of cotton was 85 millions pounds. In 1815, the sugar made on the banks of the Mississippi was 10 millions pounds. In 1792, when the wheat trade was at the maximum, a million and an half of bushels were exported. The proportions of the exports to Great Britain, Spain, France, Holland, and Portugal, on an average of 10 years ending 1812, are as 27, 16, 13, 12, and 7; the actual value of exports to the dominions of Great Britain, in the three years ending 1804, were consecutively, in millions of dollars, 16, 17, 13.

Imports.—In 1791, the imports of the United States were 19 millions; on an average of three consecutive years, ending 1804 inclusive, they were 68 millions; in 1806–7, they were 138 millions; and in 1815, 133 millions of dollars. The annual value of the imports, on an average of three years ending 1804, was 75,000,000, of which the dominions of Great Britain furnished nearly one half. On an average of three years ending in 1804, America imported from Great Britain to the amount of about 36 mil-

lions, and returned goods to the amount of about 23 millions. Certainly these are countries that have some better employment for their time and energy than cutting each other's throats, and may meet for more profitable purposes.—The American imports from the dominions of Great Britain, before the great American war, amounted to about 3 millions Sterling; soon after the war, to the same: From 1805 to 1811, both inclusive, the average annual exportation of Great Britain to all parts of the world, in real value, was about 43 millions Sterling, of which one-fifth, or near 9 millions, was sent to America.

Tonnage and Navigation.—Before the revolutionary war, the American tonnage, whether owned by British or American subjects, was about 127,000 tons; immediately after that war, 108,000. In 1789, it had amounted to 437,733 tons, of which 279,000 was American property. In 1790, the total was 605,825, of which 354,000 was American. In 1816, the tonnage, all American, was 1,300,000. On an average of three years, from 1810 to 1812, both inclusive, the registered tonnage of the British empire was 2,459,000; or little more than double the American.

Lands.—All public lands are surveyed before they are offered for sale; and divided into townships of 6 miles square, which are subdivided into 36 sections of one mile square, containing each 640 acres. The following lands are excepted from the sales.—One thirty-sixth part of the lands, or a section of 640 acres in each township, is uniformly reserved for the support of schools;—seven entire townships, containing each 23,000 acres, have been reserved in perpetuity for the support of learning;—all salt springs and lead-mines are also reserved. The Mississippi, the Ohio, and all the navigable rivers and waters leading into either, or into the river St Lawrence, remain common highways, and for ever free to all the citizens of the United States, without payment of any tax. All the other public lands, not thus excepted, are offered for public sale in quarter sections of 160 acres, at a price not less than 2 dollars per acre, and as much more as they will fetch by public auction. It was formerly the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to superintend the sale of lands. In 1812, an office, denominated the General Land-Office, was instituted. The public lands sold prior to the opening of the land-offices, amounted to one million and a half of acres. The aggregate of the sales since the opening of the land-offices, NW. of the river Ohio, to the end of September 1817, amounted to 8,469,644 acres; and the purchase-money to 18,000,000 dollars. The lands sold since the opening of the land-offices in the Mississippi territory, amount to 1,600,000 acres. The stock of unsold land on hand is cal-

culated at 400,000,000 acres. In the year 1817 there were sold above two millions acres.

Post-Office.—In 1789, the number of post-offices in the United States was 75; the amount of postage 38,000 dollars; the miles of post-road 1800. In 1817, the number of post-offices was 3459; the amount of postage 961,000 dollars; and the extent of post-roads 51,600 miles.

Revenue.—The revenues of the United States are derived from the Customs; from duties on distilled spirits, carriages, snuff, refined sugar, auctions, stamped paper, goods, wares, and merchandisc manufactured within the United States, household furniture, gold and silver watches, and postage of letters; from monies arising from the sale of public lands, and from fees on letters-patent. The following are the duties paid at the custom-house for some of the principal articles of importation:— $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on dyeing drugs, jewellery, and watch-work; 15 per cent. on hempen cloth, and on all articles manufactured from iron, tin, brass, and lead—on buttons, buckles, china, earthen-ware, and glass, except window glass; 25 per cent. on cotton and woollen goods, and cotton twist; 30 per cent. on carriages, leather, and leather manufactures, &c.

The average annual produce of the Customs, between 1801 and 1810, both inclusive, was about 12 millions dollars. In the year 1814, the customs amounted *only to four millions*; and, in the year 1815, the first year after the war, rose to 37 millions. From 1789 to 1814, the customs have constituted 65 per cent. of the American revenues; loans 26 per cent.; and all other branches 8 to 9 per cent. They collect their customs at about 4 per cent.;—the English expense of collection is 6*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* per cent.

The duty upon spirits is extremely trifling to the consumer—not a penny per gallon. The number of distilleries is about 15,000. The licenses produce a very inconsiderable sum. The tax laid upon carriages in 1814, varied from fifty dollars to one dollar, according to the value of the machine. In the year 1801, there were more than fifteen thousand carriages of different descriptions paying duty. The furniture-tax seems to have been a very singular species of tax, laid on during the last war. It was an *ad valorem* duty upon all the furniture in any man's possession, the value of which exceeded 600 dollars. Furniture cannot be estimated without domiciliary visits—nor domiciliary visits allowed without tyranny and vexation. An information laid against a new arm-chair, or a clandestine sideboard—a search-warrant, and a conviction consequent upon it—have much more the appearance of English than American liberty.

The license for a watch, too, is purely English. A truly free Englishman walks out covered with licenses. It is impossible to convict him. He has paid a guinea for his powdered head—a guinea for the coat of arms upon his seals—a three-guinea license for the gun he carries upon his shoulder to shoot game; and is so fortified with permits and official sanctions, that the most eagle-eyed informer cannot obtain the most trifling advantage over him.

America has borrowed, between 1791 and 1815, one hundred and seven millions of dollars, of which forty-nine millions were borrowed in 1813 and 1814. The internal revenue in the year 1815 amounted to eight millions dollars; the gross revenue of the same year, including the loan, to fifty-one millions dollars.

Army.—During the late war with Great Britain, Congress authorized the raising of 62,000 men for the armies of the United States,—though the actual number raised never amounted to half that force. In February 1815, the army of the United States did not amount to more than 32,000 men; in January 1814, to 23,000. * The recruiting service, as may be easily conceived, where the wages of labour are so high, goes on very slowly in America. The military peace establishment was fixed in 1815 at 10,000 men. The Americans are fortunately exempt from the insanity of garrisoning little rocks and islands all over the world; nor would they lavish millions upon the ignoble end of the Spanish Peninsula—the most useless and extravagant possession with which any European power was ever afflicted. In 1812, any recruit honourably discharged from the service was allowed three months' pay, and 160 acres of land. In 1814, every non-commissioned officer, musician and private, who enlisted and was afterwards honourably discharged, was allowed, upon such discharge, 320 acres. The enlistment was for five years, or during the war. The widow, child, or parent of any person enlisted, who was killed or died in the service of the United States, was entitled to receive the same bounty in land.

Every free white male between 18 and 45, is liable to be called out in the militia, which is stated, in official papers, to amount to 748,000 persons.

Navy.—On the 8th of June 1785, the Americans had only one vessel of war, the *Alliance*; and as that was thought to be too expensive, it was sold! The attacks of the Barbary powers first roused them to form a navy; which, in 1797, amounted

* Peace with Great Britain was signed in December 1814, at Ghent.

to three frigates. In 1814, besides a great increase of frigates, four seventy-fours were ordered to be built. In 1816, in consequence of some brilliant actions of their frigates, the naval service had become very popular throughout the United States. One million of dollars were appropriated annually, for eight years, to the gradual increase of the navy; 9 seventy-fours * and 12 forty-four gun ships were ordered to be built. Vacant and unappropriated lands belonging to the United States, fit to produce oak and cedar, were to be selected for the use of the navy. The peace establishment of the marine corps was increased, and six navy yards were established. We were surprised to find Dr Seybert complaining of a want of ship timber in America. 'Many persons (he says) believe that our stock of live oak is very considerable; but, upon good authority we have been told, in 1801, that supplies of live oak from Georgia will be obtained with great difficulty, and that the larger pieces are very scarce.' In treating of naval affairs, Dr Seybert, with a very different purpose in view, pays the following involuntary tribute to the activity and effect of our late naval warfare against the Americans.

'For a long time the majority of the people of the United States was opposed to an extensive and permanent Naval establishment; and the force authorized by the Legislature, until very lately, was intended for temporary purposes. A Navy was considered to be beyond the financial means of our country; and it was supposed the people would not submit to be taxed for its support. Our brilliant success in the late war, has changed the public sentiment on this subject: many persons who formerly opposed the Navy, now consider it as an essential means for our defence. The late transactions on the borders of the Chesapeake Bay, cannot be forgotten; the extent of that immense estuary enabled the enemy to sail triumphant into the interior of the United States. For hundreds of miles along the shores of that great Bay, our people were insulted; our towns were ravaged and destroyed; a considerable population was teased and irritated; depredations were hourly committed by an enemy who could penetrate into the bosom of the country, without our being able to molest him whilst he kept on the water. By the time a sufficient force was collected, to check his operations in one situation, his ships had already transported him to another, which was feeble, and offered a booty to him. An army could make no resistance to this mode of warfare; the people were annoyed; and they suffered in the field only to be satisfied of their inability to check those who had the dominion upon our waters. The inhabitants who were in the imme-

* The American 74 gun ships are as big as our first rates, and their frigates nearly as big as ships of the line.

diate vicinity, were not alone affected by the enemy ; his operations extended their influence to our great towns on the Atlantic coast ; domestic intercourse and internal commerce were interrupted, whilst that with foreign nations was, in some instances, entirely suspended. The Treasury documents for 1814, exhibit the phenomenon of the State of Pennsylvania not being returned in the list of the exporting States. We were not only deprived of revenue, but our expenditures were very much augmented. It is probable the amount of the expenditures incurred on the borders of the Chesapeake, would have been adequate to provide naval means for the defence of those waters : the people might then have remained at home, secure from depredation in the pursuit of their tranquil occupations. The expenses of the Government as well as of individuals, were very much augmented for every species of transportation. Every thing had to be conveyed by land carriage. Our communication with the ocean was cut off. One thousand dollars were paid for the transportation of each of the thirty-two pounder cannon from Washington city to Lake Ontario, for the public service. Our roads became almost impassable from the heavy loads which were carried over them. These facts should induce us, in times of tranquillity, to provide for the national defence, and execute such internal improvements as cannot be effected during the agitations of war.' p. 679.

Expenditure.—The President of the United States receives about 6000*l.* a year ; the Vice-President about 600*l.* ; the deputies to Congress have 8 dollars per day, and 3 dollars for every 20 miles of journey. The First Clerk of the House of Representatives receives about 750*l.* per annum ; the Secretary of State, 1200*l.* ; the Postmaster General, 750*l.* ; the Chief Justice of the United States, 1000*l.* ; a Minister Plenipotentiary, 2200*l.* per annum. There are, doubtless, reasons why there should be two noblemen appointed in this country as Postmasters General, with enormous salaries, neither of whom know a twopenny post letter from a general one, and where further retrenchments are stated to be impossible. This is clearly a case to which that impossibility extends. But these are matters where a prostration of understanding is called for ; and good subjects are not to reason, but to pay. If, however, we were ever to indulge in the Saxon practice of looking into our own affairs, some important documents might be derived from these American salaries. Jonathan, for instance, sees no reason why the first clerk of his House of Commons should derive emoluments from his situation to the amount of 6000 or 7000*l.* per annum ; but Jonathan is vulgar, and arithmetical. The total expenditure of the United States varied, between 1799 and 1811 both inclusive, from 11 to 17 millions dollars. From 1812 to 1814, both inclusive, and all these years of war with this country, the

expenditure was consecutively 22, 29, and 38 millions dollars. The total expenditure of the United States, for 14 years from 1791 to 1814, was 333 millions dollars; of which, in the three last years of War with this country, from 1812 to 1814, there were expended 100 millions of dollars, of which only 35 were supplied by revenue, the rest by loans and government paper. The sum total received by the American Treasury from the 3d of March 1789 to the 31st of March 1816, is 354 millions dollars; of which 107 millions have been raised by loan, and 222 millions by the customs and tonnage: so that, exclusive of the revenue derived from loans, 222 parts out of 247 of the American revenue, have been derived from foreign commerce. In the mind of any sensible American, this consideration ought to prevail over the few splendid actions of their half-dozen frigates, which must, in a continued war, have been, with all their bravery and activity, swept from the face of the ocean by the superior force and equal bravery of the English. It would be the height of madness in America to run into another naval war with this country, if it could be averted by any other means than a sacrifice of proper dignity and character. They have, comparatively, no land revenue; and, in spite of the *Franklin* and *Guerrière*, though lined with cedar and mounted with brass cannon, they must soon be reduced to the same state which has been described by Dr Seybert, and from which they were so opportunely extricated by the treaty of Ghent. David Porter, and Stephen Decatur, are very brave men; but they will prove an unspeakable misfortune to their country, if they inflame Jonathan into a love of naval glory, and inspire him with any other love of war than that which is founded upon a determination not to submit to serious insult and injury.

We can inform Jonathan what are the inevitable consequences of being too fond of glory;—TAXES upon every article which enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot—taxes upon every thing which it is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, or taste—taxes upon warmth, light, and locomotion—taxes on every thing on earth, and the waters under the earth—on every thing that comes from abroad, or is grown at home—taxes on the raw material—taxes on every fresh value that is added to it by the industry of man—taxes on the sauce which pampers man's appetite, and the drug that restores him to health—on the ermine which decorates the judge, and the rope which hangs the criminal—on the poor man's salt, and the rich man's spice—on the brass nails of the coffin, and the ribands of the bride—at bed or board, couchant or levant, we must pay:—The schoolboy whips his taxed top—the beardless youth ma-

nages his taxed horse, with a taxed bridle on a taxed road :—and the dying Englishman pouring his medicine, which has paid 7 per cent., into a spoon that has paid 15 per cent.—flings himself back upon his chintz-bed which has paid 22 per cent.—makes his will on an eight pound stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a license of an hundred pounds for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then immediately taxed from 2 to 10 per cent. Besides the probate, large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel; his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble; and he is then gathered to his fathers,—to be taxed no more. In addition to all this, the habit of dealing with large sums will make the Government avaricious and profuse; and the system itself will infallibly generate the base vermin of spies and informers, and a still more pestilent race of political tools and retainers of the meanest and most odious description;—while the prodigious patronage which the collecting of this splendid revenue will throw into the hands of Government, will invest it with so vast an influence, and hold out such means and temptations to corruption, as all the virtue and public spirit, even of republicans, will be unable to resist.

Every wise Jonathan should remember this, when he sees the rabble huzzaing at the heels of the truly respectable Decatur, or inflaming the vanity of that still more popular leader, whose justification has lowered the character of his Government with all the civilized nations of the world.

Debt.—America owed 42 millions dollars after the revolutionary war; in 1790, 79 millions; in 1803, 70 millions; and in the beginning of January 1812, the public debt was diminished to 45 millions dollars. After the last war with England, it had risen to 123 millions; and so it stood on the 1st January 1816. The total amount carried to the credit of the commissioners of the sinking fund, on the 31st December 1816, was about 34 millions of dollars.

Such is the land of Jonathan—and thus has it been governed. In his honest endeavours to better his situation, and in his manly purpose of resisting injury and insult, we most cordially sympathize. We hope he will always continue to watch and suspect his Government as he now does—remembering, that it is the constant tendency of those entrusted with power, to conceive that they enjoy it by their own merits, and for their own use, and not by delegation, and for the benefit of others. Thus far we are the friends and admirers of Jonathan: But he must not grow vain and ambitious; or allow himself to be dazzled by that galaxy of epithets by which his orators and newspaper scribblers

endeavour to persuade their supporters, that they are the greatest, the most refined, the most enlightened, and the most moral people upon earth. The effect of this is unspeakably ludicrous on this side of the Atlantic—and, even on the other, we should imagine, must be rather humiliating to the reasonable part of the population. The Americans are a brave, industrious, and acute people; but they have hitherto given no indications of genius, and made no approaches to the heroic, either in their morality or character. They are but a recent offset indeed from England; and should make it their chief boast, for many generations to come, that they are sprung from the same race with Bacon and Shakespeare and Newton. Considering their numbers, indeed, and the favourable circumstances in which they have been placed, they have yet done marvellously little to assert the honour of such a descent, or to show that their English blood has been exalted or refined by their republican training and institutions. Their Franklins and Washingtons, and all the other sages and heroes of their revolution, were born and bred subjects of the King of England,—and not among the freest or most valued of his subjects: And, since the period of their separation, a far greater proportion of their statesmen and artists and political writers have been foreigners, than ever occurred before in the history of any civilized and educated people. During the thirty or forty years of their independence, they have done absolutely nothing for the Sciences, for the Arts, for Literature, or even for the statesman-like studies of Politics or Political Economy. Confining ourselves to our own country, and to the period that has elapsed since *they* had an independent existence, we would ask, Where are their Foxes, their Burkes, their Sheridans, their Windhams, their Horners, their Wilberforces?—where their Arkwrights, their Watts, their Davys?—their Robertsons, Blairs, Smiths, Stewarts, Paleys and Malthuses?—their Porsons, Parrs, Burneys, or Blomfields?—their Scotts, Campbells, Byrons, Moores, or Crabbes?—their Siddonses, Kembles, Keans, or O'Neils?—their Wilkies, Laurences, Chantry's?—or their parallels to the hundred other names that have spread themselves over the world from our little island in the course of the last thirty years, and blest or delighted mankind by their works, inventions, or examples? In so far as we know, there is no such parallel to be produced from the whole annals of this self-adulating race. In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicians or surgeons? What new substances have their chemists discovered?

or what old ones have they analyzed? What new constellations have been discovered by the telescopes of Americans?—What have they done in the mathematics? Who drinks out of American glasses? or eats from American plates? or wears American coats or gowns? or sleeps in American blankets?—Finally, under which of the old tyrannical governments of Europe is every sixth man a Slave, whom his fellow-creatures may buy and sell and torture?

When these questions are fairly and favourably answered, their laudatory epithets may be allowed: But, till that can be done, we would seriously advise them to keep clear of superlatives.

ART. IV. *A Critical Examination of the First Principles of Geology; in a Series of Essays.* By G. B. GREENOUGH, President of the Geological Society, F. R. S. F. L. S. 8vo. pp. 340. London, 1819.

WE are partial, perhaps, to this book, from its hostility to that geological dogmatism with which we have been so often offended, and its patronage of that wholesome scepticism to which we have always been so much inclined; and yet, if it had fallen in less happily with our own opinions, we think we should have had the candour to say, that we had never before met with such a treasure of information, and so much bold and free reasoning in so small a volume, and on such a subject. We have no time at present to grapple with the author's arguments; and it is extremely difficult to give any continuous abstract, or analysis of statements already so compactly arrayed. But we must endeavour to give our readers some notion of their general tenor, and shall touch on some of the more prominent features of each Essay—referring to the work itself for a great variety of important particulars, and especially for a rich display of illustrations and examples.

ESSAY I. *On Stratification.*—From a great collection of contradictory passages in the writings of eminent geologists, Mr G. proves, not only that the stratification of granite, and some other rocks, is a point not yet ascertained; but that some of the main principles connected with the doctrine of stratification in general, are by no means satisfactorily established. Thus, although the parallel planes exhibited by the surfaces of different beds, may frequently have been effected by alternate suspensions and renewals of depositions, yet the same phenomenon is often produced by other causes; as in basaltic

pillars, in backs and cutters, in the laminæ of crystals, &c. Besides, the greater or less frequency of the recurrence of parallel planes depends on the nature of the substances deposited,—granite, porphyry, serpentine trap, salt and chalk, presenting themselves in thick masses, argillite in flakes, and sandstone and oolite in beds of moderate thickness. The larger divisions of rocks, too, are often not parallel to the laminæ of which they are composed: way-boards, or partings, seem to depend no less on the nature of the adjoining rocks, than on the circumstances which may be supposed to have attended their formation. At the junction of two kinds of rock, we often find a mutual impregnation of their respective substances; the contemporaneous veins of one stratum sometimes penetrate into that which is contiguous to it; and decomposition or torrefaction will frequently reveal stratification which was formerly latent. From all these circumstances we are warranted to infer, that adjoining strata may, in some instances, be contemporaneous, and that, at all events, stratification is not *uniformly* the effect of alternate cessations and repetitions of deposition.

Mr G. shows, in like manner, that a great diversity of opinion obtains relative to the position of rocks, and that, though vertical planes occur more frequently among those of primitive than among those of secondary character, yet every rock, in different parts of its course, exhibits both the vertical and horizontal position, as is copiously illustrated by examples.

He then confronts the arguments which have been alleged in favour of the original horizontality of strata, with those which have been urged in support of their original verticality, or, at least, of their high inclination to the horizon; stating, at the same time, with his usual candour, the difficulties which press on the different hypotheses which have been advanced with a view to account for such an inclination. This abstract or summary of the conflicting arguments is drawn up with great talent and admirable brevity. The curvatures and angularities of mineral masses and strata, with the consideration of their probable causes, likewise pass under his review.

'It is supposed by Mr Playfair,' he observes, 'that the curvature is generally, if not universally, simple, like the superficies of a cylinder, not double like that of a sphere;—this is a mistake. — As an instance of curvature extending in both directions, we may mention mantle-shaped strata. This appearance, though it has been most observed in primitive rocks, is by no means peculiar to these: in the north of England the limestone mantles round the slate; the coal-measures of Derbyshire mantle round the limestone. — When masses or strata decline upon every side towards a certain point, they are said to be basin-shaped. Such is the disposition of the mountain limestone at Ormes-

head, of the coal in South Wales, of the chalk in the north of Ireland. — The clam-shell cave at Staffa was probably so named, from the conchoidal form which it derives from curvature in the strata. — It is supposed that on the great Clec hill in Shropshire, there are no less than seven distinct coal-fields; the principal of them is covered by basalt, which varies in thickness from 60 yards to 0, though this coal field is only two miles in length, and one and a half in breadth: the strata dipping to a common centre, the thickness diminishes towards the circumference. — Another coal-field, a quarter of a mile in diameter, situate on the same hill, crops out in both directions. — In all these cases, the curvature is plainly not cylindrical, but spherical.

In the same spirit, this intrepid reasoner attacks the Huttonian notion of a horizontal elevation of the strata while in a flexible and ductile state; and observes, 1. that such a state could have no existence, there being in these substances no intermediate stage between fluidity and consolidation: 2. that the operation of the alleged cause would have given rise to other indications of disturbance, which do not actually appear: 3. that in many cases, no such cause can have operated, as the curved strata rest on horizontal ones, which betray no symptoms of curvature: 4. that even supposing its operation to have taken place, the effects ought to have been very different from actual appearances: 5. that the hypothesis does not account for *curvature in horizontal strata*: and, *lastly*, that the conformity of different strata is another circumstance fatal to this hypothesis. 'There is no species of rock in which the curves are more frequent, or more fantastical, than greywacke slate: this rock, we know, in many instances, alternates with conglomerate, the pebbles of which are disposed in such a manner, that it would be impossible for them to remain an instant in the place which they occupy, if the cement which connects them together were to become soft. The conglomerate, therefore, and consequently the slate which alternates with it, could not have been elevated till after its consolidation. If, then, as the Huttonians say, it was not consolidated till after it was curved; neither was it elevated till after it was curved: in other words, the effect preceded the cause.'

Regarding the principle of *crystallization* as alike inadequate to explain the phenomenon of curvature, Mr Greenough conjectures, that it may depend sometimes on the unequal effect produced by temperature on the materials of which the masses are composed, sometimes on the motions of the fluid from which they were deposited, and sometimes on the form of the bottom on which they rest; and the cases to which he alludes, cer-

plainly admit of a plausible explanation on one or other of these three principles. In conclusion, he thus puts his brother geologists to the question :

Where a rock is *stratified*, is it necessarily bound by parallel surfaces? if so, let us hear no more of mantle-shaped, saddle-shaped, shield-shaped, basin-shaped, trough-shaped stratification. — Are its surfaces necessarily parallel to those of the adjoining rock? If so, let us hear no more of unconformable and overlying stratification. — Is it sufficient that parallelism shall be found in a portion of the rock? Let us never hear of substances being unstratified? Or must it extend through the entire mass? Let us hear no more of strata. — The laminae of flagstone, the folia of slate, are these strata? Are masses of four hundred feet thick strata? Is there any assignable limit to their thickness or tenuity? — When one set of parallel planes crosses another, are both sets to be called strata, or neither, or only one of them? And if one only, by what rule are we to be guided in distinguishing the real from the counterfeit? — Must the beds be so arranged, as to convey to the observer the idea of deposition alternately suspended and renewed? If this is not necessary, how is the parallelism derived from stratification, to be distinguished from parallelism resulting from other causes? and of what use is it to know whether a substance is stratified or not? If it is necessary, where two observers have imbibed contrary impressions, how shall we determine which of the two is right? — Let him who can answer these questions rest assured that he has a distinct idea of stratification.

In geology, as in many other sciences, the loose use of words is the great source of perplexity. Until the precise import of the term *stratification*, for example, be settled and understood, the positive assertion of one observer will be met by the positive contradiction of another: the combatants will continue to waste their strength in air, and the truth will only be made more inextricable by their contention. The more general term *disposition*, may, perhaps, be sometimes employed with less risk of ambiguity; and the definitions which some of the French writers have given of *couché*, *lit*, *banc*, &c. may, probably, suggest some useful distinctions. While, on the whole, we cordially concur in the general spirit, and in the style of reasoning manifested in this important Essay, we may be permitted to express a desire, that a few of the arguments which are so formally enounced, had been somewhat more fully developed.

ESSAY II. is on the *Figure of the Earth*. On the supposition that the earth's surface was originally more or less fluid, the result of rotation on its axis would be such a figure as the observations of philosophers have proved that it actually possesses, namely, a spheroid flattened at the poles. Hence a strong presumptive argument in favour of the original fluidity of its super-

ficial materials—an argument which is powerfully confirmed by an examination of those materials, which bear evident marks of having once existed in a soft or fluid state, and most of them in aqueous solution or suspension. The quantity of water requisite for such a condition of things, and its subsequent disappearance, may be points of difficult explanation; but how few of the phenomena of nature are we capable of explaining in a satisfactory manner? The Huttonians, indeed, profess not to go back to the original state of our planet, and, therefore, dispense with a former prevalence of waters; but then they are more pressed with difficulties than other theorists, when they labour to deduce the present figure of the earth from the constant tear and wear of its surface, and from the production of new lands, elevated, at indefinite periods, from the bottom of the sea—two causes which, it should seem, would balance each other, and consequently, produce no effect.

In regard to the actual figure of the earth, or the inequalities on its surface, Mr Greenough first endeavours to show its proximate, and, afterwards, its more remote causes,—keeping, however, out of view the changes produced by volcanoes, coral reefs, drifting of sands, and calcareous concretions, as he perfectly acquiesces in Cuvier's account of these partial irregularities. From a very copious induction, he arrives at the general conclusion, that the interstices between mountains and hills have been produced, for the most part, by the removal of matter which previously occupied them. Advancing a step farther, he demonstrates the inadequacy of our present seas and rivers to effect the excavation of extensive valleys, whence he is led to infer the operation of a deluge, or violent rush of waters, which has swept over every part of the globe. The consideration of these positions necessarily involves that of the agreement of strata and rocks, on opposite sides of valleys, rivers, and channels of the sea, as well as the transference of masses of granite to the detached and problematical spots on which they are now found: and both these topics are discussed with ability and candour. Another argument is deduced from the nature of boulder-stones, and alluvial deposits, which, every where, indicate the traces of running water, and seem to have proceeded from the breaking up of rocks at a higher level than themselves. It has likewise been observed, that the larger masses of these substances are generally found nearest to the parent rock; and that those blocks, or pebbles, which are more distant from their native place, are composed of the hardest and most indestructible materials. It is added, that 'Substances which break into cubic or hexagonal blocks, are found at a greater distance

from their native place than those which break into blocks, the angles of which are acute.' The enumeration of granite bowlders in various quarters of the world, evinces the futility of the theory which slides them into the north of Germany on the ice.

One of the most striking of the quotations by which he endeavours to discredit the notion, of Rivers being sufficient to account for the transportation of such bodies, is the following from a late traveller in Spain, 'who bestowed much attention on this subject, and thinks, that rivers, flowing under ordinary circumstances, are incompetent to transport to any distance, not only colossal blocks, but moderately-sized gravel.

"From the singularity of their appearance," he says, "there are few pebbles which it would be so easy to recognise, as those in the bed of the Henares, near St Fernandez. If they ever moved at all, they ought, in the course of ages, to have found their way into the Tagus a little way off; but there is not one of them in the Tagus.

'At Sacedon, the Tagus is full of limestone pebbles: lower down, at Aranjuez, there are none. Nobody has ever seen granite pebbles, large or small, in the Ebro, nor blue stones veined with white; yet the Cinca, just before it joins the Ebro, abounds in them.

'White and red pebbles of quartz are found in the bed of the Noxera, which likewise falls into the Ebro; but in the Ebro is found nothing of the kind. The Guadiana in different parts of its course flows over pebbles, similar to those found in the strata of the adjacent hills; but those which occur half a league up the stream, never mix with those which occur half a league down; and at Badajoz, stones of this kind, being no longer found in the cliffs, are no longer found in the river. — At the source of the Loire are pebbles innumerable; lower down, at Nevers, only sand. — In the Yonne river, above Sens, are flints in abundance; for they abound in the banks of the Yonne, about Joigny. The Yonne falls into the Seine above Paris; but who ever saw any of these flints at the Pont-neuf, or any pebble whatever, round or angular?

'Near the Perte du Rhone you cross the river of the Valoisine, which is full of pebbles, because the country it flows through is full of them. At one place, this river tumbles into a kind of cavern: If pebbles were carried down by rivers, the cavern ought to contain them in abundance; it does not contain one. On my way to Geneva, I threw some stones, which I had marked so that I might know them again, into this river, just above its fall; and there I found them on my return. They had not advanced an inch during my absence. — The Rhone, Garonne, and Adour rivers, remarkable for the quantity of pebbles they run over in one part of their course, have only sand at their mouth.'

On the subject of the larger blocks which have evidently travelled, he afterwards observes,

' A late naturalist (M. Deluc), who, dying in the fulness of years, left behind him a name much too respectable to prevent his errors from being contagious, advanced a very extraordinary hypothesis, to explain the blocks so frequent on the Jura, and in Northern Germany; he supposed these blocks to have been thrown up by the expansive power of gas, generated at the time of their formation, and to have fallen where we now find them; that is, resting upon beds of limestone and sandstone, the pedestal on which they rest unshattered. How blocks of such enormous weight and magnitude, could fall upon beds so fragile, without fracturing them, it is not easy to discover; still less how such an event could happen before these beds were in existence; for, I suppose, no one will claim for the mountains of Jura so high an antiquity as is conceded to Mont Blanc. — It is some palliation, however, of this hypothesis, that it was constructed at a time when the imaginations of all men were so dazzled by the brilliant discoveries then making, in pneumatic chemistry, that it was almost as difficult to speculate without gas, as to breathe without air. — The circumstance of primitive blocks resting so frequently upon secondary beds, furnishes an argument equally conclusive against the opinion, that these blocks are only the survivors of a catastrophe by which the adjoining parts of the strata to which they belonged were destroyed.'

Mr Greenough meets the material objections to his doctrine with no less vigour than he states the arguments in its favour; and, although we cannot accompany him through the details, we very earnestly recommend to the perusal of our geological readers, his excellent remarks on fossil, animal, and vegetable remains, and on the hasty and crude conceptions which have been formed of continuous ridges of mountains. The diluvian catastrophe he supposes to have taken place subsequent to the consolidation of the planets of our solar system; but he admits that we have no positive physical evidence to determine whether it happened before or after the creation of man. ' We have only,' he says, ' this negative evidence, that neither any part of a human skeleton, nor any implements of art, have been hitherto discovered, either in regular strata, or in diluvian attritus.' Having adverted to the improbability of any adequate cause of such an eventful visitation residing within the limits of our globe, or even of our solar system, he thus concludes—

' If, then, we would discover the cause of this catastrophe, we must look for a cause foreign to our globe, foreign to the solar system, capable of inundating continents, and giving to the waters of the deep unexampled impetuosity, but without altering the interior con-

stitution of the earth, or deranging the sister planets : moreover, the cause must be transitory, and one which, having acted its part once, may not have had occasion to repeat it in the long period of five thousand years. Any supposable cause that would not fulfil these conditions, is insufficient for our purpose.

‘ Would a comet fulfil them ? Much would depend on its bulk and distance. It would not fulfil them if we suppose a comet, large in comparison of the earth, to move in a line joining the centres of the two bodies, so as to produce a direct shock : but, if we suppose one of suitable dimensions to move in such a direction as would allow it only to graze the earth, it is not impossible that the shock of this body, a body, such as we require, out of the solar system, might produce the degree and kind of derangement which we are attempting to account for ; I mean, a great temporary derangement on the surface of the earth, unaccompanied by any material change of its planetary motion. Euler, who, in a treatise entitled “ *De periculo a nimia comete appropinquatione metuendo*,” has investigated the changes that would be made in the elements of the earth’s orbit by a comet, its equal in bulk, coming almost in contact with it, finds that the attraction of such a comet would indeed alter the length of our year, but only by the addition of seven hours. The maximum effect resulting from the comet’s attraction at the time of its passage, would be greater than we should be led to infer from the total result of its attraction, at its final departure ; for the changes occasioned during its approach, would be in a great measure undone during its retreat : but, even at their maximum, they would not be very great ; because, from the rapidity of the comet’s motion, time would be wanting to complete them. A comet grazing the earth would be incompetent, Euler says, to produce even a deluge of our continents, unless the shortness of its stay were compensated by a magnitude of volume, exceeding that upon which he has founded his calculation.

‘ I shall conclude by remarking, that if the hypothesis of a shock derived from the passage either of a comet or of one of those numerous, important, and long neglected bodies, often of great magnitude and velocity, which occasion meteors, and shower down stones upon the earth, would explain the phenomena of the deluge, (a point upon which I forbear to give any opinion), we need not be deterred from embracing that hypothesis, under an apprehension that there is in it any thing extravagant or absurd. In the limited period of a few centuries, there is little probability of the interference of two bodies so small in comparison with the immensity of space ; but the number of these bodies is extremely great ; and it is therefore by no means improbable, says La Place, that such interference should take place in a vast number of years.’

ESSAY III. *On the Inequalities which existed on the Surface of the Earth previously to diluvian action, and on the Causes of these Inequalities.*—After admitting, that irregular crystallization, partial deposition, subsidence, earthquakes and volcanoes, may have

had considerable influence in producing some of the inequalities on the earth's surface, the author is still disposed to attribute by far the greater number of them to the action of running water. The general occurrence of conglomerate and greywacké on the confines of primitive rocks, seems to indicate a deluge similar in kind, though, perhaps, not equal in extent, to that which determined the present outline of the earth. These considerations, which are despatched with much brevity, might, perhaps, with more propriety, have been included in the preceding Essay.

ESSAYS IV. & V. *On Formations.*—*On the Order of Succession in Rocks.*—In opposition to the popular Wernerian notions of formations, or series of rocks of alleged contemporaneous origin, the author contends, that neither the intermixture of their ingredients, nor their alternations of occurrence, sufficiently justifies the inference of the simultaneous production of mineral substances; for, rocks generally held to be of very different ages, often present intermixtures of their component parts, or pass into one another, while such a mutual blending is frequently not discoverable in others that are reputed to be of the same age. Yet, when two substances are distinctly incorporated in the same mass, it is difficult to conceive of them as generated at different epochs. Examples are also cited of alternating substances which are not regarded as coeval, while those which are deemed coeval, do not always alternate. So many exceptions to the principle of universal and partial formations, are, moreover, adduced, and so many formidable difficulties stated against its probability, that it ought, in fairness, to be abandoned.

'Unable to connect similar rocks of distant countries, obliged to connect dissimilar ones in the same neighbourhood, can any one uphold the doctrine of Universal Formations? Let him, who answers in the affirmative, reflect on the consequences which that doctrine involves. He must admit, that, when the particles of quartz, feldspar, and mica, which had heretofore arranged themselves so as to form granite, changed their mode of arrangement so as to form gneiss, that change was conveyed with the rapidity of an electric shock from one end of the world to the other; that the currents of different hemispheres had so equable a motion; that the particles borne along by these currents were so equally assorted; that, within the tropics, and without, the same depositions began and ceased at the same moment; that similar pebbles were detached from their native rocks, at the poles and at the equator, by equal forces acting under the same circumstances; and were deposited and cemented by the same means, and at the same time. All this he must admit, or reject *in toto* the doctrine of Universal Formations.'

With regard to the Order of Succession in rocks, too, the facts which the author brings forth from his ample stores, are

calculated to shake our faith in the commonly received notions of the Wernerian school. Even the precedence of genealogy assigned to granite has been successfully controverted; for this rock has been found to alternate with gneiss, with mica-slate, and with schistus; nay, killas has been observed passing into it, and dipping beneath it. In some cases, it rests on quartz, on hornstone, on slate; and, in France, not unfrequently, on limestone. Again, the term *fundamental* has, it should seem, been gratuitously predicated of a particular description of granite; for, by the terms of the proposition, the bottom of this formation has never been seen, and consequently we have no means of ascertaining whether it be fundamental or not.' The tables of sections in Ebel's work may suffice to convince us, that equal uncertainty prevails with respect to the relative position of other rocks reputed primitive. Besides, in almost every country, we find what are termed transition rocks in the midst of primitive districts, or *vice versâ*; while the line of demarcation between even the primary and secondary classes, is far less distinct than has been generally supposed.

It is said in the Wernerian theory, that, after the formation of all other strata, an immense deluge suddenly occurred, and as suddenly retired, leaving, behind it, those scattered hummocks of flötz-trap, which have, for some years, so greatly engaged the attention of geologists. — The proofs of this catastrophe, we are informed, are to be found in the great elevation which these rocks occasionally attain; in their broken stratification; in their unconformable posture; and in the nature of their materials.

But are trap-rocks really more elevated than others? or their stratification more broken? It is time enough to consider inferences when we have established facts. — If the posture of trap is often unconformable, so is that of granite, sienite, hornblend rock, porphyry, primitive greenstone, &c.

Every rock without exception lies, sometimes, in a conformable, sometimes in an unconformable posture: and perhaps the different members of the flötz-trap formation, as often exhibit a want of conformity towards each other, as, towards the beds on which they repose. — As to the nature of its materials—many of them are precisely the same as those found in other formations. The only rocks which are cited as peculiar to, and characteristic of, the newest flötz-trap, are basalt, wacké, greystone, porphyry-slate, and trap-tuff. I am not sure that I know what greystone is; the only locality given of it by Jameson, is Vesuvius, where it is said to form a portion of the *unchanged* rocks. The doctrine, that it belongs to the flötz-trap, therefore, is founded on an assumption, that we have the means of distinguishing, in volcanic countries, substances which have been changed by the volcano from those which have not—an assumption somewhat gratuitous. The remaining substances, viz. basalt, wacké,

porphyry-slate, and trap-tuff, are certainly not peculiar to this formation; as in England, Scotland, and Ireland, they are often found interstratified with other formations much older. There is reason to suspect that, in Germany, trap-rocks of very different eras have been referred to the same era, and that much of that which has been supposed the newest flötz-trap in Scotland, and which ought, therefore, to be more modern than the beds of the basin of Paris, is coeval with red sandstone, mountain-limestone, and coal.

ESSAY VI. & VII. *On the Properties of Rocks, as connected with their respective Ages. — On the History of Strata, as deduced from their Fossil Contents.*—The properties of rocks which are here considered, are their ingredients, structure, specific gravity, consolidation, stratification, posture with regard to the horizon, relative posture to one another, dip and direction, altitude, contained metals, and fossils. On each of these heads the author offers some pertinent remarks; but which our limits will not permit us to particularize. It is of importance, however, to notice, that the supposed relation between the age of a rock and the fossils which it contains, is often fallacious; and that the various facts which have now been collected concerning the interesting phenomena of organic relics, demonstrate the inaccuracy of some of the opinions which have been adopted by geologists of the first reputation.

ESSAY VIII. *On Mineral Veins.*—According to our author's views, fissures have been produced principally by shrinkage; but others may have been caused, or enlarged, by the contraction of an adjoining mass, by the shock of an earthquake, or by failure of support, the erosion of subterranean waters occasioning subsidence. These fissures, or chasms, when filled with mineral matter, are called *veins*. Mr Greenough makes some excellent observations on their varieties, anomalies, and probable indications, which cannot fail to interest both the speculative geologist and the practical miner: but, while he rejects both the Huttonian and Wernerian hypotheses, relative to their formation, he sheds little original light on this obscure subject.

On the whole, however, he possesses the rare merit of stating his facts and opinions in a clear and manly, yet modest and respectful manner, untrammelled by preconceived systems, and unseduced by the fascination of great names. Truth, and truth alone, appears to have been the object of his extensive travels, of years of unwearied study, and of the devotion of an ample fortune to the prosecution of his favourite investigations. Nor will such praiseworthy efforts be without their reward, since they must evidently tend to assuage the angry contentions of conflicting geologists, and to demonstrate the superior va-

lie of patient inquiry and research, over hasty generalizations, of the construction of assailable theories. The brevity of the work, too, is the more meritorious, when we consider not only the rarity of that quality in books of this description, but the vast, and, we believe we might say, unparalleled extent both of reading and research which have gone to its composition. The prodigious number and bulk of the publications on Mineralogy and Geology which have been given to the world within these thirty years, have not only put correct information beyond the reach of ordinary readers—but have made it difficult for geologists themselves, at once to extend their own observations, and to keep clearly in view all that has been done by their associates. The work before us not only contains an admirable digest and collation of the most authoritative statements and opinions on a great variety of important questions, but is eminently calculated, by the contradictions which it everywhere exhibits, to abate the confidence of narrow observers and rash theorists; and to inculcate the necessity of that patient industry and modest scepticism, by which alone the pursuits of Geology can ever attain to the dignity of a Science.

ART. V. *A Safe Method for rendering Income arising from Personal Property available to the Poor-Laws.* Longman & Co. 1819.

2. *Summary Review of the Report and Evidence relative to the Poor-Laws.* By S. W. NICOL. York.

3. *Essay on the Practicability of Modifying the Poor-Laws.* Sherwood. 1819.

4. *Considerations on the Poor-Laws.* By JOHN DAVISON, A. M. Oxford.

OUR readers, we fear, will require some apology for being asked to look at any thing upon the Poor-Laws. No subject, we admit, can be more disagreeable, or more trite: But, unfortunately, it is the most important of all the important subjects which the distressed state of the country is now crowding upon our notice.

A pamphlet on the Poor-Laws generally contains some little piece of favourite nonsense, by which we are gravely told this enormous evil may be perfectly cured. The first gentleman recommends little gardens; the second cows; the third a village shop; the fourth a spade; the fifth Dr Bell, and so forth. E-

very man rushes to the press with his small morsel of imbecility; and is not easy till he sees his impertinence stitched in blue covers. In this list of absurdities, we must not forget the project of supporting the poor from national funds, or, in other words, of immediately doubling the expenditure, and introducing every possible abuse into the administration of it. Then there are worthy men, who call upon gentlemen of fortune and education to become overseers—meaning, we suppose, that the present overseers are to perform the higher duties of men of fortune. Then Merit is set up as the test of relief; and their Worships are to enter into a long examination of the life and character of each applicant, assisted, as they doubtless would be, by candid overseers, and neighbours divested of every feeling of malice and partiality. The children are next to be taken from their parents, and lodged in immense pedagogues of several acres each, where they are to be carefully secluded from those fathers and mothers they are commanded to obey and honour, and are to be brought up in virtue by the churchwardens:—And this is gravely intended as a corrective of the Poor-Laws; as if (to pass over the many other objections which might be made to it) it would not set mankind populating faster than carpenters and bricklayers could cover in their children, or separate twigs be bound into rods for their flagellation. An extension of the Poor-Laws to personal property is also talked of. We should be very glad to see any species of property exempted from these laws, but have no wish that any which is now exempted should be subjected to their influence. The case would infallibly be like that of the Income-tax,—the more easily the tax was raised, the more prodigal would be the expenditure. It is proposed also that alehouses should be diminished, and that the children of the poor should be catechised publicly in the church,—both very respectable and proper suggestions, but of themselves hardly strong enough for the evil. We have every wish that the poor should accustom themselves to habits of sobriety; but we cannot help reflecting sometimes, that an alehouse is the only place where a poor tired creature, haunted with every species of wretchedness, can purchase three or four times a year, three pennyworth of ale, a liquor upon which winedrinking moralists are always extremely severe. We must not forget, among other nostrums, the eulogy of small farms—in other words of small capital, and profound ignorance in the arts of agriculture;—and the evil is also thought to be cureable by periodical contributions from men who have nothing, and can earn nothing without charity. To one of these plans, and perhaps the most plausible, Mr

Nicol has stated, in the following passage, objections that are applicable to almost all the rest.

The district school would no doubt be well superintended and well regulated; Magistrates and Country Gentlemen would be its visitors. The more excellent the establishment, the greater the mischief; because the greater the expense. We may talk what we will of economy, but where the care of the poor is taken exclusively into the hands of the rich, comparative extravagance is the necessary consequence: to say that the Gentleman, or even the Overseer would never permit the poor to live at the district school, as they live at home, is saying far too little. English humanity will never see the poor in any thing like want, when that want is palpably and visibly brought before it; first, it will give necessaries, next comforts, until its fostering care rather pampers, than merely relieves. The humanity itself is highly laudable; but if practised on an extensive scale, its consequences must entail an almost unlimited expenditure.

Mr Locke computes that the labour of a child from 3 to 14, being set against its nourishment and teaching, the result will be exoneration of the Parish from expense. Nothing could prove more decisively the incompetency of the Board of Trade, to advise on this question. Of the productive labour of the workhouse, I shall have to speak hereafter; I will only observe in this place, that after the greatest care and attention bestowed on the subject, after expensive rooms purchased, &c. the 50 boys of the Blue Coat School earned in the year 1816, 59*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.*; the 40 Girls earned, in the same time, 40*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* The ages of these children are from 8 to 16: They earn about one pound in the year, and cost about twenty.

The greater the call for labour in public institutions, be they prisons, workhouses or schools, the more difficult to be procured that labour must be. There will thence be both much less of it for the comparative numbers, and it will afford a much less price; to get any labour at all, one school must underbid another.

It has just been observed, that "the child of a poor cottager, half clothed, half fed, with the enjoyment of home and liberty, is not only happier but better than the little automaton of a Parish workhouse;" and this I believe is accurately true. I scarcely know a more cheering sight, though certainly many more elegant ones, than the youthful gambols of a village green. They call to mind the description given by Paley of the shoals of the fry of fish: "They are so happy that they know not what to do with themselves; their attitude, their vivacity, their leaps out of the water, their frolics in it, all conduce to show their excess of spirits, and are simply the effects of that excess."

Though politeness may be banished from the cottage, and though the anxious mother may sometimes chide a little too sharply; yet, here both maternal endearments and social affection exist in perhaps their greatest vigour; the attachments of lower life, where independ-

ent of attachment there is so little to enjoy, far outstrip the divided if not exhausted sensibility of the rich and great; and in depriving the poor of these attachments, we may be said to rob them of their little all.

‘ But it is not to happiness only I here refer; it is to morals. I listen with great reserve to that system of moral instruction, which has not social affection for its basis, or the feelings of the heart for its ally. It is not to be concealed, that every thing may be taught, yet nothing learned; that systems planned with care, and executed with attention, may evaporate into unmeaning forms, where the imagination is not roused, or the sensibility impressed.

‘ Let us suppose the children of the “ district school,” nurtured with that superabundant care which such institutions, when supposed to be well conducted, are wont to exhibit: They rise with the dawn; after attending to the calls of cleanliness, prayers follow; then a lesson; then breakfast; then work, till noon liberates them for perhaps an hour, from the walls of their prison, to the walls of their prison court. Dinner follows; and then, in course, work, lessons, supper, prayers; at length, after a day dreary and dull, the counter part of every day which has preceded, and of all that are to follow, the children are dismissed to bed. — This system may construct a machine, but it will not form a man. Of what does it consist? of prayers parrotted without one sentiment in accord with the words uttered; of moral lectures which the understanding does not comprehend, or the heart feel; of endless bodily constraint, intolerable to youthful vivacity, and injurious to the perfection of the human frame. — The cottage day may not present so imposing a scene; no decent uniform; no well trimmed locks; no glossy skin, no united response of hundreds of conjoined voices; no lengthened procession, misnamed exercise: but if it has less to strike the eye, it has far more to engage the heart. A trifle in the way of cleanliness must suffice; the prayer is not forgot; it is perhaps imperfectly repeated, and confusedly understood; but it is not muttered as a vain sound; it is an earthly parent that tells of a heavenly one; duty, love, obedience, are not words without meaning, when repeated by a mother to her child: To God—the great unknown Being that made all things, all thanks, all praise, all adoration is due. The young religionist may be in some measure bewildered by all this; his notions may be obscure, but his feelings will be roused, and the foundation at least of true piety will be laid.

‘ Of moral instruction, the child may be taught less at home than at school, but he will be taught better; that is, whatever he is taught, he will feel; he will not have abstract propositions of duty coldly presented to his mind; but precept and practice will be conjoined; what he is told it is right to do, will be instantly done. Sometimes the operative principle on the child’s mind will be love, sometimes fear, sometimes habitual sense of obedience; it is always something that will impress, always something that will be remembered.

There are two points which we consider as now admitted by all men of sense. *First*, That the Poor-Laws must be abolished; *2dly*, That they must be *very gradually* abolished. We hardly think it worth while to throw away pen and ink upon any one who is still inclined to dispute either of these propositions.

With respect to the gradual abolition, it must be observed, that the present redundant population of the country has been entirely produced by the Poor-Laws; and nothing could be so grossly unjust, as to encourage people to such a vitious multiplication, and then, when you happen to discover your folly, immediately to starve them into annihilation. You have been calling upon your population for two hundred years to beget more children—furnished them with clothes, food, and houses—taught them to lay up nothing for matrimony, nothing for children, nothing for age—but to depend upon Justices of the Peace for every human want. The folly is now detected; but the people, who are the fruit of it, remain. It was madness to call them in this manner into existence; but it would be the height of cold-blooded cruelty to get rid of them by any other than the most gentle and gradual means; and not only would it be cruel, but extremely dangerous, to make the attempt. Insurrections of the most sanguinary and ferocious nature would be the immediate consequence of any very sudden change in the system of the Poor-Laws; not partial, like those which proceed from an impeded or decaying state of manufactures, but as universal as the Poor-Laws themselves, and as ferocious as insurrections always are which are led on by hunger and despair.

These observations may serve as an answer to those angry and impatient gentlemen, who are always crying out, What has the Committee of the House of Commons done?—What have they to show for their labours?—Are the Rates lessened? Are the evils removed? The Committee of the House of Commons would have shown themselves to be a set of the most contemptible charlatans, if they had proceeded with any such indecent and perilous haste, or paid the slightest regard to the ignorant folly which required it at their hands. They have very properly begun, by collecting all possible information upon the subject; by consulting speculative and practical men; by leaving time for the press to contribute whatever it could of thought or knowledge to the subject; and by introducing measures, the effects of which will be, and are intended to be, gradual. The Lords seemed at first to have been surprised that the Poor-Laws were not abolished before the end of the first Session of Parliament; and accordingly set up a little rival Committee of their own,

which did little or nothing, and will not, we believe, be renewed. We are so much less sanguine than those Noble Legislators, that we shall think the improvement immense, and a subject of very general congratulation, if the Poor-rates are perceptibly diminished, and if the system of Pauperism is clearly going down in twenty or thirty years hence.

We think, upon the whole, that Government have been fortunate in the selection of the gentleman who is placed at the head of the Committee for the revision of the Poor Laws; or rather, we should say, (for he is a gentleman of very independent fortune), who has consented that he should be placed there. Mr Sturges Bourne is undoubtedly a man of business, and of very good sense: he has made some mistakes; but, upon the whole, sees the subject as a philosopher and a statesman ought to do. Above all, we are pleased with his good nature and good sense in adhering to his undertaking, after the Parliament has flung out two or three of his favourite bills. Many men would have surrendered so unthankful and laborious an undertaking in disgust; but Mr Bourne knows better what appertains to his honour and character, and, above all, what he owes to his country. It is a great subject; and such as will secure to him the gratitude and favour of posterity, if he brings it to a successful issue.

We have stated our opinion, that all remedies, without gradual abolition, are of little importance. With a foundation laid for such gradual abolition, every auxiliary improvement of the Poor-Laws (while they do remain) is worthy the attention of Parliament: and, in suggesting a few alterations as fit to be immediately adopted, we wish it to be understood, that we have in view the gradual destruction of the system, as well as its amendment while it continues to operate.

It seems to us, then, that one of the first and greatest improvements of this unhappy system, would be a complete revision of the Law of Settlement. Since Mr East's act for preventing the removal of the poor till they are actually chargeable, any man may live where he pleases, till he becomes a beggar and asks alms of the place where he resides. To gain a settlement, then, is nothing more than to gain a right of begging: it is not, as it used to be before Mr East's act, a power of residing where, in the judgment of the resident, his industry and exertion will be best rewarded; but a power of taxing the industry and exertions of other persons in the place where his settlement falls. "This privilege produces all the evil complained of in the Poor-Laws; and instead therefore of being conferred with the liberality and profusion which it is at present, it should be made of very difficult at-

tainment, and liable to the fewest possible changes. The constant policy of our Courts of Justice has been, to make settlements easily obtained. Since the period we have before alluded to, this has certainly been a very mistaken policy. It would be a far wiser course to abolish all other means of settlement than those of Birth, Parentage, and Marriage—not for the limited reason stated in the Committee, that it would diminish the law expenses, (though that, too, is of importance), but because it would invest fewer residents with the fatal privilege of turning beggars, exempt a greater number of labourers from the moral corruption of the Poor-Laws, and stimulate them to exertion and economy, by the fear of removal if they are extravagant and idle. Of ten men who leave the place of their birth, four, probably, get a settlement by yearly hiring, and four others by renting a small tenement; while two or three may return to the place of their nativity, and settle there. Now, under the present system, here are eight men settled where they have a right to beg without being removed. The probability is that they will all beg; and that their virtue will give way to the incessant temptation of the Poor-Laws: But if these men had felt from the very beginning, that removal from the place where they wished most to live, would be the sure consequence of their idleness and extravagance, the probability is that they would have escaped the contagion of pauperism, and been much more useful members of society than they now are. The best labourers in a village are commonly those who are living where they are not legally settled, and have no right to ask charity—for the plain reason, that they have nothing to depend upon but their own exertions: In short, for them the Poor-Laws hardly exist; and they are such as the great mass of English peasantry would be, if we had escaped the curse of these laws altogether.

It is incorrect to say, that no labourer would settle out of the place of his birth, if the means of acquiring a settlement were so limited. Many men begin the world with strong hope and much confidence in their own fortune, and without any intention of subsisting by charity; but they see others subsisting in greater ease, without their toil—and their spirit gradually sinks to the meanness of mendicancy.

An affecting picture is sometimes drawn of a man falling into want in the decline of life, and compelled to remove from the place where he has spent the greatest part of his days. These things are certainly painful enough to him who has the misfortune to witness them. But they must be taken upon a

large scale; and the whole good and evil which they produce diligently weighed and considered. The question then will be, whether any thing can be more really humane, than to restrain a system which relaxes the sinews of industry, and places the dependence of laborious men upon any thing but themselves. We must not think only of the wretched sufferer who is removed, and, at the sight of his misfortunes, call out for fresh facilities to beg. We must remember the industry, the vigour, and the care which the dread of removal has excited, and the number of persons who owe their happiness and their wealth to that salutary feeling. The very person who, in the decline of life, is removed from the spot where he has spent so great a part of his time, would perhaps have been a pauper half a century before, if he had been afflicted with the right of asking alms in the place where he lived.

It has been objected, that this plan of abolishing all settlements but those of birth, would send a man, the labour of whose youth had benefited some other parish, to pass the useless part of his life in a place for which he existed only as a burden: Supposing that this were the case, it would be quite sufficient to answer, that any given parish would probably send away as many useless old men as it received; and, after all, little inequalities must be borne for the general good. But, in truth, it is rather ridiculous to talk of a parish not having benefited by the labour of the man who is returned upon their hands in his old age. If such parish resembles most of those in England, the absence of a man for 30 or 40 years has been a great good instead of an evil; they have had many more labourers than they could employ; and the very man whom they are complaining of supporting for his few last years, would, in all probability, have been a beggar 40 years before, if he had remained among them; or, by pushing him out of work, would have made some other man a beggar. Are the benefits derived from prosperous manufactures, limited to the parishes which contain them? The industry of Halifax, Huddersfield, or Leeds, is felt across the kingdom as far as the Eastern Sea. The prices of meat and corn at the markets of York and Malton, are instantly affected by any increase of demand and rise of wages in the manufacturing districts to the west. They have benefited these distant places, and found labour for their superfluous hands by the prosperity of their manufactures. Where then would be the injustice, if the manufacturers, in the time of stagnation and poverty, were returned to their birth settlements? But as the law now stands, population tumors, of the most dangerous nature, may spring up in any parish;—a manufacturer, con-

realizing his intention, may settle there, take 200 or 300 apprentices, fail, and half ruin the parish which has been the scene of his operations. For these reasons, we strongly recommend to Mr Bourne to narrow as much as possible, in all his future bills, the means of acquiring settlements, and to reduce them ultimately to parentage, birth and marriage,—convinced that, by so doing, he will, in furtherance of the great object of abolishing the Poor-Laws, be only *limiting the right of begging*, and preventing the Resident and Almsman from being (as they now commonly are) one and the same person. But, before we dismiss this part of the subject, we must say a few words upon the methods by which settlements are now gained.

In the settlement by Hiring, it is held, that a man has a claim upon the parish for support where he has laboured for a year; and yet another, who has laboured there for 20 years by short hirings, gains no settlement at all. When a man was not allowed to live where he was not settled, it was wise to lay hold of any plan for extending settlements. But the whole question is now completely changed; and the only point which remains, is, to find out what mode of conferring settlements produces the least possible mischief. We are convinced it is by throwing every possible difficulty in the way of acquiring them. If a settlement hereafter should not be obtained in that parish in which labourers have worked for many years, it will be because it contributes materially to their happiness that they should not gain a settlement there; and this is a full answer to the apparent injustice.

Then, upon what plea of common sense should a man gain a power of taxing a parish to keep him, because he has Rented a tenement of ten pounds a year there? or, because he has served the office of clerk, or sexton, or hog-ringer, or bought an estate of thirty pounds value? However good these various pleas might be for conferring settlements, if it was desirable to increase the facility of obtaining them, they are totally inefficacious if it can be shown, that the means of gaining new settlements should be confined to the limits of the strictest necessity.

These observations (if they have the honour of attracting his attention) will show Mr Bourne our opinion of his bill, for giving the privilege of settlement only to a certain length of residence. In the *first* place, such a bill would be the cause of endless vexation to the poor, from the certainty of their being turned out of their cottages, before they pushed their legal tap-root into the parish: and, *secondly*, it would rapidly extend all the evils of the Poor-Laws, by identifying, much more than

they are at present identified, the resident and the settled man—the very opposite of the policy which ought to be pursued.

Let us suppose, then, that we have got rid of all the means of gaining a settlement, or right to become a beggar, except by birth, parentage, and marriage; for the wife, of course, must fall into the settlement of the husband; and the children, till emancipated, must be removed, if their parents are removed. This point gained, the task of regulating the law expenses of the Poor-Laws, would be nearly accomplished; for the most fertile causes of dispute would be removed. Every first settlement is an inexhaustible source of litigation and expense to the miserable rustics. Upon the simple fact, for example, of a farmer hiring a ploughman for a year, arise the following afflicting questions. Was it an expressed contract? Was it an implied contract? Was it an implied hiring of the ploughman, rebutted by circumstances? Was the ploughman's contract for a year's prospective service? Was it a customary hiring of the ploughman? Was it a retrospective hiring of the ploughman? Was it a conditional hiring? Was it a general hiring? Was it a special, or a special yearly hiring, or a special hiring with wages reserved weekly? Did the farmer make it a special conditional hiring with warning, or an exceptive hiring? Was the service of the ploughman actual or constructive? Was there any dispensation expressed or implied?—or was there a dissolution implied?—by new agreement?—or mutual consent?—or by Justices?—or by any other of the ten thousand means which the ingenuity of lawyers has created? Can any one be surprised, after this, to learn that the amount of appeals for removals, in the four Quarter Sessions ending Midsummer, 1817, were *four thousand seven hundred*?* Can any man doubt that it is necessary to reduce the Hydra to as few heads as possible? or can any other objection be stated to such reduction, than the number of attorneys, and provincial counsel, whom it will bring into the poor-house?—Mr Nicol says, that the greater number of modes of settlement do not increase litigation. He may just as well say, that the number of the streets in the Seven Dials, does not increase the difficulty of finding the way. The modes of settlement we leave, are by far the simplest, and the evidence is assisted by registers.

Under the head of Law Expenses, we are convinced a great deal may be done, by making some slight alteration in the law of Removals. At present, Removals are made without any warn-

* Commons' Report, 1817.

ing to the parties to whom the pauper is removed; and the first intimation which the defendant parish receives of the projected increase of their population is, by the arrival of the father, mother, and eight or nine children at the overseer's door—where they are tumbled out, with the Justice's order about their necks, and left as a spectacle to the assembled and indignant parishioners. No sooner have the poor wretches become a little familiarized to their new parish, than the order is appealed against, and they are recanted with the same precipitate indecency—*Quo fata trahunt, retrahuntque.*

No removal should ever take place, without due notice to the parish to which the pauper is to be removed, nor till the time in which it may be appealed against is past by: Notice to be according to the distance—either by letter, or personally: and the decision should be made by the Justices at their petty sessions, with as much care and attention as if there were no appeal from their decision. An absurd notion prevails among Magistrates, that they need not take much trouble in the investigation of removals, because their errors may be corrected by a superior Court: whereas it is an object of great importance, by a fair and diligent investigation in the nearest and cheapest court, to convince the country people which party is right and which is wrong; and in this manner to prevent them from becoming the prey of Law-Vermin. We are convinced that this subject of the removal of poor, is well worthy a short and separate bill. Mr Bourne thinks it would be very difficult to draw up such a bill. We are quite satisfied we could draw up one in ten minutes that would completely answer the end proposed, and cure the evil complained of.

We proceed to a number of small details, which are well worth the attention of the Legislature. --- Overseers' accounts should be given in Quarterly, and passed by the Justices, as they now are annually. The office of Overseer should be triennial. The accounts, which have nothing to do with the Poor, such as the Constables' account, should be kept and passed separately from them; and the Vestry should have the power of ordering a certain portion of the superfluous poor upon the roads. But we beseech all speculators in Poor-Laws to remember, that the machinery they must work with, is of a very coarse description. An Overseer must always be a limited, uneducated person, but little interested in what he is about, and with much business of his own on his hands. The extensive interference of gentlemen with those matters, is quite visionary and impossible. If gentlemen were tide-waiters, the Customhouse would be better served; if gentlemen would become petty constables, the police would be

improved; if bridges were made of gold, instead of iron, they would not rust:—But there are not enough of these articles for such purposes.

A great part of the evils of the Poor-Laws has been occasioned by the large powers entrusted to individual Justices. Every body is full of humanity and good-nature when he can relieve misfortune by putting his hand—in his neighbour's pocket. Who can bear to see a fellow-creature suffering pain and poverty, when he can order other fellow-creatures to relieve them? Is it in human nature, that A should see B in tears and misery, and not order C to assist him? Such a power must, of course, be liable to every degree of abuse; and the sooner the power of ordering relief can be taken out of the hands of Magistrates, the sooner shall we begin to experience some mitigation of the evils of the Poor-Laws. The Special-Vestry bill is good for this purpose, as far as it goes; but it goes a very little way; and we much doubt if it will operate as any sort of abridgement to the power of Magistrates in granting relief. A single Magistrate must not act under this bill, but in cases of special emergency: But every case of distress is a case of special emergency: And the double Magistrates, holding their petty sessions at some little alehouse, and overwhelmed with all the monthly business of the Hundred, cannot possibly give to the pleadings of the overseer and pauper half the attention they would be able to afford them at their own houses.

The common people have been so much accustomed to resort to Magistrates for relief, that it is certainly a delicate business to wean them from this bad habit; but it is essential to the great objects which the Poor-Committee have in view, that the power of Magistrates of ordering relief, should be gradually taken away. When this is once done, half the difficulties of the abolition are accomplished. We will suggest a few hints as to the means by which this desirable end may be promoted.

A poor man now comes to a Magistrate any day in the week, and any hour in any day, to complain of the Overseers, or of the Select Committee. Suppose he were to be made to wait a little, and to feel for a short time the bitterness of that poverty which, by idleness, extravagance, and hasty marriage, he has probably brought upon himself. To effect this object, we would prohibit all orders for relief, by Justices, between the first and tenth day of the month; and leave the poor entirely in the hands of the Overseers, or of the Select Vestry, for that period. Here is a beginning—a gradual abolition of one of the worst features of the Poor-Laws: And it is without risk of tumult; for no one

will run the risk of breaking the laws for an evil to which he anticipates so speedily a termination. This Decameron of overseers' despotism, and paupers' suffering, is the very thing wanted. It will teach the parishes to administer their own charity responsibly, and to depend upon their own judgment. It will teach the poor the miseries of pauperism and dependence; and will be a warning to unmarried young men not hastily and rashly to place themselves, their wives and children, in the same miserable situation; and it will effect all these objects gradually, and without danger. It would of course be the same thing on principle, if relief were confined to three days between the 1st and the 10th of each month; three between the 10th and the 20th; three between the 20th and the end of the month;—or in any other manner that would gradually crumble away the power, and check the gratuitous munificence of Justices,—give authority over their own affairs to the heads of the parish, and teach the poor, by little and little, that they must suffer if they are imprudent. It is understood, in all these observations, that the Overseers are bound to support their poor without any order of Justices; and that death arising from absolute want should expose those officers to very severe punishments, if it could be traced to their inhumanity and neglect. The time must come when we must do without this; but we are not got so far yet—and are at present only getting rid of Justices, not of Overseers.

Mr Davison seems to think that the plea of old age stands upon a different footing, with respect to the Poor-Laws, from all other pleas. But why should this plea be more favoured than that of sickness? why more than losses in trade, incurred by no imprudence? In reality, this plea is less entitled to indulgence. Every man knows he is exposed to the helplessness of age; but sickness and sudden ruin are very often escaped—comparatively seldom happen. Why is a man exclusively to be protected against that evil which he must have foreseen longer than any other, and has had the longest time to guard against? Mr Davison's objections to a limited expenditure, are much more satisfactory. These we shall lay before our readers; and we recommend them to the attention of the Committee.

I shall advert next to the plan of a limitation upon the amount of rates to be assessed in future. This limitation, as it is a pledge of some protection to the property now subjected to the maintenance of the poor against the indefinite encroachment which otherwise threatens it, is, in that light, certainly a benefit: and supposing it were rigorously adhered to, the very knowledge, among the parish expectants, that there was some limit to their range of expectation,

some barrier which they could not pass, might incline them to turn their thoughts homeward again to the care of themselves. But it is an expedient, at the best, far from being satisfactory. In the first place, there is much reason to fear that such a limitation would not eventually be maintained, after the example of a similar one having failed before, and considering that the urgency of the applicants, as long as they retain the principle of dependence upon the parish unqualified in any one of its main articles would probably overbear a mere barrier of figures in the parish account. Then there would be much real difficulty in the proceedings, to be governed by such a limiting rule. For the use of the limitation would be chiefly, or solely, in cases where there is some struggle between the ordinary supplies of the parish rates and the exigencies of the poor, or a kind of run and pressure upon the parish by a mass of indigence: and in circumstances of this kind, it would be hard to know how to distribute the supplies under a fair proportion to the applicants, known or expected; hard to know how much might be granted for the present, and how much should be kept in reserve for the remainder of the year's service. The real intricacy in such a distribution of account would show itself in disproportions and inequalities of allowance, impossible to be avoided; and the applicants would have one pretext more for discontent.

The limitation itself in many places would be only in words and figures. It would be set, I presume, by an average of certain preceding years. But the average taken upon the preceding years might be a sum exceeding in its real value the highest amount of the assessments of any of the averaged years, under the great change which has taken place in the value of money itself. A given rate, or assessment nominally the same, or lower, might in this way be a greater real money value than it was some time before. In many of the most distressed districts, where the parochial rates have nearly equalled the rents, a nominal average would therefore be no effectual benefit: and yet it is in those districts that the alleviation of the burthen is the most wanted.

It is manifest, also, that a peremptory restriction of the whole amount of money applicable to the parochial service, though abundantly justified in many districts by their particular condition being so impoverished as to make the measure, for them, almost a measure of necessity, if nothing can be substituted for it; and where the same extreme necessity does not exist, still justified by the prudence of preventing in some way the interminable increase of the parochial burthens; still, that such a restriction is an ill-adjusted measure in itself, and would in many instances operate very inequitably. It would fall unfairly in some parishes, where the relative state of the poor and the parish might render an increase of the relief as just and reasonable, as it is possible for any thing to be under the Poor-Laws at all. It would deny to many possible fair claimants the whole, or a part of that degree of relief commonly granted elsewhere to per-

sons in their condition, on this or that account of claim. Leaving the reason of the present demands wholly unimpeached, and unexplained; directing no distinct warning or remonstrance to the parties, in the line of their affairs, by putting a check to their expectations upon positive matters implicated in their conduct; which would be speaking to them in a definite sense, and a sense applicable to all: this plan of limitation would nurture the whole mass of the claim in its origin, and deny the allowance of it to thousands, on account of reasons properly affecting a distant quarter, of which they know nothing. The want of a clear method, and of a good principle at the bottom of it, in this direct compulsory restriction, renders it, I think, ~~not~~ unacceptable, unless it be the only possible plan that can be devised for accomplishing the same end. If a parish had to keep its account with a single dependant, the plan would be much more useful in that case. For the ascertained fact of the total amount of his expectations might set his mind at rest, and put him on a decided course of providing for himself. But, in the limitation proposed to be made, the ascertained fact is of a general amount only, not of each man's share in it. Consequently, each man has his indefinite expectations left to him, and every separate specific ground of expectation remaining, as before.

Mr Davis ticks off the propriety of refusing to find labour for idle labourers after the elapse of ten years; as if it was some ordinary bill he was proposing, unaccompanied by the slightest risk. It is very easy to make such laws, and to propose them; but it would be of immense difficulty to carry them into execution. Done it must be, every body knows that; but the real merit will consist in discovering the gradual and gentle means by which the difficulties of getting parish labour may be increased, and the life of a parish pauper be rendered a life of salutary and deterring hardship. A law that rendered such request for labour perfectly lawful for 10 years longer, and then suddenly abolished it, would merely bespeak a certain, general, and violent insurrection for the year 1830. The legislator, thank God, is in his nature a more cunning and gradual animal.

Before we drop Mr Davison, who writes like a very sensible man, we wish to say a few words about his style. If he would think less about it, he would write much better. It is always as plethoric and full-dressed as if he were writing a *traicte de finibus bonorum et malorum*. He is sometimes obscure; and is occasionally apt to dress up common-sized thoughts in big clothes, and to dwell a little too long in proving what every man of sense knows and admits. We hope we shall not offend Mr Davison by these remarks; and we have really no intention of doing so. His views upon the Poor-Laws are, generally speaking, very correct and philosophical; he writes like a gen-

tleman; a scholar, and a man capable of eloquence; and we hope he will be a bishop. If his mitred productions are as enlightened and liberal as this, we are sure he will confer as much honour on the Bench as he receives from it. There is a good deal, however, in Mr Davison's book about the 'virtuous marriages of the poor.' To have really the charge of a family as a husband and a father, we are told,—to have the privilege of laying out his life in their service, is the poor man's boast,—'his home is the school of his sentiments,' &c. &c. This is viewing human life through a Claude Lorraine glass, and decorating it with colours which do not belong to it. A ploughman marries a ploughwoman because she is plump; generally uses her ill; thinks his children an incumbrance; very often flogs them; and, for sentiment, has nothing more nearly approaching to it, than the ideas of broiled bacon and mashed potatoes. This is the state of the lower orders of mankind—deplorable, but true—and yet rendered much worse by the Poor-Laws.

The system of Roundsmen is much complained of; as well as that by which the labour of paupers is paid, partly by the rate, partly by the master—and a long string of Sussex Justices send up a petition on the subject. But the evil we are suffering under is an excess of population. There are ten men applying for work, when five only are wanted; of course, such a redundancy of labouring persons must depress the rate of their labour far beyond what is sufficient for the support of their families. And how is that deficiency to be made up but from the parish-rates, unless it is meant suddenly and immediately to abolish the whole system of the Poor-Laws? To state that the rate of labour is lower than a man can live by, is merely to state that we *have had*, and *have*, Poor-Laws—of which this practice is at length the inevitable consequence; and nothing could be more absurd than to attempt to prevent, by acts of Parliament, the natural depreciation of an article which exists in much greater abundance than it is wanted. Nor can any thing be more unjust than the complaint, that roundsmen are paid by their employers at an inferior rate, and that the difference is made up by the parish funds. A roundsman is commonly an inferior description of labourer who cannot get regularly hired;—he comes upon his parish for labour commonly at those seasons when there is the least to do;—he is not a servant of the farmer's choice, and probably does not suit him;—he goes off to any other labour at a moment's warning, when he finds it more profitable;—and the farmer is forced to keep nearly the same number of labourers, as if there were no roundsmen at all. Is it just then that a labourer, combining every species of imperfection, should receive the same

wages as a chosen, regular, stationary person, who is always ready at hand, and whom the farmer has selected for his dexterity and character?

Those persons who do not, and cannot employ labourers, have no kind of right to complain of the third or fourth part of the wages being paid by the rates; for if the farmers did not agree among themselves to take such occasional labourers, the whole of their support must be paid by the rates, instead of one-third. The order is, that the pauper shall be paid such a sum as will support himself and family; and if this agreement to take roundsmen was not entered into by the farmers, they must be paid, by the rates, the whole of the amount of the order, for doing nothing. If a circulating labourer, therefore, with three children, to whom the Justices would order 12s. per week, receives 8s. from his employer, and 4s. from the rates, the parish is not burdened by this system to the amount of 4s., but relieved to the amount of 8s. A parish manufacture, conducted by overseers, is infinitely more burdensome to the rates, than any system of roundsmen. There are undoubtedly a few instances to the contrary. Zeal and talents will cure the original defects of any system; but to suppose that average men can do what extraordinary men have done, is the cause of many silly projects and extravagant blunders. Mr Owen may give his whole heart and soul to the improvement of one of his parochial parallelograms; but who is to succeed to Mr Owen's enthusiasm? Before we have quite done with the subject of roundsmen, we cannot help noticing a strange assertion of Mr Nicol, that the low rate of wages paid by the master, is an injustice to the pauper—that he is cheated, forsooth, out of 8s. or 10s. per week by this arrangement. Nothing, however, can possibly be more absurd than such an allegation. The whole country is open to him. Can he gain more any where else? If not, this is the market price of his labour; and what right has he to complain? or how can he say he is defrauded? A combination among farmers to lower the price of labour, would be impossible, if labour did not exist in much greater quantities than was wanted. All such things, whether labour, or worsted stockings, or broad cloth, are, of course, always regulated by the proportion between the supply and demand. Mr Nicol cites an instance of a parish in Suffolk, where the labourer receives sixpence from the farmers, and the rest is made up by the rates; and for this he reprobates the conduct of the farmers. But why are they not to take labour as cheap as they can get it? Why are they not to avail themselves of the market price of this, as of any other commo-

dity? The rates are a separate consideration: let them supply what is wanting; but the farmer is right to buy iron, his wood, and his labour, as cheap as he can. It would, we admit, come nearly to the same thing, if 100*l.* were paid in wages rather than 25*l.* in wages, and 75*l.* by rate; but then, if the farmers were to agree to give wages above the market price, and sufficient for the support of the labourers without any rate, such an agreement could never be adhered to. The base and the crafty would make their labourers take less, and fling heavier rates upon those who adhered to the contract; whereas the agreement, founded upon giving as little as can be given, is pretty sure of being adhered to; and he who breaks it, lessens the rate to his neighbour, and does not increase it. The problem to be solved is this. If you have ten or twenty labourers who say they can get no work, and you cannot dispute this; and the Poor-Laws remain, what better scheme can be devised, than that the farmers of the parish should employ them in their turns?—and what more absurd than to suppose that farmers so employing them should give one farthing more than the market price for their labour?

It is contended, that the statute of Elizabeth, rightly interpreted, only compels the overseer to assist the sick and old, and not to find labour for strong and healthy men. This is true enough; and it would have been eminently useful to have attended to it a century past: But to find employment for all who apply, is now, by long use, become a practical part of the Poor-Laws, and will require the same care and dexterity for its abolition as any other part of that pernicious system. It would not be altogether prudent suddenly to tell a million of stout men, with spades and hoes in their hands, that the 43 of Elizabeth had been misconstrued, and that no more employment would be found for them. It requires twenty or thirty years to state such truths to such numbers.

We think, then, that the diminution of the claims of settlement, and of the authority of Justices, coupled with the other subordinate improvements we have stated, will be the best steps for beginning the abolition of the Poor-Laws. When these have been taken, the description of persons entitled to relief may be narrowed by degrees. But let no man hope to get rid of these laws, even in the gentlest and wisest method, without a great deal of misery, and some risk of tumult. If *Mr. Bourne* thinks only of avoiding risk, he will do nothing. Some risk must be incurred: But the secret is gradation: And the true reason for abolishing these laws is, not that they make the rich poor, but that they make the poor poorer.

ART. VI. *Objections to Mr Brougham's Bill for Inquiring into Abuses in Charitable Donations, with a Proposal for introducing a System into the Management of those Funds that shall prevent or detect future Abuses, and preserve the property from loss or diminution.* By FRANCIS CHARLES PARRY, Esq. A.M. London, Anderson. 1819.

WE stated, in our last Number, that some of the topics there referred to, in relation to Publick Charities, demanded a more particular consideration; and we delayed, until another opportunity, giving any account of the very excellent Letter on Grammar Schools, which appeared in the Pamphleteer. It is proper that we should now supply the omission;—and the Tract by Mr Parry, which had not then reached us, affords an occasion of renewing the discussion, and of examining also his plans of reform. We shall begin with this examination, both because Mr Parry's publication stands at the head of the present article, and because it naturally precedes that of the Letter on Grammar Schools.

Mr Parry's '*Objections*' were published before the Ministers had brought in the last Bill, in which they adopted almost the whole of Mr Brougham's original measure; and his purpose is chiefly to show the inefficacy of that measure, and to extenuate, for he cannot wholly defend, the rejection of it in the Session 1818. As the plan has since been sanctioned by the Legislature without a dissentient voice, we might spare ourselves the trouble of minutely considering these objections, in so far as they only touch that plan: But they lead to the proposal of Mr Parry's own views of reform; and as these are not incompatible with the subsistence of the present Commission of Inquiry, we must enter somewhat more at large into his remarks upon it.

The first and principal objection urged by Mr Parry is, that the measure is one of inquiry only; that it applies no remedy to the evils detected, and affords no preventive against their recurrence. It gives us, he says, a mere account, upon oath, of the charities in the kingdom, and leaves them as it found them; it satisfies curiosity, and nothing more; and he seriously doubts, whether, after the investigation has been completed, the subject may not lie dormant during another thirty years, as it did after the returns under Mr Gilbert's Act. He admits, however, that the measure of simple inquiry is 'an acceptable boon' to the country, because it may 'lead to the temporary correction of some irregularities, preparatory to the expected approach of the Commissioners.'

The next objection arises out of the former. Our author is apprehensive that the publick will grow weary of the protracted inquiry, and that a state of apathy towards the subject of Charities will succeed the present lively interest excited by it. ' Though some little good may be effected by the preparation of a decent statement on the part of some trustees, to be submitted to the Commissioners, yet there is nothing in the proposed measure which can, in the slightest degree, prevent the immediate practice of any the grossest abuse as soon as the Commissioners shall have closed their inquiry into any particular charity. In this point of view, the inquiry will be a mere palliative: The paroxysm may be subdued; but the disorder is ready to break out with redoubled virulence on the first opportunity: There is no security for the future; and if it shall happen that any vicious administrators of charitable funds may, by specious statements, elude the vigilance of the Commissioners, they will have secured indemnity for the past, and will calculate on license for the future. '

He then speaks of the delay necessarily arising from the wide field of the Inquiry into all Charities. He reckons 50,000 as the lowest number of charitable donations that can be assigned; but he thinks they may probably amount to nearer 100,000; and he enumerates all the particulars of the proceedings which must in each case be instituted, in order to show (what indeed no man living can doubt) the impossibility of completing the Inquiry in two years, the time limited for the duration of the Act.

The last complaint of Mr Parry refers to the difficulty of having any effectual measure of reform and prevention carried into execution, while the Inquiry is pending. Indeed, he considers it to be out of the question. He argues, that to any application for such a measure, the answer would be irresistible— ' Wait until the investigation is finished; because, if the plan were framed upon one Report of the Commissioners, the next Report might bring new cases to light, and render other measures necessary. '

Now, before proceeding to Mr Parry's own plan, let us examine a little the validity of these objections. That the Inquiry will extend beyond the time limited by the acts, no one can doubt. But is our author so ignorant of the subject, as to imagine that the statutory limitation was intended to be final, if the experience of two years should prove the measure to be advantageous? Every such Inquiry, indeed almost all the most important amendments of our law, have been at first enacted for a short period, and adopted, as it were, experimentally. So it

was with the Græville Act; more recently with the Scotch Jury Act; and so it was with the Commissions of Publick Accounts, and of Naval and Military Inquiry. The reasons are obvious. A new machinery is about to be erected; and, until it is put in motion, no man (except he be endowed with the happy powers of a Cartwright or an Hobhouse) can presume to foretel how all its parts will work. Besides, it is useful that a necessity should be imposed, of reconsidering both the principle, after we have had the lights of experience, and the minute details, many of which beforehand could not have been considered at all. But no one ever thought that the Legislature which first passed the bill for two years, either pledged itself to let it expire at the end of that period, whether the investigation should be completed or not; or gave any assurance, or even an opinion, that it would probably be closed at that time. Here, as in the former cases, there was almost a certainty of the measure being renewed when the limited time expired, and renewed with all the improvements which experience might have suggested.

Such being our opinion upon this point, we must at the same time express our belief, that Mr Parry has greatly exaggerated the number of charitable endowments, for the purpose of his argument. He says, that they probably amount to 100,000; but that 50,000 is the lowest estimate which can be made of them. Now, from Mr Brougham's statement at the end of last Session, it appeared, that in a portion of England containing nine counties, near a million and a half of inhabitants, and 1829 ecclesiastical districts, there were only 805 endowments *connected with education*. This would give an average of four such endowments to nine parishes or chapelries; or about five thousand for all England: And this estimate is perhaps rather over than under the truth; for the counties of Middlesex and Lancaster, with a population of near two millions, are understood to have fewer than 400 endowments; which deficit must materially affect the general average. We have been informed, that the whole number is under 4000. Taking it, however, at 4000, it can hardly be supposed that the charities wholly *unconnected with education* amount to 46,000; for most of the considerable charities, everywhere, have some connexion with education;—there being a very large proportion of endowments all over the country directed to the support of children, one of the helpless, and certainly the most numerous and prominent of the helpless classes. We cannot believe that more than 40,000 are unconnected with education; and consequently we deem any estimate as exaggerated, which carries the total higher than from 40,000

to 44,000. Mr Parry's notion of 100,000, is indeed wild and heedless beyond description. It is grounded in complete ignorance of the facts; and involves the monstrous supposition, that for every endowment connected with education, or the support of poor children, there are twenty-four wholly devoted to other purposes.*

The labours of the Commissioners may not only be abridged much more than Mr Parry imagines, but they may in future be rendered more easy and expeditious, by such devices as practice will certainly suggest. Abuses range themselves under classes; from the similarity of endowments, and the identity of the motives to pervert or neglect them, always at work. The investigation will thus become easier and shorter as it proceeds; and the sifting of one case will often save inquiry into another. Above all, it may be hoped that discretionary powers will be given to the Commissioners, to abandon certain inquiries altogether, when they have ascertained that the object of the Charity is extremely small. A rent-charge of ten shillings may demand as much investigation, as any of the important abuses brought to light by the labours of the Education Committee; but as soon as it can be ascertained that nothing more is due to the Charity, than this, or some such trifling income, with its arrears, the Inquiry should be dropt at once; and be left to the ordinary course of law, if any private individuals choose to pursue it. Some unthinking persons proposed, when the Bill of 1818 was before Parliament, to exclude from the jurisdiction of the Commissioners all very small endowments; wholly forgetting, that, before inquiry, it is impossible to tell whether the low revenue of the endowment be not itself the result of its mismanagement.

* The following details on this subject may be interesting to Statistical Inquirers, and they serve to confirm the estimate in the text. By the returns under Mr Gilbert's Act, printed by order of the House of Commons in 1816, it appears that in five counties, Bedfordshire, Berks, Bucks, Cambridgeshire and Cheshire, there are 4041 charitable donations of all kinds. The endowments connected with education in the same counties are 346. Supposing this proportion, in the rest of England, to be the same, we should have about 45,000 for the number of charitable donations all over England. The endowments connected with education, however, are by far the most considerable. Those endowments, in the first four of the above counties, have, by the Returns referred to, a revenue of 6626*l.* a year—the whole endowments for the same counties having only an income of 19,376*l.* The education endowments are therefore each about seven times richer than the others.

Another of Mr Parry's objections appears to be extremely unfounded. We allude to the apprehension which he entertains, that the public will grow weary of the Inquiry. If abuses are from time to time detected, and if the good effects of the investigation, in tacitly preventing abuses from continuing, are constantly made apparent, we can have no doubt, that as much interest will be kept alive in the community, as is sufficient to watch the proceedings of the Commissioners, and as much as the success of the Inquiry demands. A measure may be pronounced positively bad, which cannot carry itself into execution, but depends upon a constant renewal of the popular feeling in which it originated. That feeling might be very useful at first; it might be indispensable to the commencement of the plan: But its continued operation would most probably do mischief; and a scheme must be useless, or worse, which depended for its success upon the repeated exertion of such an influence.

The other evil effect ascribed by our author to the protracted Inquiry, that no practical remedies can be applied till its conclusion, is wholly chimerical, and could only have been suggested by a very hasty view of the subject. Every one who has made himself conversant with its details (and we are far from denying their complicated and multifarious nature), must have perceived, that the prevailing abuses are reducible to a few very general classes. The defects in ancient endowments are nearly the same everywhere, arising from a change in the circumstances of society; and the manner in which advantage has been taken of these defects, or of certain ambiguities in old foundations, either by the negligence or the mulversation of trustees and agents, is alike in almost all cases. To take a prevailing example—Grammar schools are found in situations where originally there was a demand for instruction in the learned languages, either from the size of the places, or from the kind of learning required by the Catholic Church, supplied with ministers as it was from the inferior classes of the community. Many of these towns have in process of time decayed and everywhere the demand for persons capable of reading the Ritual in Latin has ceased. Hence many, if not most of those schools, are reduced to a mere shadow of their ancient prosperity. The abuse operates everywhere in exactly the same manner—A person is chosen, who finds the title of *Endowed Master*, advantageous in attracting private pupils to his school. Eight or ten, and sometimes none at all, apply to be taught Latin upon the foundation; but the master offers to teach it, if any scho-

lars present themselves. English and writing and ciphering, however, he will not teach, unless they are expressly ordered in the statutes. The foundation is thus sacrificed to the boarders, from whom his chief emolument is derived; and we constantly see trustees expending money in enlarging and repairing a vast house for the accommodation of these boarders, though they think themselves precluded from having an usher to teach the branches of learning now in demand among the poor, or from requiring the well-endowed master to teach those branches himself. There is the strongest reason to believe, that in all the old endowments, where an usher is provided, he was meant to teach reading and writing,—except in a few cases, where boys were required to have learned these branches before they entered on the foundation. But be this as it may, can any one doubt that the proper remedy of an act, perhaps only a declaratory act, touching the powers of trustees of grammar schools, might be applied as safely, and as effectually, after half a dozen such cases had been examined, as after the Commissioners had reported upon every grammar school in England and Wales? If the prevailing abuse were in the first instance rectified, and any new cases of mischief, not reached by that remedy, should in the course of investigation be discovered, sufficiently numerous to require legislative interference, a new act might easily provide the appropriate additions to the original measure.

To take another example; for keeping in generals here is the sure way to go wrong. A very prevailing defect in charitable endowments, is the want of powers in trustees to sell and exchange real property, by which means either the Charity estate is not managed to the best advantage, or a private act of Parliament is necessary. So, where a failure, partial or total of the object, takes place, and funds accumulate without the means of profitably employing them according to the will of the founder, some general powers should be vested in trustees, subject to due checks and controuls. Even the cases of corrupt abuse of trust are much less various than might be supposed by those who think only of the multiplicity of forms taken by the selfishness and cunning of mankind, without looking at the definite course marked out for such propensities, by the similarity of the temptations in most cases of Charity trusts. It may safely be said, that nine in ten of those abuses fall under the heads of underletting the estates to themselves or their coadjutors; and of serving the establishment as tradesmen. To devise general checks on such practices, remedies which shall be cheap and effectual for such mischiefs, may not perhaps be easy; nor is

this the place for suggesting them. But we contend that the difficulty would not be lessened by multiplying the cases before us any hundred fold, and exposing them in all their details; for the evils are the same in all,—and they must be met by the same remedy, or checked by the same preventive, whether we are to legislate to-day, or some years hence, when the labours of the Commissioners shall have been brought to a close.

These remarks lead us naturally to the main objection urged against Mr Brougham's measure by this author—that it is only one of Inquiry—providing no security against the continuance of abuses, but only obtaining an account of them, and of all charity estates, upon oath. Now we think that this objection is bottomed on a most superficial view of the measure, and a very imperfect knowledge of the soundest principles of legislation. It is very material to turn our attention a little more closely towards these points.

We believe it may be laid down as a maxim invariably true, and of most universal application, that the best and most effectual plan of improvement, is that which does the smallest violence to the established order of things; requires the least adventitious aid or complex machinery; and, as far as may be, executes itself. It is from ignorance of this principle, that the vulgar perpetually mistake a great scheme for a good one—a various and complicated, for an efficacious one—a showy and ambitious piece of legislation for a sound and a useful law.—Hence, too, their almost invariable discontent with the most salutary measures, grounded in knowledge of human nature; regulated by cautious circumspection; pointed towards attainable objects; and reaching these by safe and familiar courses. The history of human laws is full of passages fatally illustrating this remark;—for unhappily the lawgivers themselves have too often belonged to the vulgar class of reasoners, whose errors we have just described. But it appears to us very manifest, that Mr Parry's criticism upon the measure in question, proceeds exactly upon the same fundamental mistakes. He quarrels with it because it is unpretending;—it looks mean and paltry. Now we think we can show him, that this character belongs only to its mechanism; and not to its working and its almost necessary re-

The principal cause of abuses in charities, has always been the facility of Concealment. Some endowments were wholly unknown; the Education Committee brought one to light, which the oldest inhabitants of the parish had never heard of; and yet its funds were sufficient to endow a college. Others are constantly seen, but at such distance as the trustees think fit;

and from the entire ignorance of the foundation in which the public is, no suspicion of malpractices can be entertained.—Many are suspected to be abused;—but, without going through a Chancery suit, nothing like proof can be obtained, and the iniquity goes on in the dark. Not a few are abused through mere neglect on the part of the trustees, who are always gratuitous agents from the nature of their office, and suffer those under them to mismanage the concern, in ignorance of the fact: And some again are neglected, from the trustees really not knowing either the nature of their rights or their duties. Now the Inquiry of the Commissioners applies an effectual remedy in every one of these cases. Each Charity in succession is made to undergo a thorough scrutiny; and its whole affairs are sifted and exposed to the light, without the smallest expense or odium falling upon any individual. No one can now hope either that his malversations should any longer escape the hated eye of the public; or that he can remain ignorant in his office, or negligent of its claims upon his activity. The essential part of the plan which consists in dividing the Board into five, all acting at one and the same time, both secures a great despatch of business, and gives an alarm all over the country, wherever abuse or neglect exists. There is no safety now for mismanagement; no shelter for remissness. The wrong-doer cannot tell when the glare of day may be let in upon his misdeeds; nor is the sluggard secure against his slumbers being exposed, should they not be broken by its importunity. At one instant the Commissioners are heard of in Devonshire; the day after, a Board arrives in Cumberland, and another perhaps in York. So that as no man can tell when his turn may come, all are compelled to be on the watch. And not only must all take heed to the error of their way, and beware how they slumber any more than trip—they are led naturally to inquire themselves into many things which no one had ever before dreamt of examining; and involuntary errors are thus rectified, and defects supplied, as well as abuses corrected, long before the public Investigation commences. Such is the natural operation of the measure; and if this be not a plan which is calculated to *execute itself*, we know no one that deserves the name and description. Such too, in point of fact, have even already been the effects of the Inquiry. All over the country, trustees are alive and on the alert; new regulations are made; bad courses of management are abandoned; and restitution is anxiously, though silently made to injured endowments, in order that every thing may be right and straight to meet the expected Inquiry.

It may indeed be urged, as Mr Barry has contended, that these effects are of a passing or temporary nature. While the

visit of the Commissioners is apprehended, we are told some reformation may go on, and considerable activity may be called forth; but, as soon as the day of examination is past, the old abuses will take root anew, and men, unwillingly roused, will relapse into their natural indolence. To this we answer, *first*, that the amount of the reform and activity occasioned by the measure, is greatly-underrated; that it is so general and sifting, as to be, for the present at least, a most effectual remedy: And if this be the case, more than a mere passing effect must be produced: For, should we not reckon that measure most complete, which should, once for all, root out the evil complained of, though at the risk of its afterwards taking root, and beginning to grow up? Should we not be gratified in calling this as efficacious, and even permanent a cure, as human wisdom and means can in general afford? But more especially, should we not justly so term it, if it could, forty or fifty years hence, be again applied with the same ease as before? Indeed the apprehension of this *repeated Inquiry*, is very likely to prevent most of the abuses from again taking root. And this leads us to answer this criticism, by observing, *secondly*, that the objectors seem all along to forget the important provision, requiring full reports from the Commissioners twice a year. Perhaps the greatest cause of former abuse, was the ignorance of all but trustees, and often of trustees themselves, respecting the nature of endowments. This ignorance is removed, not transiently, but for ever, by the publication of the Reports, which contain an ample Record of all foundations, with their past history and present state. It will not be very easy, even a century hence, for trustees, or persons in office, to commit malversation, when any one individual in their neighbourhood observing what they do, has the means of ascertaining what they ought to do, by consulting that valuable Record. Suppose, at present, an estate of 700*l.* or 800*l.* a year is enjoyed by a warden, who allows a few pounds to the poor brethren of his hospital:—While the foundation is involved in darkness, his conduct is safe from all cavil or question; but after the Report shall have been made upon this charity, any one, either of the brethren, or their neighbours, may at once see how much he ought to keep to himself,—how much to allow them. This is nearly one of the actual cases examined. Suppose, again, a less number of almsmen are maintained than the statutes require, while a large revenue is enjoyed by the master:—At present this is safe and unquestioned; but not so after the Report;—for then, a paragraph in a provincial paper, copying the words of the foundation, would assuredly restore matters to their original conformity with the

law. We believe, indeed, that this case also has already occurred, and the restitution been effected, before any Report could be made, the endowment being exempted by the appointment of a special visitor, who most laudably caused the deviation to be rectified, his attention being called to the matter by the prevailing spirit of Inquiry. Again, suppose the common case of Charity estates under-let, should occur after the Inquiry was over, all men can ascertain how they were let somewhere about 1820, from the Record; and as the rise or fall in other lands is matter of notoriety, the Charity cannot long be kept out of its full rents and profits; for any great difference will inevitably beget scrutiny as to the relationship between the tenants and the trust.

We shall only mention, in the *last* place, another provision of the Acts passed over by the supporters of these objections, namely, the powers given to the Commissioners of instituting proceedings in Equity, and that with the advantage of a previous examination of the parties and their papers. This part of the remedy must, of course, be reserved for the more important cases, chiefly, of disputed titles; and, without underrating its usefulness, we certainly reckon the other parts of the Act more universally effectual for its objects.

In connexion with the Commissioners of Inquiry, and as a part of the same measure, we ought, unquestionably, to consider the labours of the Education Committee. That the Commissioners might not be sent out to seek in the dark, the Committee furnished them with the very material assistance of a chart, by which to direct their researches. A circular was addressed to all the parishes in the kingdom; and the returns to this circular, being digested into a tabular form, together with information subsequently obtained, a complete account is understood to be now almost printed, in which the endowments connected with education, (as well as every other particular relating to that most important subject), are fully described in every village and hamlet throughout the Island. A large class of Charities, therefore, in point of number, and in point of importance by far the most considerable, amounting to above a third of the whole charitable funds in the kingdom, are thus already recorded in such a form as to be accessible to every person; and in the course of a few weeks from the present time, there is every reason to believe that each county in England will have these records circulating through it, so as to operate powerfully, by way of prevention and detection, upon all abuses and neglects in the management of funds destined to the Education of the Poor.

• We shall now follow Mr Parry into the suggestions which he offers, of a Plan for more effectually preventing Charities from being abused. But, before entering upon this part of the subject, we may advert to a statement which he makes in defence of Lord Sidmouth, who had been blamed by Mr Brougham for neglecting the recommendation of the Education Committee in favour of Mr Parry as a Commissioner. He asserts that no such recommendation ever reached that Noble Lord. It is understood, however, that when an official communication is made to one minister, it is conveyed over, in all ordinary cases, to the person within whose department the affair happens to be; and therefore, though Lord Sidmouth is exonerated from all blame by this statement, the Committee and their Chairman cannot be very severely condemned for having supposed that Noble Lord to be upon the accustomed terms of official intercourse with those of his colleagues, to whom their recommendation was regularly given. Mr Parry, it may be observed, does not pretend that Lord Sidmouth made any inquiries after merit, in the quarter most likely to be acquainted with the kind of excellence of which he ought to have been in quest. He was forming a board of Lawyers, for the purposes of a legal investigation; and with a clumsiness (or perhaps a dexterity) not to be sufficiently admired, he somehow or other took care not to broach the subject to the noble and learned person at the head of the Law department of the State.

The objects which Mr Parry states to be in view with respect to Charities, are—‘to abolish all abuses—to protect the Charities—to preserve them—and to provide for the due administration of them according to the will of the respective donors,’—‘to which,’ says he, ‘I will add another, and not the least important, to afford an equal share of protection and encouragement to the trustees.’ This statement, it must be confessed, gives no very favourable idea of the learned author’s capacity for dividing and arranging a complicated subject; and is far from pointing him out as peculiarly fitted to digest a great scheme of legislation. All the heads which he enumerates, instead of being (as the rules of sound logic require) separate from one another, and, taken together, sufficient to exhaust the whole subject, are repetitions of portions of each other, all of them being contained within the first, like a nest of boxes or crucibles; and yet, the whole taken together, leaving a considerable branch of the subject untouched. Furthermore, one of them exists only in this preliminary statement, and is left out in the scheme itself. Thus, the abolition of abuses comprehends the protection of Charities; their preservation is plainly includ-

ed in their protection; while the due administering of them according to the donor's intent, is a synonyme for preventing abuses in them. What should we say of a logician who divided a scheme of longevity, stating its objects to be—'the abolition of diseases; the protection of life; the preservation of it; and the provision for a due performance of the animal functions according to their several purposes and uses?'—But let us hasten to the Plan itself, thus ushered in to our notice.

He proposes, that the Charities in each county be considered as a large estate, composed of many parcels, scattered about in different places, and of various kinds, tenures and quantities, and subjected to the same system of administration and superintendence. The principal effect of this will be, to have the whole title-deeds and other muniments collected in one central registry, where they may be safely kept, distinctly arranged, and easily consulted. He then proposes, that all persons having the distribution of charity funds should be compelled, every year, to make an accurate return of the manner and the times of distributing it, and the persons to whom the distribution was made, and to specify the nature, amount, rent, fine, interest, or other profits of the estate, lessees, repairs, and other deductions and expenses for the past year. He would have these annual returns made to the register-office for the county, and there arranged and kept with the original muniments and papers. He likewise recommends that all the receipts and vouchers be kept in the same repository, and that a certain short period (he proposes three months) be assigned for the limitation of all demands against the trustees, after their vouchers shall have been so deposited. The place of deposite, he thinks, should be selected by the Magistrates of the county, and the expenses of the establishment paid by a poundage upon income. Our author's argument in favour of a compulsory delivery of muniments, even where the founder pointed out the place and manner of their custody, appears quite satisfactory; and we therefore subjoin it. He has adopted the arrangement of Mr Brougham's Act, for cases where the titles to the charity are mixed up with other matters.

'It may here be said, that where donors have prescribed the mode in which their deeds should be kept, the Legislature ought not to interfere, by transferring them to any other place of safe custody. To this I answer, first, that since there has been a great neglect of the donors' wills in this particular, there can be no pretence for saying that such directions ought to be attended to by Parliament, when those whose duty it was to attend to them have neglected them. On the contrary, where Parliament sees that the intentions of a donor

have been neglected, if not frustrated, it will provide such means as will best accomplish his object, considering that his directions were intended solely to provide for the safe custody of his deeds, not for the specific mode of custody. Secondly, It may be observed, that those donors who have made such provision for the custody of their papers, have been driven to the necessity of it for want of some public registry where they might be deposited; and it is not to be doubted, that they would gladly have availed themselves of the security offered by such registry, if it had existed at the time they were meditating upon making their donation. Even in cases where the deeds may have been kept as the donor has directed, I should still agree that no exception should be made to the general collection of of them—taking those directions as evidence that such donors desired to see the establishment of some safe and effectual mode of preserving deeds of this description; only prescribing, *ad interim*, the best means they could devise to supply the want: And, being admonished by the losses which many charities have sustained by not attending to the precautions of the donors in this respect, I should fear, that deeds hitherto preserved, may yet, ere long, share the fate of others.' pp. 33-35.

We cannot equally concur in the other argument maintained by him, in favour of trustees having a very short period or limitation allowed for their protection. The absurdity is, indeed, not small, of supposing that the paupers of a large county, the persons interested in silting those accounts, and alone capable of detecting errors in them, should always be able in three months to examine them, and have proceedings instituted against the trustees in case any malversation were detected. Such a provision would operate more powerfully to encourage frauds and malversation, than the publicity of the Record could in checking it. Besides, Mr Parry forgets how easily the responsibility can be divided, and the name of the real defaulter concealed by a combination of skillful accountants, acting, as in such cases they always do, through very ordinary agents.

To the plan thus unfolded by our author, we confess that we see many weighty objections; of which the chief one is, that almost all the good attainable by it is much more effectually secured by Mr Brougham's Act, the object of so many complaints from Mr Parry for its inefficacy. The Registration of all endowments and gifts, is one branch of the proposed measure; the yearly Regulation of their Receipt, Expenditure, and general Management, is the other. Of these we are now to speak in their order.

That a check to abuses is provided, and a means of detecting them afforded, by depositing the whole title-deeds of each charity in a public and accessible place, cannot be denied. This

publicity is the very principle upon which Mr Brougham's measure is constructed. But can any one doubt, that it is attained by his measure in a far more eminent degree than by Mr Parry's? Thousands of copies of each foundation are circulated through the country; and, wherever the property of any charity is situated, or the objects of it are to be found, we may rest assured the interest felt in the subject being the strongest, the information contained in the Parliamentary Papers will find its way thither in some shape or other. A pamphlet, a notice in a periodical work, a paragraph in a county paper, a private letter, a remark in conversation, will carry the fact to the place of its natural destination; and in a little time the matter will be discussed, and the original and authentic document will either be found on the spot, or consulted by some one employed for the purpose by those on the spot. It is a vulgar and a just remark, that what is said of a man behind his back, somehow or other gets round, if not to his face, at least half way as it were, or into his ear. So, we may be assured, will trustees, or other persons who have the management of funds inquired into by the Commissioners, sooner or later, hear of whatever has been reported of their rights, their duties, or their conduct. Mr Brougham stated, that the precaution had been taken in printing the Education Digest, of throwing off separate copies of each county, for local distribution; as a small book, containing all that has local interest, is of more sure and easy circulation, than a large one, the bulk of which concerns other parts of the country. The Reports of the Commissioners, being made half yearly, are, in the same manner, confined each to a few districts, and are thus of easy access to those districts. This plan of Registration, then, secures publicity in a degree infinitely greater than Mr Parry's costly Register-Office. Who would not be deterred from entering a great massive building, and running the gauntlet of officers and clerks, in order to satisfy his curiosity,—coming, too, perhaps, from the border of Lancashire to York for the purpose? The other plan carries the publication home to the spot, and distributes it exactly where it may be of the greatest use. If any thing is wanting to prove its superior efficacy, ask a person who feels conscious there is a flaw in his title, or a blot in his conduct, whether he had rather have those tender matters registered in a record however accessible, in manuscript however legible, and under a set of clerks however civil and diligent—or published in a printed book, and distributed all over the country;—We believe he will at once exclaim—'Any thing but hateful printing.' In a word

if once printed, it becomes the property of all the newspapers; and is read, or may be read, by all mankind.

The same measure secures all existing donations and endowments from perishing through time and accident, almost as effectually as their Registration. The press is, indeed, by multiplying copies indefinitely, by far the best preserver, for a great length of years. For a century or two, Registration may keep the original deeds, and they may be lost if left in private hands; but if copies are multiplied, the knowledge of their contents is preserved for ever; while no actual record can preserve with certainty for a succession of ages.

In like manner, Mr Brougham's plan affords all that protection to honest and diligent trustees which they so well deserve; and furnishes the means of securing them from the groundless clamours of ignorant and malicious persons. It effects this object indeed more fully than the proposed measure; for while nothing can be better than a published authoritative document, to which a man may appeal if traduced, it is far more satisfactory to have the security that the publication originated in a thorough and accurate investigation before a respectable tribunal, than to show a record, furnished possibly by the party himself, with studied concealments, of which he may have taken the risk, braving the penalties of the law, in consideration of the advantage he derived from breaking or evading it. Perhaps he has made a full registration; he is an honest and conscientious trustee; and meant the title to be placed beyond all suspicion. But his slanderers will not fail to say, that he furnished the evidence himself, and that no examination sifted the endowment in its foundation.

This leads us to mention one very manifest superiority of the measure adopted by Parliament; which Mr Parry wholly overlooks, and which also suffices to give it the preference to his own. Compare the powers of the two systems in rescuing lost donations; or saving such as are on the point of being lost. Mr Parry's here scarcely works at all; and must often be wholly inoperative. There may be often no persons to whom the penalties would now attach; consequently no registration can be expected: and frequently the person, unwittingly possessed of a deed which he ought to have deposited, on finding his liability to the penalty, will escape from it by destroying the instrument. In short, to render the Registry effectual, Boards of Commissioners would be as necessary as Registrars and Clerks. The scheme does not execute itself.

The same objections apply, with some others, to the second branch of Mr Parry's plan, the Annual Returns. It is a mighty

easy thing for the Legislature to order a hundred and fifty, or two hundred thousand persons of all kinds, corporate bodies and individuals, in publick and in domestic stations, official and private characters of all ranks and of all degrees of acuteness and information, to deliver in at stated periods attested accounts of their conduct for the last twelve months. Re-estimating the powers of a directory, or even penal statute, to command obedience, it is well to examine how similar enactments have operated before; and surely the working of the last Charity Registration Act, (52 Geo. III.), as we formerly proved, * was not such as to encourage a very sanguine expectation of similar mechanism being very easily put and kept in motion for the future. But that was a single statute, requiring one act to be performed by the trustees and managers. The proposed plan would require a yearly, that is, an almost constant activity on the part of those persons, in addition to their other duties; and all their labours, it should be recollected, are gratuitous;—a consideration which we now mention, not to prove that Parliament should spare them any new trouble, but to show that, as always happens with even the best men in such circumstances, they will by every means seek to evade the performance of the additional work cast upon them.

But, in order to bring this branch of Mr Parry's project to the test, let us see how far it is calculated to fulfil its purpose, by exposing new abuses, which shall have escaped detection at the first registration, or have arisen since that period. This is a material point; for it is here alone that the scheme pretends to provide a remedy not directly afforded by Mr Brougham's plan. The criterion of experience is luckily at hand for deciding the question. Take any of the noted cases brought to light either by the Education Committee or the Commissioners, and see whether that abuse could have been either prevented or detected by the operation of the Registry. And, to be more indulgent towards its projector, we shall give him the benefit of the primary Registration, as well as the supplementary or yearly returns; and we think it very plain, that the whole efforts of the system would have permitted every material abuse detected by the Parliamentary and Statutory Inquiries, to pass unobserved, and continue unchecked. Let us take, for instance, the Huntingdon case, as now decided against the Corporation by the Court of Chancery. The abuse there was, that the Corporation let to their own members, the charity lands at very low rents. Being required to record the titles, they would

have no doubt sent a certified copy of their charter of incorporation, and the originals of the Charity endowment; they would then have given a schedule of the leases, rents, names of the tenants, metes and bounds of the tenements, repairs, deductions, and other expenses of management; it is probable they would all have certified, and not impossible that their surveyors would have sworn, that the lands were well let, and to good tenants. But all this would have left wholly untold the most material parts of the tale—that the lessors and lessees were nearly in all cases the same; because, on the face of the Record, or of the yearly return, it would nowhere appear, that John-a-Nokes was a corporator as well as lessee under the corporate body; nor would it appear that this body continued so to manage those leases with regard to the contiguous property of a Noble Lord, as to influence the return of the members for the Borough. All these matters, and many more, came out by means of the examination in the Committee, and proceedings in Chancery—but they would equally have transpired before the Commissioners.

Again, take the Tunbridge case, brought to light by those Commissioners. It is alleged, that a Company in the city of London, being devisees in trust for a charity, expend 300*l.* or 400*l.* on the charity, and appropriate a residue of above 4000*l.* to themselves. Not one tittle of this would have been disclosed by the scheme of voluntary, or even call it compulsory, registration and returns. The Company would have given a certified extract of their muniments,—the part, namely, which directs so much to be paid yearly for the School; and would have stated, that it was a charge on certain estates, describing them, vested in or belonging to the Company. So, too, in the case of the Lowther School, described in a will copied by the Education Committee, endowed above a century ago with valuable estates, since sold by the heir of the founder, and abandoned for above three generations. No light could have been obtained by registration, because there were no persons upon whom the exigency of the statute could have operated.

Yet, though there may or there may not here be a case of gross abuse, no man can deny that it demands strict scrutiny. We believe enough has been said to show how ineffectual the plan is, which Mr Parry would substitute for that adopted by Parliament; but we may add, that the latter is by no means without affording provision for preventing renewal of abuses once detected. The publicity once given to the rights of the objects of each charity—the duties of its managers—the value and the situation of its property—converts the whole neighbourhood into vigilant and well-informed guardians of the constitu-

tion; and this, with the chance of the inquiry being in future renewed, if necessary, must operate powerfully to prevent the recurrence of the malversation or neglect. The things which yearly returns bring to light are far less necessary to be recorded than those which the Commissioners put upon record, ~~because~~ ^{because} they are in their nature open to the knowledge of many persons—of all the objects of the endowment—and of most persons in the neighbourhood.

It may now, in the *last* place, be fit to remind the reader of what Mr Parry has wholly forgotten, the great expense and consequent patronage to which his plan would give rise. Some objection may be made to the establishment of the present stipendiary Commissioners and their clerks; and much clumsy ridicule has been thrown upon the ‘large and liberal economy’ of the plan. But it is insignificant, compared with Mr Parry’s project, which is to erect in each county an office, with a good salary and a building, implying the existence of both clerks and inferior agents under him. The business would not be very trifling. In one county, Cheshire, there are 1500 charities; many have far more, but let us take this instance:—Provision must be made for keeping most securely the whole deeds and papers accumulated in all time past, down to the most trifling scrap of a voucher, relating to those numerous ~~estates~~ ^{estates} and sums; and, beside arranging these, and making them constantly accessible, (which implies much room, many distinct compartments, and several clerks and servants), provision must be made for the yearly increase of the original documents by at least 1500 more papers of some length,—but, new leases and correspondence and estimates, and accounts included, we may rather say four or five thousand new papers will pour in yearly; for Mr Parry must not forget, that, beside the sort of annual return required from Trustees, the taking from them the custody of their muniments implies, that every new deed or instrument relating to the property, must be likewise from time to time surrendered to the same safe keeping. Only see then what an expense, and, still more dangerous, what a patronage would thus be created in the county of Chester! Perhaps we do not overstate it, in supposing that somewhere about a dozen places, great and small, calculated to influence different kinds of persons, and all giving power most directly to the Crown, would be thus created in that district: And a proportionate addition would in like manner be made to influence in every other county. Were the benefits of Mr Parry’s plan as great as they have been shown to be inconsiderable; were it as superior to the one adopted, as we have proved it to be less effectual, we

should hesitate about approving it in practice, when we find it entail so serious an evil as we have just now been contemplating; serious at all times of our history, but of truly fatal consequences in a period like the present.

Since we last treated of this subject, which has occupied our attention in the foregoing pages, no new Report of the Commissioners has reached us: We therefore cannot enter into any account of their late proceedings; which, however, there can be no doubt, have been of an important and interesting nature. Accounts from all quarters bear testimony to their diligence in discharging their duties; and the simultaneous operation of different Boards in the most distant provinces, with their unexpected appearance at various points, has had everywhere the salutary effect which was expected, of warning and stimulating the managers of charitable endowments. *

We formerly took occasion to demonstrate, from their first Report, how fully borne out the Education Committee had been in the evidence of abuses, collected by them in all the cases where the Commissioners had gone over the same ground. A remarkable confirmation of their accuracy has recently come before the public, in another and a high quarter; a confirmation which, of itself, might be expected to silence for ever the silly and the interested clamours so meanly, yet industriously, raised against their honest and enlightened labours—if, indeed, experience did not beget a melancholy conviction, that from controversy, especially where ignorance and selfishness go hand in hand, all candour is banished. Nevertheless, as a further illustration of the base calumnies with which the Inquiry was assailed, we shall now advert to the late decision of the Court

* Since writing the above, we have understood, from good private information in London, that a *Second* Report, containing much valuable matter, has been printed some time, but it has not yet come to our hands. We are also informed, that there is a *Third* Report, just made to the Crown, and ordered to be laid before Parliament, in which the Commissioners, after investigating many cases, avail themselves of the extended powers given by the last act; and *direct the Attorney-General to proceed in five or six cases*. Among these, the reader who recollects the calumnies lately showered on the Education Committee, will be interested to learn, that the famous *St Bees* case is one. Nor is the lease to the *Lowther* family the only matter there observed. We are told, that another lease, for 1000 years, at no rent at all, has been found by the Commissioners to have been formerly granted to a College in one of the Universities, in lieu of a small rent-charge out of the land; and that the rents are worth near 500*l.* a year.

of Equity; the rather because, very unaccountably, whilst it appears to have been wholly with the Committee upon the merits, it partook of the spirit of those calumnies, in the manner. We allude to the case of the *Attorney-General v. the Mayor and Corporation of Huntingdon*, which came on before his Honour the Vice-Chancellor of England, upon the 17th of this month of January.

The reader will bear in mind, that the Huntingdon case was singled out with an especial effort of circumspection, by the enemies of the Committee, as the ground on which to attack them for premature judgments, collecting *ex parte* evidence, encouraging malignant accusations, and calumniating innocent and meritorious trustees. The Chairman was peculiarly marked, as an object of this invective; his conduct plainly imputed to the most unfair motives of party hostility; and his character held up to public detestation, as one who affected dictatorship, and showed a spirit worthy of the Spanish Inquisition. Why this case was thus selected, may easily be conjectured. The argument was in the hands of some persons deplorably ignorant of every thing beyond the walls of a College, and most peculiarly ill informed respecting every thing that related to Law, or to the practice of Courts of Justice. When they saw, therefore, only one witness examined on this case by the Committee, and observed that he had been the solicitor of the Relators against the Corporation, they rashly concluded that the question rested on his evidence; and seeing the paper, entitled, a '*Schedule in the Cause*,' which he produced, they were ignorant enough not to know, that he was only called to authenticate this document, and that this contained the admissions, upon oath, of the Corporation against themselves. There was also another ground upon which the shallow calumniators preferred this case to the rest—they had a guess that a Corporation must have friends and supporters. Its side of the question was that of power—and the presumption is generally strong in favour of such important and wealthy bodies; more especially, when leagued with a ministerial nobleman's family for political purposes. Altogether, they considered themselves lucky in their selection; and away they went to work, vituperating the Committee with a venom only surpassed by their profound ignorance of the whole matter in dispute. The complete exposure of these pretenders, both by the learned and able author of the '*Vindication*,' and in the former pages of this Journal, tended perhaps a little to damp their zeal; but the decision of a Court was wanting to convince even those whom reason and facts assail in vain, because they are resolved to rely upon authority alone.

This check, this galling chastisement, their insolent conceit has now received from the Vice-Chancellor. We insert the following authentic note of his judgment upon the cause.

The Vice-Chancellor said it was impossible for him to order the Corporation, as a body, to account to the Charity for the loss it had sustained by their granting leases at reduced rents to their own burgesses, because that would be appropriating to a particular purpose the funds of the Corporation, which were certainly destined for other public purposes. He regretted extremely, that when the information was drawn up, the persons who had profited by these leases had not been made parties to the suit; because in that case the Court could have reached them in their individual characters as tenants, and could have made them refund to the Charity the profits which they had improperly derived from its estates. The manner in which the trust had been executed, with regard to these leases, was a most SHAMEFUL and SCANDALOUS sacrifice of the interests of the Charity. His Honour made the following decree.—That Sir John Arundel be removed from the office of Master of St John's Hospital; and that the offices of Master of the Hospital, and Member of the Corporation, be held incompatible: that it be referred to the Master to inquire with whom the appointment of Master resides, and what are the proper qualifications for that office; also with whom the appointment of schoolmaster resides, and what are the necessary qualifications: that the Master approve of a scheme for the future management of the revenue of the hospital: that an account of the rents and profits be taken from the filing of this information: and that the Corporation be made to account for these rents and profits since that time;—the costs of the information to be paid by the Corporation. This order to be without prejudice to the relators, if they shall think proper to file a bill against the persons who derived benefit from the property of the Charity.*

* The reader who is but moderately acquainted with such subjects, is at once aware of what the reasons above alluded to do not perhaps know—that the effect of this decree is to the Charity, nearly what the disfranchisement of a borough for bribery and corruption is to the convicted delinquents. A more severe sentence never yet was pronounced in a similar case,—or accompanied with stronger language by the Judge's part. We may add, that, as if to leave no part of the Committee's Report unsupported, the decree against the Corporation was immediately followed by an opposition in the hospital,—a thing all then unknown.

The reader will probably agree with us in thinking, that this decree is in fact a judgment, not only upon the affairs of the Hospital and the conduct of the Corporation, but that it is in effect a sentence upon the calumnies and ignorance of those pert, flippant personages, formerly described by us, who presumed to thrust themselves into this controversy, with a stock of their own facts, larded with other men's jokes and with Law which no man can be found to acknowledge. It seems as if His Honour were at one and the same time severing the trustee from his mismanaged trust, and the Commentator from his abused office of political critic; sending him back to the place from whence, through vanity, he came; there henceforth to hang over dusty lexicons until he be dead; and to have mercy on the moderate reputation of a third-rate word-monger, which he might previously have earned through the forbearance of friends in his *monkish* retreat.

Here we should close our remarks,—but for the strange and altogether unaccountable sally which is said to have escaped the Learned Judge whose decision we have just cited. In the course of the argument, he took occasion it seems to interrupt the Counsel, in order to express a disapprobation of the Parliamentary Inquiry, and to say, that 'it had misled the public mind, producing a great deal of improper zeal and popular clamour.' Now, to all who heard this notable reflexion, it must have been matter of extreme surprise to find, that what is here termed '*misleading*,' really turned out to be telling the truth, or rather considerably under-stating it; and that, by '*popular clamour*,' His Honour was pleased to intend the wish to have gross abuses corrected precisely by such decrees as he was then on the point of making. All who heard the remarks must have expected a decree dismissing the suit with costs, accompanied by observations very flattering to the Defendants, and reprobating the extraneous statements of the Relators. But, strange to tell, the Vice-Chancellor goes far beyond the Education Committee in his reprobation of the whole conduct of those Defendants; condemns them in costs as a corporation, and to refund what, as a corporation, they had received;—while he regrets that the form of the Bill precluded him from convicting them as individuals; and suggests that separate suits be forthwith instituted against them in their private capacity.

The great inconsistency of this conduct, is as remarkable as the impropriety of any Judge censuring the proceedings of either House of Parliament. Men are daily committed for breaches of privilege, whose liberties better can affect the authority of the Legislature one hundredth part so much as the errors of

a Judge upon the Bench, where no one can reply in its defence. Sir John Leach, by the total inconsistency of his decree with his *obiter dictum*, indeed deprived himself of any great weight as a censor upon this occasion; but the respect in which Parliament is holden would indeed soon vanish, if Judges, from being the calm and impartial executors of its laws, were to erect themselves into critics upon its conduct, and show that they only reluctantly yield to its power, the obedience which they should pay to its authority, and the deference which they owe to its wisdom.*

ART. VII. *A Treatise on Adulterations of Food, and Culinary Poisons, exhibiting the Fraudulent Sophistications of Bread, Beer, Wine, Spirituous Liquors, &c. and Methods of detecting them.* By FREDERICK ACCUM. London, Longman & Co. 1820.

IT is curious to see how vice varies its forms, and maintains its substance, in all conditions of society;—and how certainly those changes, or improvements as we call them, which diminish the class of offences, aggravate or give birth to another.—In rude and simple communities, most crimes take the shape of Violence and Outrage—in polished and refined ones, of Fraud. Men sin from their animal propensities in the first case, and from their intellectual depravation in the second. The one state of things is prolific of murders, batteries, rapines, and burnings—the other of forgeries, swindlings, defamations, and seductions. The sum of evil is probably pretty much the same in both—though probably greatest in the civilized and enlightened stages; the sharpening of the intellect, and the spread of knowledge, giving prodigious force and activity to all criminal propensities.

Among the offences which are peculiar to a refined and enlightened society, and owe their birth, indeed, to its science and refinement, are those skilful and dexterous adulterations of the manifold objects of its luxurious consumption, to which their value and variety, and the delicacy of their preparation, hold out so many temptations; while the very skill and knowledge

* The mistake of His Honour, in saying that the Act 52 Geo. III. affords a sufficient remedy, is well known. Both the Chancellor and the late truly learned Master of the Rolls, have decided, that to the most flagrant cases of abused trusts, it has no application.—Vid. 2 Ves. & Beames 134. & Corp. Ca. Ch. 295.

which are requisite in their formation, furnish such facilities for their sophistication. The very industry and busy activity of such a society, exposes it more and more to such impostures;—and by the division of labour which takes place, and confines every man to his own separate task, brings him into a complete dependence on the industry of others for a supply of the most necessary articles. It is quite impossible that articles of daily use can be subjected to such tests as will effectually try whether or not they are adulterated with foreign ingredients. Such an analysis would, in most cases, require a very nice chemical process; and, even if it were practicable, nobody has time or patience to attempt it. The honesty of the dealer, and of the original manufacturer, is therefore the only security to the public for the genuineness of the articles in which he deals. The consumer can in general know nothing of their component parts; he must take them as he finds them; and, even if he is dissatisfied, he has in general no effectual means of redress. Among a people of primitive habits, and of limited knowledge, deception would neither be easy nor profitable. It would not be worth while to cheat such a race of homely consumers out of the little which they lay out in the gratification of their simple wants. It is only in the valuable products manufactured to pamper luxury and wealth, that articles can be found which it becomes profitable to counterfeit; and it is only in a highly refined community where improvements abound, and where wealth and ingenuity are widely diffused, that fraud, finding everywhere agents ready to execute its nefarious purposes, can be prosecuted on a great scale.

It will accordingly be found, that as crimes of violence decrease with the progress of society, frauds are multiplied; and that there springs up in every prosperous country a race of degenerate traders and manufacturers, whose business is to cheat and to deceive; who pervert their talents to the most dishonest purposes, preferring the illicit gains thus acquired to the fair profits of honourable dealing; and counterworking, by their sinister arts, the general improvement of society. Every one is aware of the extensive frauds to which the modern device of paper currency has given rise, and how much talent, ingenuity and address, has been prostituted to the unworthy purpose of manufacturing, and sending into circulation, counterfeit bank notes. The practice of forgery has increased of late years to an alarming extent, even under all the terrors of the Criminal law; and the various contrivances which have, from time to time, been adopted, to render imitation difficult, and easy of detection, have been rivalled, and even outdone, by the illicit dealers in this counterfeit article. In like manner, in almost every branch of manufac-

ture, there are fraudulent dealers, who are instigated by the thirst of gain to debase the articles which they vend to the public, and to exact a high price for what is comparatively cheap and worthless. After pointing out various deceptions of this nature, Mr Accum, the ingenious author of the work before us, proceeds in his account of those frauds in the following terms.

'The same system of adulteration extends to articles used in various trades and manufactures. For instance, linen tape, and various other household commodities of that kind, instead of being manufactured of linen thread only, are made up of linen and cotton. Colours for painting, not only those used by artists, such as ultramarine, carmine, and lake, Antwerp blue, chrome yellow, and Indian ink; but also the coarser colours used by the common house-painter, are more or less adulterated. Thus, of the latter kind, white lead is mixed with carbonate or sulphate of barytes; vermilion with red lead.

'Soap used in house-keeping is frequently adulterated with a considerable portion of fine white clay, brought from St Stephens in Cornwall. In the manufacture of printing paper, a large quantity of plaster of Paris is added to the paper stuff, to increase the weight of the manufactured article. The selvage of cloth is often dyed with a permanent colour, and artfully stitched to the edge of cloth dyed with a fugitive dye. The frauds committed in the tanning of skins, and in the manufacture of cutlery and jewellery, exceed belief.'

pp 27-29.

What is infinitely worse, however, than any of those frauds, sophistications, we are informed, are carried on to an equal extent in all the essential articles of subsistence or comfort. So long as our dishonest dealers do not intermeddle with these things, their deceptions are comparatively harmless; the evil in all such cases amounting only to so much pecuniary damage. But when they begin to tamper with food, or with articles connected with the table, their frauds are most pernicious: In all cases the nutritive quality of the food is injured, by the artificial ingredients intermixed with it; and when these ingredients, as frequently happens, are of a poisonous quality, they endanger the health and even the life of all to whom they are vended. We cannot conceive any thing more diabolical than those contrivances; and we consider their authors in a far worse light than ordinary felons, who, being known, can be duly guarded against. But these fraudulent dealers conceal themselves under the fair show of a reputable traffic—they contrive in this manner to escape the infamy which justly belongs to them—and, under the disguise of wealth, credit, and character, to lurk in the bosom of society, wounding the hand that cherishes them, and scattering around them poison and death.

It is chiefly for the purpose of laying open the dishonest ar-

tifices of this class of dealers, that Mr Accum has published the present very interesting and popular work; and he gives a most fearful view of the various and extensive frauds which are daily practised on the unsuspecting public. After observing, that of all the deceptions resorted to by mercenary dealers, there is none more reprehensible, and at the same time more prevalent, than those which take place in articles of food, he proceeds, in the following passage, to point out more particularly the extent of this illicit traffic.

' This unprincipled and nefarious practice, increasing in degree as it has been found difficult of detection, is now applied to almost every commodity which can be classed among either the necessities or the luxuries of life, and is carried on to a most alarming extent in every part of the United Kingdom. — It has been pursued by men who, from the magnitude and apparent respectability of their concerns, would be the least obnoxious to public suspicion; and their successful example has called forth, from among the retail dealers, a multitude of competitors in the same iniquitous course. — To such perfection of ignominy has this system of adulterating food arrived, that spurious articles of various kinds are everywhere to be found, made up so skilfully as to baffle the discrimination of the most experienced judges. — Among the number of substances used in domestic economy, which are now very generally found sophisticated, may be distinguished—tea, coffee, bread, beer, wine, spirituous liquors, salad oil, pepper, vinegar, mustard, cream, and other articles of subsistence. — Indeed, it would be difficult to mention a single article of food which is not to be met with in an adulterated state; and there are some substances which are scarcely ever to be procured genuine. — Some of these spurious compounds are comparatively harmless when used as food; and as, in these cases, merely substances of inferior value are substituted for more costly and genuine ingredients, the sophistication, though it may affect our purse, does not injure our health. Of this kind are the manufacture of factitious pepper, the adulterations of mustard, vinegar, cream, &c. Others, however, are highly deleterious; and to this class belong the adulterations of beer, wines, spirituous liquors, pickles, salad oil, and many others.' pp. 2-4.

There are, it appears, particular chemists who make it their sole employment to supply the unprincipled brewer of porter and ale with drugs, and other deleterious preparations; while others perform the same office to the wine and spirit merchant, as well as to the grocer and oilman; and these illicit pursuits have assumed all the order and method of a regular trade. A great capital is embarked in them; and so artfully are they carried on, that the workmen are frequently ignorant of the nature of the substances which pass through their hands, or of the purposes to which they are adapting them. To one is assigned

the task of proportioning the different ingredients for use—to another, the composition and preparation of them—and the articles are finally transmitted to the manufacturer, who uses them in such a disguised state, as effectually conceals their real qualities. In some cases, men of the most correct principles have been found engaged in the sale of articles highly deleterious, without knowing it—the mystery of their original manufacture having been lost in the course of the artificial process by which they are prepared for use, and from the many circuitous channels by which they find their way to the retail dealer. Self-interest is the great incentive to those frauds; and hitherto, the ingenuity of individuals, animated by this principle, has been more than a match for the strictest prohibitions. ‘The eager and insatiable thirst for gain,’ (Mr Accum justly observes), ‘which seems to be a leading characteristic of the times, calls into action every human faculty, and gives an irresistible impulse to the power of invention; and where lucre becomes the reigning principle, the possible sacrifice of a fellow-creature’s life is a secondary consideration.’

Mr Accum having exhibited this general view of his subject, proceeds to enter into an examination of the articles most commonly counterfeited, and to explain the nature of the ingredients used in sophisticating them. He commences with a dissertation on the qualities of good Water, in which he briefly points out the dangerous sophistications to which it is liable, from the administration of foreign ingredients. He censures in the strongest terms the practice of keeping water in Leaden reservoirs. The effects of lead, when taken into the stomach, are known to be pernicious in the extreme: and though pure water exercises no perceptible influence on this metal, yet when air is admitted, a portion of the lead is dissolved in the liquid. The white line to be seen in leaden cisterns at the surface, where the metal is acted on by the air and the water, is formed by a dissolution of the lead; and this substance is highly deleterious. It was on this account, that leaden conduits were universally proscribed by the ancients for the conveyance of water. According to its different qualities, potable water varies in its power of corroding lead; and though, in its natural state, it may produce little effect, yet, in many cases, when it becomes tinctured in a very slight degree with foreign ingredients, its action on the metal is considerably increased; and Mr Accum relates several examples of whole families being afflicted with painful maladies, from incautiously using water in which lead had been dissolved.

But in the case of water, the adulteration is purely accidental, which cannot be said of the other articles specified by Mr

Accum. In the making of Bread, more especially in London, various ingredients are occasionally mingled with the dough. To suit the caprice of his customers, the baker is obliged to have his bread light and porous, and of a pure white. It is impossible to produce this sort of bread from flour alone, unless it be of the finest quality. The best flour, however, being mostly used by the biscuit-bakers and pastry-cooks, it is only from the inferior sorts that bread is made; and it becomes necessary, in order to have it of that light and porous quality, and of a fine white, to mix alum with the dough. Without this ingredient, the flour used by the London bakers would not yield so white a bread as that sold in the metropolis. The quantity of alum necessary to be used, depends entirely on the genuineness of the flour, and the quality of the grain from which it is obtained. The smallest quantity which can be employed with effect to make a light, white, and porous bread, is from three to four ounces of alum to a sack of flour, weighing 240 pounds. If the flour happens to be of an inferior quality, or in any degree spoiled, a greater quantity of alum will be required; and herein consists the fraud, that the baker is enabled, by the use of this ingredient, to produce from bad materials bread that is light, white, and porous, but of which the quality does not correspond to the appearance, and thus to impose upon the public. The contrivances adopted to conceal this fraud, are pointed out in the following passage by Mr Accum.

'The baker asserts that he does not put alum into bread; but he is well aware that, in purchasing a certain quantity of flour, he must take a sack of *sharp whites* (a term given to flour contaminated with a quantity of alum), without which it would be impossible for him to produce light, white, and porous bread, from a half-spoiled material.

'The wholesale mealman frequently purchases this spurious commodity (which forms a separate branch of business in the hands of certain individuals), in order to enable himself to sell his decayed and half-spoiled flour.

'Other individuals furnish the baker with alum mixed up with salt, under the obscure denomination of *stuff*. There are wholesale manufacturing chemists, whose sole business is to crystallize alum, in such a form as will adapt this salt to the purpose of being mixed in a crystalline state with the crystals of common salt, to disguise the character of the compound. The mixture called *stuff*, is composed of one part of alum, in minute crystals, and three of common salt. pp. 13-15.

There is another substance, namely, subcarbonate of ammonia, made use of by bakers, in order to produce light and porous bread from spoiled flour; and this salt being volatilized during the process of baking, not a vestige of it remains in the

bread. Potatoes are likewise constantly used by many bakers; and we have heard it asserted on good authority, that by this admixture the bread is improved. In this case, then, it is only a pecuniary fraud which is practised on the public, the baker charging his customers the same price for potatoes as for flour, though they cost him much less. The small quantity of alum mixed in the bread, as well as the carbonate of magnesia, are also said to be perfectly harmless; so that the adulterations practised in this prime article of subsistence, however disgraceful they may be, do not appear to be dangerous to health.

The same cannot be said in favour of the adulterations practised in the article of Wine, some of which indeed can scarcely be called adulterations, seeing that, from a variety of base ingredients, there is manufactured an entirely new and most pernicious compound, calculated to defraud those who use it both of their money and their health. In every respect, wine is a most favourable subject for deceptions of this nature. It is a costly article, and it is in universal use; among the poor as a cordial, and among the rich as a luxury. The peculiar qualities too for which wine is prized, are of a delicate nature; and though, by experienced judges, they may be discerned with certainty, the great majority of those who affect a discriminating taste in wines, frequently become the dupes of skilful impositions; and the poor who use wine as a medicine, and usually buy it in retail, must take what is given them, having nothing to trust to but the conscience of the dealer, which has been long rendered callous by the love of gain. Wine, accordingly, appears to be a subject for the most extensive and pernicious frauds.

All persons (Mr Accum observes) moderately conversant with the subject, are aware, that a portion of alum is added to young and meagre red wines, for the purpose of brightening their colour; that Brazil wood, or the husks of elderberries and bilberries, which are imported from Germany, under the fallacious name of *berry dye*, are employed to impart a deep rich purple tint to red port of a pale colour; that gypsum is used to render cloudy white wines transparent; that an additional astringency is imparted to immature red wines by means of oak-wood and sawdust, and the husks of filberts; and that a mixture of spoiled foreign and home-made wines is converted into the wretched compound frequently sold in the metropolis by the name of *genuine old Port*.

Other expedients are resorted to in order to give flavour to insipid wines. For this purpose bitter almonds are occasionally employed; factitious port wine is also flavoured with a tincture drawn from the seeds of raisins; and other ingredients are frequently used, such as sweet hrier, orris root, clary, cherry laurel water, and elder flowers. All these substances may be pur-

chased by those who know where to apply for them; and even a manuscript receipt-book, containing directions for preparing them, and for managing, or, as the phrase is, for *doctoring* all sorts of wines, may be obtained on payment of a suitable *fee*. In London, the sophistication of wine is carried to an enormous extent, as well as the art of manufacturing spurious wine, which has become a regular trade, in which a large capital is invested; and it is well known that many thousand pipes of spoiled cider are annually sent to the metropolis for the purpose of being converted into an imitation of port-wine. That frauds of this nature have been of long standing, appears from a passage in the *Tatler*, quoted by Mr Accum, in which it is stated, that there is in the metropolis 'a certain fraternity of chemical operators who work under ground in holes, caverns, and dark retirements.'—These subterraneous philosophers (it is observed) are daily employed in the transmutation of liquors, and, by the power of magical drugs and incantations, raising under the streets of London the choicest products of the hills and valleys of France.*

Innumerable are the tricks practised to deceive the unwary, by giving to weak, thin, and spoiled wines, all the characteristic marks of age, and also of flavour and strength. In carrying on these illicit occupations, the division of labour has been completely established; each has his own task assigned him in the confederate work of iniquity; and thus they acquire dexterity for the execution of their mischievous purposes. To one class is allotted the task of *crusting*, which consists in lining the interior surface of empty wine bottles with a red crust. This is accomplished by suffering a saturated hot solution of supertartrate of potash, coloured red with a decoction of Brazil-wood to crystallize within them. A similar operation is frequently performed on the wooden cask which is to hold the wine, and which, in the same manner as the bottle, is artificially stained with a red crust; and on some occasions the lower extremities of the corks in wine bottles are also stained red, in order to give them the appearance of having been long in contact with the wine. It is the business of a particular class of wine-coopers, means of an astringent extract mixed with home-made and foreign wines, to produce 'genuine old port,' or to give an artificial flavour and colour to weak wine; while the mellowing and restoring of spoiled white wine is the occupation of another class called refiners of wine. Other deceptions are practised by fraudulent dealers, which are still more culpable. The most dangerous of these is where wine is adulterated by an admixture of lead. It is certain that some preparations of this metal pos-

ness the property of stopping the progress of wine to acidity, and also of clarifying white wines after they have become muddy; and in the metropolis, which seems to be the head-quarters of all those shameful abuses, it is freely used by the wine-merchants for this purpose. In Graham's Treatise on Wine-making, under the article of Secrets, there are directions how to use lead for the purpose either of recovering bad wine, or of preventing wine from turning acid. It is stated, in defence of this practice, that the quantity of lead used is so small, that it can produce no bad effects; and that, besides, the lead does not remain in the wine. The contrary, however, is proved by chemical analysis; and as lead taken into the stomach is highly deleterious, and occasions the most afflicting diseases, wine, with the smallest quantity of it intermixed, becomes a slow but sure poison; and Mr Accum therefore justly observes, that the 'merchant or dealer who practises this dangerous sophistication, adds the crime of murder to that of fraud, and deliberately scatters the seeds of disease and death among those customers who contribute to his emolument.' The effects of lead in improving wine were, it appears, well known to the ancients, who made use of it for this purpose long before they were aware of its pernicious effects.

Spirituous liquors, which in this country form one of the chief articles of consumption, would, we have every reason to imagine, be the subject of equally extensive frauds with wine, were it not that the great quality of spirits, namely, the strength, admits of being fixed by such easy and accurate tests. Spirits being subject to a heavy tax, it became necessary, for the sake of the revenue, that some certain method should be adopted for ascertaining their strength; and several very accurate instruments have accordingly been contrived for this purpose. The deceptions, therefore, which are practised by the dealers in this article, are chiefly confined to fraudulent imitations of the peculiar flavour of different sorts of spirits; and as this flavour constitutes, along with the strength, the value of the spirit, the profit of the dealer consists in imitating this quality at a cheaper rate than it is produced in the genuine spirit. The flavour of French brandy is imitated, by distilling British molasses spirit over wine lees, previous to which, however, the spirit is deprived of its peculiar disagreeable flavour, by rectification over fresh burnt charcoal and quicklime. This operation is performed by those who are called brewers druggists, and forms the article in the *prices-current* called *Spirit Flavour*. Wine lees are imported into this country for the purpose, and they pay the same duty as foreign wines. Another method of imi-

tating the flavour of brandy, which is adopted by brandy merchants, is by means of a spirit obtained from raisin wine, after it has begun to become somewhat sour. 'Oak saw-dust,' (Mr Accum observes), 'and a spirituous tincture of raisin stones, are likewise used to impart to new brandy and rum a *ripe taste*, resembling brandy or rum long kept in oaken casks, and a somewhat oily consistence, so as to form a durable froth at its surface, when strongly agitated in a vial. The colouring substances are burnt sugar, or molasses; the latter gives to imitative brandy a luscious taste, and fulness in the mouth.' Gin, which is sold in small quantities to those who judge of the strength by the taste, is made up for sale by fraudulent dealers with water and sugar; and this admixture rendering the liquor turbid, several expedients are resorted to, in order to clarify it; some of which are harmless, while others are criminal. A mixture of alum with subcarbonate of potash, is sometimes employed for this purpose; but more frequently, in place of this, a solution of subacetate of lead, and then a solution of alum,—a practice reprobated by Mr Accum as highly dangerous, owing to the admixture of the lead with the spirit, which thereby becomes poisonous. After this operation, it is usual to give a false appearance of strength to the spirit, by mixing with it grains of paradise, guinea pepper, capsicum, and other acrid and aromatic substances.

In the manufacture of Malt liquors, a wide field is opened for the operations of fraud. The immense quantity of the article consumed, presents an irresistible temptation to the unprincipled dealer; while the vegetable substances with which Beer is adulterated, are in all cases difficult to be detected, and are frequently beyond the reach of chemical analysis. There is, accordingly, no article which is the subject of such varied and extensive frauds. These are committed in the first instance by the brewer, during the process of manufacture, and afterwards by the dealer, who deteriorates, by fraudulent intermixtures, the liquor which he sells to the consumer. The brewer is prohibited by act of Parliament from using any other ingredients than malt and hops; and, according to the evidence of the most experienced judges, the best malt liquor can be made out of these materials, and out of these only. The art then of the fraudulent brewer, consists in the discovery of other and cheaper ingredients, by which he contrives to imitate the qualities of genuine beer or porter. In a practical treatise on Brewing, which has run through eleven editions, the author observes, that 'malt, to produce intoxication, must be used in such large quantities as would very much diminish, if not totally exclude, the brewer's profit.' Recourse must therefore be had to less costly materials; and though this

practice is prohibited by several acts of Parliament, the same author affirms, from his own experience, that 'he could never produce the present flavoured porter without them.' * 'The intoxicating qualities of porter' (he continues) 'are to be ascribed to the various drugs intermixed with it;' and, as some sorts of porter are more heady than others, the difference arises, according to this author, 'from the greater or less quantity of stupefying ingredients' contained in it. These consist of various substances, some of which are highly deleterious. Thus, the extract disguised under the name of *black extract*, and ostensibly destined for the use of tanners and dyers, is obtained by boiling the berries of the *cocculus indicus* in water, and converting, by a subsequent evaporation, this decoction into a stiff black tenacious mass, possessing in a high degree the narcotic and intoxicating quality of the poisonous berry from which it is prepared. Quassia is another substance employed in place of hops, to give the beer a bitter taste; and the shavings of this wood are sold in a half torrefied and ground state, in order to prevent its being recognised. An extract is also prepared of quassia and liquorice juice, which is used in place of hops, and is technically called *multum*. Quassia is, however, in every respect, an inferior article to hops, for the purpose of being used in beer; the latter possessing an agreeable aromatic flavour, and rendering the beer also less liable to spoil. Wormwood has been used by fraudulent brewers, for the purpose of giving a bitter taste to their beer. The other substances with which beer is adulterated, are molasses, honey, vitriol, grains of paradise, opium, extract of poppies, copperas, Spanish liquorice, hartshorn shavings, caraway and coriander seeds, mixed with a portion of nux vomica, orange powder, ginger, &c.

The practice of adulterating beer appears to be of ancient date; and there is an act of Queen Anne, prohibiting the brewer from the use of *cocculus indicus*, or any other unwholesome ingredients. For nearly a century, however, few instances of any convictions are to be met with under this act. It is in modern times that this fraud appears chiefly to have flourished, and, more especially, during the period of the late French war. From this time, great quantities of *cocculus indicus* began to be imported from the Continent, although an additional duty was laid on it; so that the quantity brought into the country for five years subsequent to the period alluded to, exceeds that imported for the twelve preceding years. The price of the drug has also risen from 2s. to 7s. per pound; which affords the most un-

equivocal proof of an increased demand for the article. The progress of this nefarious trade is described by Mr Accum in the following passage.

'It was at the period to which we have alluded, that the preparation of an extract of *coccus indicus* first appeared, as a new saleable commodity, in the price-currents of *brewers'-druggists*. It was at the same time also that a Mr Jackson, of notorious memory, fell upon the idea of brewing beer from various drugs, without any malt and hops. This chemist did not turn brewer himself; but he struck out the more profitable trade of teaching his mystery to the brewers for a handsome fee. From that time forwards, written directions, and receipt-books for using the chemical preparations to be substituted for malt and hops, were respectively sold; and many adepts soon afterwards appeared everywhere, to instruct brewers in the nefarious practice first pointed out by Mr Jackson. From that time, also, the fraternity of brewers'-chemists took its rise. They made it their chief business to send travellers all over the country with lists and samples exhibiting the price and quality of the articles manufactured by them for the use of brewers only. Their trade spread far and wide; but it was amongst the country brewers chiefly that they found the most customers; and it is amongst them, up to the present day, as I am assured by some of these operators, on whose veracity I can rely, that the greatest quantities of unlawful ingredients are sold.— pp. 158-160.

Not only is the use of all these deleterious substances strictly prohibited to the brewer under severe penalties; but all druggists or grocers convicted of supplying him with any of them, or who have them in their possession, are liable to severe penalties; and Mr Accum gives a list of twenty-nine convictions for this offence, from the year 1812 to 1819. From the year 1819 to 1819, the number of brewers prosecuted and convicted of using illegal ingredients in their breweries, amounts to thirty-four. Numerous seizures have also been made during the same period at various breweries and in the warehouses of brewers'-druggists, of illegal ingredients, to be used in the brewing of beer, some of them highly deleterious.

Malt liquors, after they are delivered by the brewer to the retail dealer, are still destined to undergo various mutations before they reach the consumer. It is a common practice with the retailers of beer, though it be contrary to law, to mix table beer with strong beer; and to disguise this kind of mixture in had so various expedients. It is a well known property of genuine beer, that when poured from one vessel into another, it bears a strong white froth, without which pure beer would not prove to be the liquor good. This property is lost, however, when table beer is mixed with strong beer; and to restore it, a

mixture of what is called *beer-heading* is added, composed of common green vitriol, alum, and salt. To give a pungent taste to weak insipid beer, capsicum and grains of paradise, two highly acrid substances, are employed; and, of late, a concentrated tincture of these articles has appeared for sale in the prices current of brewers'-druggists. To bring beer forward, as it is technically called, or to make it hard, a portion of sulphuric acid is mixed with it, which, in an instant, produces an imitation of the age of eighteen months; and stale, half-spoiled, or sour beer, is converted into mild beer, by the simple admixture of an alkali or an alkaline earth; oyster-shell powder, and subcarbonate of potash, or soda, being usually employed for that purpose. In order to show that these deceptions are not imaginary, Mr Accum refers to the frequent convictions of brewers for those fraudulent practices, and to the seizures which have been made at different breweries of illegal ingredients—a list of which, and of the proprietors of the breweries where they were seized, he has extracted from the Minutes of the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to Inquire into the Price and Quality of Beer. It may be observed, that while some of the sophistications of beer appear to be perfectly harmless, other substances are frequently employed for this purpose which are highly deleterious, and which must gradually undermine the health of those by whom they are used.

Many others of the most ordinary articles of consumption, are mentioned by our author as being the object of the most disgusting and pernicious frauds. Tea, it is well known, from the numerous convictions which have lately taken place, has been counterfeited to an enormous extent; and copper, in one form or another, is the chief ingredient made use of for effecting the imitation. The practice of adulterating coffee, has also been carried on for a long time, and to a considerable extent; while black and white pepper, Cayenne pepper, mustard, pickles of all sorts, have been all of them debased by an admixture of baser, and, in many cases, poisonous ingredients. Ground pepper is frequently sophisticated by an admixture from the sweepings of the pepper workhouses. These sweepings are purchased in the market under the initials P. D., signifying *pepper dust*. An inferior sort of this vile refuse (Mr Accum observes) as the sweepings of P. D., is distinguished among vendors by the abbreviation of D. R. D., denoting *dust, or refuse pepper dust*.

Of these various frauds so ably exposed in Mr Accum's work, and which are so much the more dangerous, as they are

arms of Lord Byron, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Leigh Hunt. —This may be thought, perhaps, rather a violent transition; and likely to lead to something of an incongruous mixture. But the materials really harmonize very tolerably; and the candid reader of the work will easily discover the secret of this amalgamation.

In the *first* place, Mr Cornwall is himself a poet—and one of no mean rate;—and not being a maker of parodies or centos, he does not imitate by indiscriminately caricaturing the prominent peculiarities of his models, or crowding together their external or mechanical characteristics—but merely disciplines his own genius in the school of theirs—and tinges the creatures of his fancy with the colouring which glows in theirs. In the *next* place, and what is much more important, it is obvious, that a man may imitate Shakespeare and his great compeers, without presuming to rival their variety or universality, and merely by endeavouring to copy one or two of their many styles and excellences.—This is the case with Mr C. He does not meddle with the thunders and lightnings of the mighty poet; and still less with his boundless humour and fresh-springing merriment. He has nothing to do with Falstaff or Silence; and does not venture himself in the lists with Macbeth, or Lear, or Othello. It is the tender, the sweet, and the fanciful only, that he aspires to copy—the girlish innocence and lovely sorrow of Juliet, Imogen, Perdita, or Viola—the enchanted solitude of Prospero and his daughter—the ethereal loves and jealousies of Oberon and Titania, and those other magical scenes, all perfumed with love and poetry, and breathing the spirit of a celestial spring, which lie scattered in every part of his writings.—The genius of Fletcher, perhaps, is more akin to Mr C.'s muse of imitation, than the soaring and 'extravagant spirit' of Shakespeare; and we think we can trace, in more places than one, the impression which his fancy has received from the patient suffering and sweet desolation of Aspatia, in his Maid's tragedy. It is the youthful Milton only that he has presumed to copy—the Milton of Lycidas and Comus, and the Arcades, and the Seraphic Hymns—not the lofty and austere Milton of the Paradise. From Jonson, we think, he has imitated some of those exquisite songs and lyrical pieces that lie buried in the rubbish of his masks, and which continued to be the models for all such writings down to the period of the Restoration. There are no traces, we think, of Dryden, or Pope, or Young,—or of any body else indeed, till we come down to Lord Byron, and our other tuneful contemporaries.—From what we have already said, it will be understood, that Mr C. has not thought of imitating all Byron, any

more than all Shakespeare. He leaves untouched the mockery and misanthropy, as well as much of the force and energy of the noble Lord's poetry—and betakes himself only to its deep sense of beauty, and the grace and tenderness that are so often and so strangely interwoven with those less winning characteristics.—It is the poetry of Manfred, of Parisina, of Haidée and Thyrsa, that he aims at copying, and not the higher and more energetic tone of the Corsair, or Childe Harold, or Don Juan.—He has indeed borrowed the manner of this last piece in two of the poems in this little volume—but has shown no great aptitude for wit or sarcasm, and has succeeded only in the parts that are pathetic and tender. There is a great deal of the diction of Wordsworth and Coleridge, and some imitation of their beauties: But we think the natural bent of his genius is more like that of Leigh Hunt than any other author.—He has the same play of fancy, and the same capacity of deep and delicate feeling, together with the same relish for the old Italian poetry, and the plain and simple pathos of Dante and Boccaccio.—We doubt, however, whether he has equal force of original talent, or whether he could have written any thing so good, on the whole, as the beautiful story of Rimini: But he has better taste and better judgment—or, what perhaps is but saying the same thing, he has less affectation, and far less conceit. He has scarcely any other affectation, indeed, than is almost necessarily implied in a sedulous imitator of difficult models—and no visible conceit at all. On the contrary, we cannot help supposing him to be a very natural and amiable person, who has taken to write poetry, more for the love he bears it, than the fame to which it may raise him—who cares nothing for the sects and factions into which the poetical world may be divided—but, regarding himself as a debtor to every writer who has given him pleasure, desires nothing better than to range freely over the whole Parnassian garden, 'stealing and giving odour' with a free spirit and a grateful and joyous heart.

It is this apparent devotion to the purer part of his art—and the total exclusion of all contentious and dogmatical matter, that constitutes the great charm of his writing. The fever of party spirit, and the bitterness of speculative contention, have of late years infected all our literature; and Poetry itself, instead of being the balm and anodyne of minds hurt and ruffled with the rugged tasks and angry struggles of the world, has too often been made the vehicle of moral and political animosity, religious antipathy and personal offence. We cannot always, with all our philosophy, escape the soil and tarnish of those contagious pursuits; but it is delightful to turn from them awhile, to the unalloyed

sweets of such poetry as Mr Cornwall's; and to refresh our fancies, and strengthen and compose our good affection, among the images of love and beauty, and gentle sympathy and sorrow, with which it everywhere presents us. It is time, however, to impart a portion of these soothing strains to our readers also; as we are sure we have already said more than enough to explain to the intelligent the opinion we entertain of them, and the principle on which we conceive them to be constructed.

The first, and, in our opinion, the finest poem in the book, is 'the Sicilian Story;' the outline, and a good deal of the details of which, are taken from a well known tale in the Decameron. It is in the sweet and irregular measure of Lycidas—though in a much more familiar and dramatic strain of diction than any of the Miltonic varieties. The following verses appear to us extremely beautiful.

' One night a masque was held within the walls
Of a Sicilian palace: the gay flowers
Cast life and beauty o'er the marble halls,
And, in remoter spots, fresh waterfalls
That 'rose half' hidden by sweet lemon bowers
A low and silver-voiced music made:
And there the frail perfuming woodbine strayed
Winding its slight arms 'round the cypress bough,
And as in female trust seemed there to grow,
Like woman's love 'midst sorrow flourishing:
And every odorous plant and brighter thing
Born of the sunny skies and weeping rain,
That from the bosom of the spring
Starts into life and beauty once again,
Blossom'd; and there in walks of evergreen,
Gay cavaliers and dames high-born and fair,
Wearing that rich and melancholy smile
That can so well beguile
The human heart from its recess, were seen,
And lovers full of love or studious care
Wasting their rhymes upon the soft night air,
And spirits that never till the morning sleep.
And, far away, the mountain Etna flung
Eternally its pyramid of flame
High as the heav'ns, while from its heart there
Hollow and subterranean noises deep,
And all around the constellations hung
Their starry lamps, lighting the midnight sky,
As to do honour to that revelry.
Yet was there one in that gay shifting crowd
Sick at the soul with sorrow: her quick eye

Her restless thro' the throng, and then she bowed
 Her head upon her breast, and one check'd sigh
 Breath'd sweet reproach 'gainst her Italian boy,
 The dark-eyed Guido whom she loved so well :
 (O how *he* loved Sicilian Isabel !)
 Why came he not that night to share the joy
 That sate on every face,' &c.

Dark Guido came not all that night, while she
 His young and secret bride sate watching there,
 Pale as the marble columns : She search'd around
 And 'round, and sicken'd at the revelry ;
 But if she heard a quick or lighter bound
 Half 'rose and gazed, and o'er her tearful sight
 Drew her white hand to see his raven hair
 Come down in masses like the starless night ;
 And 'neath each shortened mask she strove the while
 To catch his sweet inimitable smile,
 Opening such lips as the boy Hylas wore ;
 (He whom the wild and wanton Nymphs of yore
 Stole from Alcmena's Son :) But one, and then
 Another passed, and bowed, and passed again.' pp. 8-10.

Her brother, who had always thwarted her love, passes near
 her ; and in accents of hate and bitter scorn, pronounces the
 name of Guidó. She shudders at the ill-omened sounds ; and
 the poet proceeds to describe how the lovers had passed the
 morning.

That morn they sat upon the sea-beach green ;
 For in that land the sward springs fresh and free
 Close to the ocean, and no tides are seen
 To break the glassy quiet of the sea :
 And Guido, with his arm 'round Isabel,
 Unclasped the tresses of her chesnut hair,
 Which in her white and heaving bosom fell
 Like things enamour'd, and then with jealous air
 Bade the soft amorous winds not wanton there ;
 And then his dark eyes sparkled, and he wound
 The filets like a coronet around
 Her brow, and bade her rise and be a queen.
 And oh 'twas sweet to see her delicate hand
 Press'd 'gainst his parted lips, as tho' to check
 In mimic anger all those whispers bland
 He knew so well to me, and on his neck
 Her round arm hung, while half as in command
 And half entreaty did her swimming eye
 Speak of forbearance, 'till from her pouting lip
 He snatched the honey-dews that levers sip,

And then, in crimsoning beauty, playfully
She frowned, and wore that self-betraying air
That women loved and flattered love to wear.

Oft would he, as on that same spot they lay
Beneath the last light of a summer's day,
Tell (and would watch the while her stedfast cye,)
How on the lone Pacific he had been,
When the Sea Lion on his watery way
Went rolling thro' the billows green,
And shook that ocean's dead tranquillity :
And he would tell her of past times, and where
He rambled in his boyhood far away,
And spoke of other worlds and wonders fair
And mighty and magnificent, for he
Had seen the bright sun worshipp'd like a god
Upon that land where first Columbus trod ;
And travelled by the deep Saint Lawrence' tido,
And by Niagara's cataracts of foam,
And seen the wild deer roam
Amongst interminable forests, where
The serpent and the savage have their lair
Together. Nature there in wildest guise
Stands undebased and nearer to the skies ;
And 'midst her giant trees and waters wide
The bones of things forgotten, buried deep,
Give glimpses of an elder world, espied
By us but in that fine and dreamy sleep,
When Fancy, ever the mother of deep truth,
Breathes her dim oracles on the soul of youth.' pp. 13-15.
e retires heart-broken from the banquet; and dreams that
eloved stands before her, and says

Awake and search yon dell, for I
Though risen above my old mortality,
Have left my mangled and unburied limbs
A prey for wolves hard by the waters there,
And one lock of my black and curled hair,
That one I vowed to thee my beauty! swims
Like a mere weed upon the mountain river ;
And those dark eyes you used to love so well
(They loved you dearly, my own Isabel),
Are shut, and now have lost their light for ever.' p. 15.

—and then he proceeds to bid her take his heart from his bosom,
and bury it beneath the basil tree which they had planted toge-
ther, which should flourish for ever in memory of their loves.
In the morning, half in agony, and half disbelieving, she jour-
neys to the fatal ravine—and there finds the mangled body of
the youth whom her brother had murdered.

' There stiff and cold the dark-eyed Guido lay,
His pale face upwards to the careless day,
That smiled as it was wont ; and he was found
His young limbs mangled on the rocky ground,
And, 'midst the weltering weeds and shallows cold,
His black hair floated as the phantom told,
And like the very dream his glassy eye
Spoke of gone mortality.' p. 19.

She obeys the directions of the spirit ; and the basil tree—nourished by that precious deposit—towers and blossoms in rare and unnatural beauty. Her brother, however, finds the heart, and casts it in the sea. Immediately the tree withers—and Isabel, missing her worshipped relic, flies from her cruel brother's house, and lives crazy and lonely in the woods and caves.

' At last she wandered home. She came by night.
The pale moon shot a sad and troubled light
Amidst the mighty clouds that moved along.
The moaning winds of Autumn sang their song,
And shook the red leaves from the forest trees ;
And subterranean voices spoke. The seas
Did rise and fall, and then that fearful swell
Came silently which seamen know so well ;
And all was like an Omen. Isabel
Passed to the room where, in old times, she lay,
And there they found her at the break of day ;
Her look was smiling, but she never spoke
Or motioned, even to say—her heart was broke :
Yet in the quiet of her shining eye
Lay death, and something we are wont to deem
(When we discourse of some such mournful theme),
Beyond the look of mere mortality.
She died—yet scarcely can we call it death
When Heaven so softly draws the parting breath ;
She was translated to a finer sphere,
For what could match or make her happy here !
She died, and with her gentle death there came
Sorrow and ruin ; and Leoni fell
A victim to that unconsuming flame,
— That burns and revels on the heart of man ;
Remorse.—This is the tale of Isabel,
And of her love the young Italian.' pp. 27, 28.

' The Worship of Dian,' and ' the Death of Acis,' are very elegant and graceful imitations of the higher style of Theocritus ; and remind us of Akenside's Hymn to the Naiads—though there is more grace and tenderness, and less majesty.

' Gyges' is the story of old Candaules, attempted in the

style of Beppo and Don Juan—and not quite successfully attempted. Mr C. has no great turn for pleasantry; and no knack at all—and we are glad of it—at scorn and misanthropy. The two following stanzas, which have nothing to do with the story, are touching.

I saw a pauper once, when I was young,
 Borne to his shallow grave : the bearers trod
 Smiling to where the death-bell heavily rung,
 And soon his bones were laid beneath the sod :
 On the rough boards the earth was gaily flung :
 Methought the prayer which gave him to his God
 Was coldly said :—then all, passing away,
 Left the scarce-coffin'd wretch to quick decay.

It was an autumn evening and the rain
 Had ceased awhile, but the loud winds did shriek
 And call'd the deluging tempest back again,
 The flag-staff on the church-yard tow'r did creak,
 And thro' the black clouds ran a lightning vein,
 And then the flapping raven came to seek
 Its home : its flight was heavy, and its wing
 Seem'd weary with a long day's wandering.' p. 59.

'The Falcon' is an exquisite imitation, or versification rather, of a beautiful and very characteristic story of Boccaccio. Though thrown into a dramatic form, the greater part of it is a very literal version of the words of the original—and the whole is perfectly faithful to its spirit. Nor do we remember to have seen any thing in English so well calculated to give a just idea of the soft and flowing style, and of the natural grace and pathos of that great master of modern literature. Then follow a number of little poems, songs, sonnets, and elegies—all elegant and fanciful. The following is entitled 'Marcelia.'

—It was a dreary place. The shallow brook
 That ran throughout the wood there took a turn,
 And widened : all its music died away,
 And in the place a silent eddy told
 That there the stream grew deeper. There dark trees
 Funereal (cypress, yew, and shadowy pine,
 And spicy cedar) clustered, and at night
 Shook from their melancholy branches sounds
 And sighs like death : 'twas strange, for thro' the day
 They stood quite motionless, and looked methought
 Like monumental things which the sad earth
 From its green bosom had cast out in pity,
 To mark a young girl's grave.

—Never may net
 Of venturous fisher be cast in with hope,

For not a fish abides there. The slim deer
 Snorts as he ruffles with his shorten'd breath
 The brook, and panting flies the unholy place,
 And the white heifer lows and passes on;
 The foaming hound laps not, and winter birds
 Go higher up the stream. And yet I love
 To loiter there: and when the rising moon
 Flames down the avenue of pines, and looks
 Red and dilated thro' the evening mists,
 And chequered as the heavy branches sway
 To and fro' with the wind, I stay to listen,
 And fancy to myself that a sad voice,
 Praying, comes moaning thro' the leaves, as 'twere
 For some misdeed.' — pp. 102, 103.

We may select the following, too, from a little fragment called 'Portraits.'

' Behind her followed an Athenian dame,
 (The pale and elegant Aspasia)
 Like some fair marble carved by Phidias' hand,
 And meant to imitate the nymph or muse.

Then came a dark-brow'd spirit, on whose head
 Laurel and withering roses loosely hung;
 She held a harp, amongst whose chords her hand
 Wandered for music—and it came: She sang
 A song despairing, and the whispering winds
 Seem'd envious of her melody, and streamed
 Amidst the wires to rival her, in vain.
 Short was the strain, but sweet: Methought it spoke
 Of broken hearts, and still and moonlight seas,
 Of love, and loneliness, and fancy gone,
 And hopes decay'd for ever: and my ear
 Caught well remember'd names, 'Leucadia's rock'
 At times, and 'faithless Phaon:' Then the form
 Pass'd not, but seem'd to melt in air away:
 This was the Lesbian Sappho,

At last, came one whom none could e'er mistake
 Amidst a million: Egypt's dark-ey'd Queen:
 The love, the spell, the bane of Antony.
 O, Cleopatra! who shall speak of thee?
 Gaily, but like the Empress of a land
 She mov'd, and light as a wood nymph in her prime
 And crown'd with costly gems, whose single price
 Might buy a kingdom, yet how dim they shone
 Beneath the magic of her eye, whose beam
 Flash'd love and languishment: Of varying humours
 She seem'd, yet subtle in her wildest mood,
 As guile were to her passions ministrant.

At last she sank as dead. A noxious worm
Fed on those blue and wandering veins that lac'd
Her rising bosom : aye, did sleep upon
The pillow of Antony, and left behind,

In dark requital for its banquet—death.' pp. 105-107.

The last poem, called 'Diego de Montilla,' is, like Gyges, an imitation of Don Juan—and is liable to the same remarks. It is the longest piece, we think, in the collection—extending to some eighty or ninety stanzas;—and though it makes no great figure in the way of sarcasm, or lofty and energetic sentiment, it comes nearer perhaps than its immediate prototype to the weaker and more innocent pleasantry of the Italian *ottava rime*—and may fairly match with either as to the better qualities of elegance, delicacy, and tenderness. There is, as usual, not much of a story. Don Diego falls in love with a scornful lady—and pines on her rejection of him; on which her younger sister falls secretly in love with him—and when he sets out on his travels to forget his passion, droops and fades in his absence, and at last dies of a soft and melancholy decline. Diego returns to mourn over her : and, touched to the heart by her pure and devoted love, sequesters himself in his paternal castle—and lives a few calm and pensive years in retirement, when he dies before middle age, for the sake of his faithful victim. There is no profligacy and no horror in all this—no mockery of virtue and honour—and no strong mixtures of buffoonery and grandeur. Most certainly there is not any thing like the power—used or misused—that we have felt in other poems in the same measure; but there is nevertheless a great deal of beauty, and a great deal of poetry and pathos. We pass over the lighter parts, and come to the gentle decay of Aurora.

Oft would she sit and look upon the sky,
When rich clouds in the golden sun-set lay
Basking, and loved to hear the soft winds sigh
That come like music at the close of day
Trembling amongst the orange blooms, and die
As 'twere from very sweetness. She was gay,
Meekly and calmly gay, and then her gaze
Was brighter than belongs to dying days.

And on her young thin cheek a vivid flush,
A clear transparent colour sate awhile :
'Twas like, a bard would say, the morning's blush,
And 'round her mouth there played a gentle smile,
Which tho' at first it might your terrors hush,
It could not, tho' it strove, at last beguile ;
And her hand shook, and then 'rose the blue vein
Branching about in all its windings plain.

The girl was dying. Youth and beauty—all
 Men love or women boast of was decaying,
 And one by one life's finest powers did fall
 Before the touch of death, who seem'd delaying,
 As tho' he'd not the heart at once to call
 The maiden to his home. At last, arraying
 Himself in softest guise, he came : she sigh'd
 And, smiling as tho' her lover whisper'd, died.' pp. 166, 167.

Diego comes just after her death.

' He saw her where she lay in silent state,
 Cold and as white as marble : and her eye,
 Whereon such bright and beaming beauty sate,
 Was—after the fashion of mortality,
 Closed up for ever ; ev'n the smiles which late
 None could withstand, were gone ; and there did lie
 (For he had drawn aside the shrouding veil,)
 By her a helpless hand, waxen and pale.' pp. 168.

His agony is at first overpowering : But

' At last, a 'gentle melancholy grew,
 And touch'd, like sorrow at its second stage,
 His eye with languor, and contriv'd to strew
 His hair with silver ere his middle age.
 Some years he liv'd : he liv'd in solitude,
 And scarcely quitted his ancestral home,
 Tho' many a friend and many a lady woo'd
 Of birth and beauty.

He grew familiar with the bird ; the brute
 Knew well its benefactor, and he'd feed
 And make acquaintance with the fishes mute,
 And, like the Thracian Shepherd as we read,
 Drew, with the music of his stringed lute,
 Behind him winged things, and many a tread
 And tramp of animal : and in his hall
 He was a Lord indeed, belov'd by all.

In a high solitary turret where

None were admitted would he muse, when fir--
 The young day broke, perhaps because he there
 Had in his early infancy been nurs'd,
 Or that he felt more pure the morning air,
 Or lov'd to see the great Apollo burst
 From out his cloudy bondage, and the night
 Hury away before the conquering light.

But oftener to a gentle lake that lay
 Cradled within a forest's bosom, he
 Would, shunning kind reproaches, steal away,
 And, when the inland breeze was fresh and free,

There would he loiter all the livelong day,
Tossing upon the waters listlessly.
The swallow dash'd beside him, and the deer
Drank by his boat and eyed him without fear.

It was a soothing place : the summer hours
Pass'd there in quiet beauty, and at night
The moon ran searching thro' the woodbine bowers,
And shook o'er all the leaves her kisses bright,
O'er lemon blossoms and faint myrtle flowers,
And there the west wind often took his flight
When heaven's clear eye was closing, while above
Pale Hesper 'rose, the evening light of love.

He comes more lovely than the Hours : his look
Sheds calm refreshing light, and eyes that burn
With glancing at the sun's so radiant book,
Unto his softer page with pleasure turn :
'Tis like the murmur of some shaded brook,
Or the soft welling of a Naiad's urn,
After the sounding of the vast sea-waves.' pp. 170-174.

We have quoted more of this than we intended, and must now turn us to our sterner work again. We hope, however, that this is not to be our last meeting with Mr Cornwall. We are glad to see a new edition of his *Dramatic Scenes* advertised. We ought to have noticed that pleasing little volume before—and should have made a few extracts from it here, if we had not mislaid our copy.—As it is, we can safely recommend it to all who are pleased with what has now been extracted.

ART. IX. 1. *Remarks on the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor-Laws.* By J. H. MORGAN, Esq. Bristol, 1818.

Observations on the Circumstances which Influence the Condition of the Labouring Classes of Society. By JOHN BARTON, Esq. London, 1817.

3. *Observations on the Rise and Fall of the Manufacturing System of Great Britain, &c.* London, 1819.

THE industry of a great commercial country, is always liable to temporary embarrassments, from changes in the ordinary channels of trade, and from the varying demand for the products of its manufactures.—But we believe that Great Britain, since the return of peace, affords the only instance of a regorgement being simultaneously felt in every employment in which capital had been invested. The universality of the pre-

sent distress forms its distinguishing and characteristic feature. Were it less general, it might be supposed to be in no inconsiderable degree owing to the derangement occasioned by the transition from a state of war to a state of peace. In that case, however, as soon as tranquillity had been restored, an extraordinary stimulus would have been given to those employments which had been unnaturally depressed during the war. The diminished demand for one sort of labour, would have been compensated by the increased demand for another; and, when time had been given for the new investment of the capital thrown out of employment by the cessation of hostilities, every thing would have been adjusted as before. But, after a lapse of five or six years, it cannot truly be affirmed, that any considerable improvement has taken place in any branch of industry. At this moment they are all nearly as much depressed as ever. Pauperism, instead of being diminished, is rapidly increasing: Nor, without some very decided change in our domestic policy, is there the least reason to expect any material improvement in the condition of the great body of the people.

It would, however, be a very great mistake to suppose, that the extraordinary extension of pauperism, and the privations now so generally complained of, have only been rendered manifest since the peace. That event, by depriving us of the monopoly of the commerce of the world, no doubt contributed to lessen the demand for various sorts of British produce, and consequently to aggravate the distresses of the manufacturers. But, whatever may have been the effects of the renewed competition of foreign countries, it cannot be considered either as the primary or main cause of the difficulties in which we are involved. Long previous to the termination of the late contest, an extraordinary increase had taken place in the amount of the sums levied on account of the poor; and the rise in the price of almost every species of commodities, had not been accompanied by a corresponding rise of wages.

The first estimate, which can be depended on, of the sums expended on the poor of England, was framed so late as 1776; but several well-informed cotemporary authors state, that, at the commencement of the last century, the rates were supposed to amount to about a *million*. In 1776, it was ascertained, from the returns made under the act of that year, that the whole sum raised by assessment, and expended on the poor, amounted to 1,720,316*l.*: And, from similar returns, it was ascertained, that the average expenditure, on account of the poor, for 1783, 1784, and 1785, being the years immediately subsequent to the American war, amounted to 2,167,748*l.* It is to

be regretted that there is no account of the amount of the Poor-rates previous to the commencement of the late war in 1793; but, from the very great extension of commerce, and the universal improvement which had taken place in the interim, we should certainly be warranted in supposing, that it had diminished subsequently to 1785: And hence, provided the estimate of the amount of the rates in 1700 be not extremely incorrect, it may be concluded, that they had about doubled in the first 93 years of the last century. But, during the last twenty-seven years, the former rate of increase has been entirely changed. In 1803, the total sum raised on account of the poor amounted to 5,348,204*l.*, or to two and a half times the sum raised for the same purpose at the close of the American war: And, according to the late Reports of the Committees of the House of Commons on the Poor-Laws, the average expenditure of 1813, 1814 and 1815, amounted to no less than 8,164,496*l.*—a sum which the Committee states must since have been very greatly increased; and which, we believe, would now be underrated at TEN millions.

It is clear, therefore, since, as the population has increased at a nearly uniform rate since 1760, that this extraordinary increase of pauperism had its origin in, and has been owing infinitely more to the privations occasioned by the war, than to any revulsion which may have attended its close; and that the great and radical causes of the present distress and want of employment, were in full operation previous to 1815.

We should, however, form but a very inaccurate estimate of the increased amount of the sums now expended on the poor, if we measured it solely by the increase of the assessments. Voluntary contributions have increased still more rapidly than the rates. Notwithstanding the heavy burdens to which they have been subjected, the more opulent part of the community have generously contributed very large sums for the support of their less fortunate brethren. We have hitherto been entire strangers to the influence ascribed to a compulsory Poor-rate, of drying up the springs of private charity. Individuals of every rank and station have been equally forward to assist in alleviating the wants of the poor, and in promoting every scheme which could be supposed to have the least tendency to ameliorate their condition.

But, notwithstanding this unprecedented extension of the rates, and notwithstanding every assistance which the humanity and generosity of the higher classes has been able to bestow, the condition of the great bulk of the people—of all who must depend on the wages of labour for support—is at this moment

decidedly worse than at any former period. The cry for relief has become more loud and general than ever. The palliatives by which it has been attempted to check the progress of pauperism, seem only to have added to the violence of the evil. And, in the words of the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons,—‘ Unless some efficacious check be interposed, there is every reason to think that the amount of the assessment will continue, as it has done, to increase ; Till, at a period more or less remote, according to the progress the evil has already made in different places, it shall have absorbed the profits of the property on which the rate may have been assessed ; producing thereby the neglect and ruin of the land, and the waste or removal of other property, to the utter subversion of that happy order of society so long upheld in these kingdoms. ’

As might have been expected, a variety of conflicting and contradictory statements have been made respecting the causes of this alarming increase of pauperism. We have already stated enough, to show the fallacy of the opinion of those who consider it as principally arising out of the derangement occasioned by the transition from a state of war to a state of peace. Neither are we disposed to agree with the Committee of the House of Commons, and those who contend that it is chiefly, if not entirely, owing to the pernicious operation of the Poor-Laws. Not that we mean to deny that the holding out a certain resource to those who have been reduced to a state of poverty, whether occasioned by misfortune, or by the folly and ill conduct of the individual, must have a powerful tendency to weaken the motives stimulating to industry and economy, and to strengthen those of an opposite character. But, however pernicious the Poor-Laws may be supposed to be—and we believe them to have been most pernicious—there is no ground for supposing that they have operated more injuriously during the last twenty-seven years, than in any former period. It is only during the present reign, that friendly or benevolent societies, formed for the express purpose of preserving the members independent, and of avoiding the necessity of having recourse to assessments on the other classes of society, have been introduced. Yet notwithstanding the privations to which the labouring class have been subjected—privations which, from their having been long as well as severely felt, must have tended to impress them with a conviction of the hopelessness of their efforts to preserve their proper place in society—it has been ascertained that, in 1815, the societies referred to included above an *eighth* part of the whole population of the empire. And we believe we shall rather underrate than overrate their importance, if we estimate, with Mr Moggridge, the sum now contributed by them in aid

of the poor, as being equal to the whole amount of the rates in 1776. It is not, therefore, to any decline in the industry—in the spirit of deliberate and considerate forethought—or in the love of personal independence by which the people of Britain have been so eminently distinguished, that the enormity of the assessments for the support of the poor is to be ascribed. The very impatience of suffering which they have evinced, to whatever excesses it may have led, is honourable to the national character; inasmuch as it shows, conclusively, that dependent poverty is abhorrent to the feelings, and esteemed a degradation by the great body of the people.

Although, therefore, we have no intention of becoming the apologists of the Poor-Laws, we cannot help thinking that their pernicious influence has been very much exaggerated: At all events, it is a principle which has not been recently brought into action. The compulsory provision for the support of the poor, was established in the latter part of the 16th century; and, for the last hundred years, can only be considered as a *constantly* operating principle, of which the effect, in different periods, must have been nearly the same. It may go far to account for the gradual and regular increase of pauperism, from the reign of Elizabeth down to the commencement of the late war; but it will afford no explanation of its late irregular and enormous increase. In the course of the comparatively short period which has elapsed since 1793, the rates, which had only doubled in the previous part of the eighteenth century, have increased in a fivefold proportion, or from TWO to TEN millions. Now, although the variations in the value of money since the restriction of cash payments, must have had some effect in causing an increase in the nominal amount of the rates, yet neither these variations, nor the influence of the laws themselves, could possibly have occasioned so inordinate an extension of the rates, or such a degradation in the condition of the lower classes, as has been lately witnessed. Other causes have unquestionably conspired to produce this effect; and of these, it will be found, that *Taxation*, and the *restrictions on the trade in Corn*, have been decidedly the most powerful.

In the present improved state of the science of political economy, it is unnecessary to set about proving that a heavy taxation on the principal necessities of life, must be extremely prejudicial to the great body of the people—to all who either depend for subsistence on the wages of labour, or the profits of stock. This is admitted on all hands; but it has been strenuously denied, that these effects can be justly ascribed to the sys-

tem of taxation adopted in this country: And as it is of the utmost importance, in every inquiry into the causes of the public distresses, that we should have correct opinions on this fundamental point, we shall avail ourselves of this opportunity to premise a few observations on the effects which must in general result from the imposition of heavy taxes on necessities, before examining the nature and operation of the system of taxation to which we are now subjected.

In countries, such as the United States, where there is a boundless extent of fertile and unappropriated land, and where no feudal privileges or impolitic restraints fetter the employment of industry, or retard the accumulation of capital, the imposition of a tax on a commodity necessary for the subsistence of the labourer, would not be attended with any very injurious effects. In such countries, both the profits of stock and the real wages of labour are high; and a considerable revenue might be collected without occasioning any great inconvenience either to the workman or his employer: A little economy would enable the former to save the amount of the tax out of his wages; and these might be advanced without the rate of profit and the power to accumulate capital being thereby materially impaired. But in all old settled and fully peopled countries, taxation is infinitely more injurious. The supply of labour being in this case almost always greater than the demand, the real wages of labour are comparatively low; while, from the necessity of cultivating inferior soils, the profits of stock are also comparatively limited. In a country thus circumstanced, there is obviously very little room for increased economy; nor can a rise in the price of necessities, that is, of those commodities 'which the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people, even of the lowest order, to be without,' * be compensated by an immediate corresponding rise of wages.—The labourer is, in this respect, placed in a much more disadvantageous position than either the master manufacturer or capitalist.—When a tax is imposed on raw produce, or any species of manufactured commodities, the producers, by limiting the supply, are enabled to raise the price to such a sum as will afford them, exclusive of the tax, the common and ordinary rate of profit on their capital. But this is a resource from which the labourer is in a great measure cut off. He is unable to raise his wages in proportion to the increased price of the commodities he consumes; and for this obvious reason, that, while the competition for employment, or the number of labourers continues undiminished,

* *Wealth of Nations*, iii. 331.

the demand for their services, however much it may be lessened, cannot be increased by the imposition of the tax.—The supply of workmen is not like the supply of boots and shoes; it does not and cannot be made to vary with every variation in the price of necessaries, or the rate of wages. Whatever degree of stimulus may have been previously given to the principle of population, it is plain that, although the demand for labour should be suddenly contracted, or, which is the same thing in effect, though the proportion of wages to prices should be suddenly reduced, it would, notwithstanding, continue flowing into the market with nearly the same rapidity as before: Nor would the ratio of the increase of population be materially diminished, until the misery occasioned by the restricted demand on the one hand, and the increased supply on the other, had been very generally and widely diffused.

The principle, therefore, which has been laid down by Dr Smith, and other political economists, that every direct tax on wages, or on the commodities necessary for the subsistence of the labourer, falls entirely on his employer, must be received with very great modification: Except in the rare case where an unusual demand for labour occurs at the time that a tax is imposed on necessaries, it is impossible that wages should be equally raised. There is indeed but too much reason to believe that, in the great majority of cases, a very long period must elapse before any such effect can be produced. In the stationary state of society, or where capital and population are advancing with nearly equal degrees of rapidity, the more powerful operation of the principle of moral restraint, or a diminution of the rate at which population had previously increased, is the only way in which wages can be raised. But as this must be the work of time, there is an extreme risk lest the opinions and habits of the labouring class should in the interim undergo a change. When wages are diminished to any great extent, as they are sure to be by every considerable increase of taxation, the poor are obliged to economize; and it is natural to suppose, that what was at first forced on them by necessity, should ultimately become habitual. It is in this that the great evil of excessive taxation principally consists. Wherever the labouring classes are exposed to long-continued suffering and want, their opinions as to what is necessary for their comfortable subsistence, and the place they ought to hold in society, become degraded. The inadequacy of wages has already compelled the greater part of the people of Britain to relinquish a variety of comforts, and to satisfy themselves with comparatively coarse

and scanty fare. And as the necessity for making still further retrenchments does not appear to be at all diminished, it is but too certain, if no means are taken to relieve the overloaded springs of industry, and to stimulate the natural demand for labour, that the ordinary rate of wages will be reduced to such a sum as will barely enable the labouring class to exist, and to continue their race. Whenever wages have been reduced thus low, it is true that they can sink no lower; and then, but not till then, the labourer will be beyond the reach of taxation; and every tax affecting the commodities indispensable for his support, will be paid by his employer, or, which is the same thing, will directly and immediately fall on the profits of stock.

It is impossible, however, to conceive a more wretched state of society, than that in which the bulk of the people are reduced to a dependence on mere necessities. 'In those countries,' Mr Ricardo has well observed, 'where the labouring classes have the fewest wants, and are contented with the cheapest food, the people are exposed to the greatest vicissitudes and miseries. They have no place of refuge from calamity; they cannot seek safety in a lower station; they are already so low, that they can fall no lower. On any deficiency of the chief articles of their subsistence, there are few substitutes of which they can avail themselves; and dearth to them is attended with almost all the evils of famine.' Nor is this all:—Men placed in such circumstances, and cut off, as they must be, from all hope of rising in the world, naturally sink into a state of indolence and insensibility. They may not be discontented; but it is not in the nature of things that they should be either active or industrious. No man submits to privations and labour, but in the hope of obtaining corresponding comforts. Where there is no power, there can be no motive to accumulate; and, what perhaps is still worse, where the mass of the people are sunk in the abyss of poverty—where they have no *stake in the hedge*—it is impossible they should feel any great respect for the rights of those who have. And it is but too evident, that it is only by the terrors of the criminal law, that such persons can be prevented from breaking down those institutions which, however essential to the maintenance of society, must appear to them, not as bulwarks raised for the public benefit, but for the support and protection of a favoured few.

From what has been already stated, it is easy to perceive, that the effect of a heavy taxation in depressing the condition of the labouring classes, must be very much influenced by the comparative rapidity of its increase. A slow and gradual increase of taxation, inasmuch as it would not suddenly deprive the lower

classes of any considerable portion of their accustomed comforts and enjoyments, would most probably stimulate them to endeavour to preserve their place in society, as much by delaying the formation of matrimonial connexions, as by contracting the scale of their expenditure. The last is always a painful resource. To retrograde is not natural to man. The desire to improve our circumstances, and to acquire an increased command over the necessities and luxuries of life, is deeply seated in the human breast, and has been found sufficiently strong to counteract one of the most powerful instincts of our nature. Previous to the commencement of the late French war, the condition of the labouring classes in England was not very different from that of the same class in the United States; the greater facility of providing for a family, which enabled the labourers of America to contract early marriages, and to double their numbers in twenty or four-and-twenty years without depressing wages, being balanced in England, where the population could not be doubled in less than 100 years, without degrading the condition of the labourer, by the greater prevalence of moral restraint. It is plain, however, that this greater efficacy of the check on the increase of population, arising from prudential considerations, could not be occasioned by any sudden decrease in the demand for labour in England; it was evidently the result of habits which had been formed in the course of many previous centuries, and which naturally develop themselves in every country as society advances, and as it becomes more difficult to acquire the means of subsistence.

Were the fiat of Almighty Power at once to deprive America of her boundless tracts of fertile and unappropriated land, or to render her population as dense as that of England, the existing habit of early marriages would be productive of incalculable misery. But, on the more rational hypothesis, that the impossibility of being able permanently to provide for the wants of an increasing population, shall *gradually* manifest itself, a corresponding change will be effected in the habits of the people; and the rate of their increase will be more nearly proportioned to the altered circumstances of the country. Now, it cannot be denied that Taxation, by increasing the cost of commodities, operates in precisely the same way as a deterioration of the powers of the soil, or as any other cause which has the effect of rendering it more difficult to procure a comfortable subsistence; and therefore, its *slow and gradual* increase, by adding to the efficacy of the principle of moral restraint, has a tendency to relieve society of some part of the evils of which it is always productive. But a sudden increase of taxation is unaccompanied

by any alleviating circumstance. The mischiefs which it occasions are pure and unmixed. It precludes the possibility of previously changing or modifying the habits of those subjected to its operation. They are immediately forced to relinquish a greater or less proportion of the comforts to which they have been accusomed: And if they ever recover the station from which they must in the mean time be cast down, it can only be after a period of suffering and distress, and after they have been exposed to the hazard of permanent degradation, by losing a proper sense of what is necessary to their comfortable existence.

But, a direct tax on wages, or, which is the same thing, on the commodities indispensable for the support of the labouring classes, is not objectionable on the single ground of its having a constant tendency to degrade their condition in society. Taxation, in every form, presents only a choice of evils. Supposing, which is extremely improbable, that, notwithstanding the suffering and distress occasioned by the imposition of a heavy tax, the sentiments of the people are not degraded, and that an efficient check being given to the rate at which population was previously increasing, wages are in the long run advanced proportionally to the tax; still the condition of society would be altered very much to the worse. The profits of stock would now be diminished in the precise proportion that wages had been increased. For, Mr Ricardo has demonstrated, that, whatever is added to wages, must be taken from profits; and conversely. Dr Smith, who was not aware of this fundamental principle, supposed that a heavy taxation on necessaries neither fell on the capitalists nor the labourers, but on the consumers generally; and that it was always in the power of the producers to indemnify themselves for a rise of wages, by enhancing the price of the commodities brought to market. But it is easy to see that no *general* rise of wages can have any such effect. Commodities are in every case bought by commodities; and as a rise of wages must affect, in an equal degree, the producers of every different article, it cannot possibly derange their relative values one with another, or occasion any increase of price.

It appears, therefore, that a slow and gradual increase of taxation, by adding to the efficacy of the principle of moral restraint, has a tendency to raise the rate of wages, and, consequently, to throw the burden from the shoulders of the labourer to those of his employer. But, even in this its least obnoxious shape, it is not easy to estimate all the evils it occasions. A sacrifice on the part of a great proportion of society, of all the delights of virtuous love, and of all the endearments of conjugal affection, is indispensably necessary to preserve the inha-

bitants of a heavily taxed country from sinking into the most abject and helpless poverty: though it is by no means certain that even this sacrifice of the finer feelings and affections will be sufficient to secure them a *proper share* of the necessities and luxuries of life. The fall of profits consequent on a rise of wages caused by excessive taxation, not only checks the increase of that fund by whose increase the increase of the productive industry of the country must always be regulated, but it has a powerful effect in stimulating its transfer to other countries. The efflux of capital is one of the worst consequences of excessive taxation; and it is one against which it is impossible to guard. The rate of profit has a constant tendency to equalize itself. The same principle which would prevent the employment of capital in Yorkshire, if it did not yield the same rate of profit that might be derived from investing it in Kent or Surrey, regulates its distribution among the different countries of the world. It is true, the difference in the rate of profit must be considerably greater, to occasion a transference of capital from one country to another, than from different provinces of the same country. But a comparatively heavy taxation is more than sufficient to occasion this difference. Previous to the late revolutionary contests, the bulk of the capital belonging to the merchants of Holland was vested in foreign countries; and the experience of the last four or five years has shown, that the low rate of profit in this country, is enough to counterbalance the risk attending the lending of money even on Prussian security.

It is thus that heavy taxes on necessities become, in the words of Dr Smith, 'a curse equal to the barrenness of the soil, and the inclemency of the heavens.' Such taxes must necessarily fall either on *wages* or on *profits*. To whatever extent they diminish wages, they must equally diminish the comforts and enjoyments of the largest and most important class in society, and spread pauperism, misery, and crime throughout the country; while, on the other hand, they cannot diminish profits, without occasioning a corresponding diminution of the power to accumulate capital, and without also stimulating its transfer to those countries, in which taxation is less oppressive. In the first case, their effect in degrading the condition of society, is instantaneously felt; in the second, it is brought about more slowly and circuitously; but in both, they are, in the end, nearly equally destructive of the happiness and future improvement of the society in which they have been carried to an inordinate extent.

But, if such be a tolerably correct estimate of the effects of a heavy taxation on the condition of society, we can be at no

loss to account for the increase of pauperism since 1793. During this period; the public burdens have been augmented to an extent unknown in any former age or country. No source of revenue, however trifling, and no necessary, however indispensable, not to comfort merely but existence, has been able to elude the grasp of the taxgatherer. Mr Pitt, and the subsequent Chancellors of the Exchequer, whatever may be thought of their merits in other respects, must be admitted to have had no equals in the devising of means to divert the greatest possible portion of the wealth of the country, into the coffers of Government. It is no exaggeration to affirm, that, with the solitary exception of water, there is not a single necessary consumed in the Empire, which is not, directly or indirectly, loaded with a most oppressive impost. Nor has the rapidity of the increase of taxation been less extraordinary, than the extent to which it has been carried. For example, the duty on tea, which, in 1793, was only 12 per cent., is now more than eight times as much, or 100 per cent. The duty on salt, which amounts (in England) to 15s. a bushel, or to about thirty times its natural cost, was *tripled* in 1805. The duty on leather, after being stationary for more than a century, was *doubled* in 1812. And the various duties on sugar, beer, spirits, soap, candles, tobacco, &c. besides the house-tax, window-tax, and stamp-duty, have all been increased in similar proportions. But, in order to show the progress of taxation, it is not necessary to engage in the endless and irksome task of enumerating the different articles on which new duties have been imposed, or the old ones increased. It is sufficient to mention, that the total payments into the Exchequer in 1793, on account of permanent and temporary duties, amounted to 17,674,395*l.*; in 1804, they had increased to 49,335,978*l.*, or to nearly three times their amount in 1793; in 1808, they exceeded the enormous sum of 66 millions; and in 1819, in the fifth year of the peace, they amounted to 47,990,814*l.*, or to very nearly their amount in the eleventh year of the war. During the American war, the revenue, when greatest, never reached the sum of 13 millions.

Had this increased taxation sufficed to defray the entire expenses of the war, however oppressive in the mean time, its relaxation on the cessation of hostilities would have enabled the country to avail itself of its many natural advantages, and again to spring forward in the career of improvement. This, however, was very far from being the case. It appears, from accounts printed by order of the House of Commons, that the ~~gross~~ produce of the revenue of Great Britain, for the twenty

years, commencing 5th January, 1797, and ending 5th January, 1817, amounted to the almost incredible sum of 1,290,180,592*l*. But, besides the enormous levies thus compulsorily wrung from the necessities of the poor, and the overburdened revenue of the rich, an additional sum of about 450 millions of real capital was borrowed by Government, and added to our funded and floating debts: And taxation being increased, less with a view to equalize the revenue with the expenditure, than to provide the means of paying the interest of the new loans, it became impossible to make any great reduction in its amount on the return of peace. There have, it must be confessed, been reasoners, and, what is more extraordinary, the race is not yet extinct, who contend, that the debts of the nation are in no way burdensome; because the general wealth is not diminished by the payment of the dividends. But, admitting this to be true, what does it establish? We are inclined to think, that even Mr Justice Bayley and Mr Spence would pause before they ventured to maintain, that there is no difference between an individual who lives by his own industry, and one who lives by the industry of others! Society, we admit, is not deprived of the interest which is paid on the public debt; but it has been deprived of the means of paying that interest,—or, in other words, of *THE PRINCIPAL* of the debt itself. Had the capital which has been borrowed by the State, and expended on the maintenance of those who, if they were annihilated at any given moment, would leave nothing behind them—nothing to represent the immense sums lavished on their support—been retained by its original owners, it would have yielded them a revenue, equal, perhaps superior, to what the stockholders now derive from the dividends; but that revenue, instead of being drawn, as at present, from the earnings of others, would have been furnished by the productive energies of their own stock.

In order to exhibit the effect of loans in diminishing national wealth in a still clearer point of view, let us suppose that a country with *two* millions of inhabitants, and *400* millions of capital, is engaged in hostilities, and that the Government borrows and expends 50 millions of the public stock in military stores, in the embroidery of Hussar jackets, building Kremlins, and such like national objects.—If the ordinary rate of profit were 10 per cent, the annual income of this State previous to the commencement of the war would be 40 millions, and at its close 35 millions. It is plain, however, that this reduced income would in future have to furnish the means of subsistence to the whole *two* millions of inhabitants. And, although it is true that the country is not deprived of the interest of the debt, for that is

merely transferred from one class to another, it is no less true that *it is deprived* of the income derived from 50 millions of capital; and that the *productive* power which had formerly fed and clothed an *eighth* part of the inhabitants being for ever lost to the State, they must now depend for subsistence entirely on the exertions of those who, it is probable, could previously with difficulty maintain themselves.

How ridiculous then to contend, that, because the dividends are paid by one class of society to another, the national debt is not disadvantageous! Is it a matter of indifference that the sum of THIRTY-TWO millions—a sum greater than the entire rental of all the land in the empire—must be annually drawn from the pockets of the industrious classes, to support that numerous class of persons whose capitals having been lent to the State are, in consequence, destitute of any other means of subsistence? And, is it at all wonderful that, by thus diminishing the funds which would otherwise have been applicable for the maintenance of labour, idleness and want are multiplied in a tenfold proportion? Far, indeed, from feeling any surprise at the paralysis which is now felt in every branch of industry—at the inadequacy of the wages of labour, and the consequent increase of pauperism and crime—our only wonder is that these evils have not been experienced in a far greater degree. The most sanguine could not have supposed it possible, that about 1700 millions of real capital could have been dissipated in war-like pursuits in the short space of 20 years, without involving all classes in the abyss of bankruptcy and misery, and occasioning infinitely more ruin and mischief than has actually ensued.

That such would have been the consequence had a similar perversion of the funds destined for the support of productive industry occurred in any former period of our history, is abundantly certain. But during the late war, various circumstances, many of which were in a great degree fortuitous, conspired to prevent our feeling the full extent of the sacrifices we were called on to make, and to enable us to sustain, without any great inconvenience, a conflict with the combined force of almost all Europe. The most prominent of these circumstances may be classed under the following heads:

In the first place, the last thirty or forty years have been distinguished, above all others, by those stupendous discoveries which have so much facilitated the great work of production, and extended the empire of mind over matter. In 1767, the value of the Custom goods manufactured in Great Britain did not exceed £1,000,000. But Sir Richard Arkwright having very

soon after (1769) contrived to perform the business of spinning by means of machinery, the consumption, owing to the fall of prices, was so prodigiously augmented, that, in 1787, the value of the manufactured goods was increased to about $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Since 1787, the progress of this manufacture has been equally rapid; and the entire value of the various descriptions of cotton goods annually produced cannot now be estimated at less than from 35 to 40 millions! Here then was an immense field for the profitable employment of capital and industry, created as if by enchantment, and which, more than any other circumstance, enabled this country to sustain the burdens imposed during the late contest, and to bring it to a successful termination. It is, however, worthy of remark, that the extensive employment of children of both sexes in one of the great departments of the cotton manufacture, has in no inconsiderable degree counterbalanced the benefits of which it was, in the first instance, so productive. We indeed strongly suspect, that the present redundancy of labour has been in no inconsiderable degree owing to this cause. The fall in the real price of labour, occasioned by the increase of taxation, must have been felt as early as 1795 and 1796; but it does not appear, either then or subsequently, to have had any effect in checking the increase of population. That this must have been partly owing to the influence of the Poor-Laws, cannot be doubted; but we suspect it was owing still more to the *demand for children* in cotton factories. From 1787 down to 1808, a large family in a manufacturing town, instead of being felt as a burden, was rather reckoned an advantage: And the reduction in the wages of the parents, which, in a different state of society, would most probably have induced them to postpone entering into matrimonial connexions, being in some measure compensated by the greater demand for the labour of their families, the population went on increasing with its former rapidity.

The extraordinary progress of the Cotton Manufacture, therefore, and the demand for youthful labour which it occasioned during the greater part of the war, however it may have contributed to aggravate the public distresses since the restoration of tranquillity, was unquestionably one of the main causes which prevented the bulk of the people from feeling the full effect of the burdens and privations caused by the sudden and excessive increase of taxation. But the development of industry was not confined to the cotton manufacture: And it would perhaps be impossible to name any other department in which some very decided and material improvement has not also taken place. In addition, we enjoyed, during the war, a complete monopoly of

of the commerce of the world. Our merchants and manufacturers were relieved from all competition. The colonial and manufactured products of England became indispensable to the nations of the Continent: And our exports being in consequence prodigiously augmented, a factitious and extraordinary stimulus was given to the demand for labour.

In the *second* place, the extraordinary depreciation of the currency, during the latter years of the war, must also, by occasioning a proportionable diminution of the public burdens, have powerfully contributed to render us less sensible of the evils attending the constant increase of taxation. In the interval between 1809 and 1815, bank notes were at a discount of from 14 to 28 per cent.; or, which is the same thing, the real amount of the taxes and loans raised during that period, was so much less than their nominal amount.

The ascendancy of Bonaparte, too, and the continued convulsions of the Continent, not only rendered it impossible to transfer British capital to any country in Europe, but actually occasioned the transfer of a considerable portion of continental capital to this country. Taxation was thus stript of one of its most injurious consequences. The risk attending foreign investments being too great to be balanced by the higher rate of profit, there was no efflux of stock.

In the *third* place, though it may at first sight appear somewhat paradoxical, it is nevertheless true, that no inconsiderable portion of the factitious and unnatural prosperity we enjoyed during the war, resulted from the excess to which the system of borrowing was then carried. When the wages of labour continue stationary, it is a matter of comparative indifference to a master manufacturer, or capitalist, whether he employs his surplus revenue in making additions to his circulating capital, or the fund for paying the Wages of his workmen; or whether he invests it in fixed capital, or Machinery. But, when Wages rise, whether in consequence of a naturally increased demand for labour, or of an increase of taxation affecting necessaries, he will have an instant inducement to employ Machinery in preference to workmen. The reason is obvious.—A rise of wages does not affect the proprietor of a machine to the same extent as it affects the employers of labourers.

Suppose, for example, that two manufacturers have each a capital of 10,000*l.*, the one invested in a machine calculated to last *one* year, which, with the additional labour of ten men, is calculated annually to produce commodities worth 10,500*l.*; and the other appropriated to the payment of the wages of 400 labourers, at the rate of 25*l.* each, the produce of whose industry also

sells for 10,500*l*. In this situation, their profits and expenses are equal: But supposing wages to rise one per cent., it is obvious, that while the profits of the proprietor of the *machine* would be only reduced 50*s*., those of the employer of the *workmen* would be reduced to the extent of 100*l*. But this discrepancy could not continue. Capital would be immediately attracted to the more lucrative employment; and would continue flowing in that direction until the multiplication of machines had obliged the proprietors to sink the price of their commodities, so that they could obtain only the common and ordinary rate of profit. It may perhaps be supposed, that the increased price of labour would prevent machinery from being purchased at its former price; and that, therefore, nothing could be gained by its introduction. It is easy, however, to perceive, that this could not really be the case. The price of a steam-engine or a thrashing-machine, is regulated by precisely the same principles which regulate the price of boots and shoes. A rise of wages will lower the profits of stock employed in their construction, as it will lower that of all other stock; but nothing but an increase in the quantity of labour necessary to their production can raise their price.

This is a very important principle; and, while it serves to account for the rapid introduction of machinery, it also enables us more clearly to appreciate the effect of loans on the demand for labour. We believe it might be safely affirmed, that a considerable portion of the late loans was obtained by the conversion of fixed into circulating capital; but, without insisting on this point, it is certain that the capital lent to the State would, if it had remained in the hands of the subscribers, have followed the direction imparted to the remainder, and been chiefly devoted to the increase of fixed capital, or machinery. But, although it would thus have contributed to the lasting benefit of the country, it would not have occasioned the same immediate demand for labour. An increase of wages is only an indirect and ultimate consequence of an increase of fixed, but it is a direct and instantaneous consequence of an increase of circulating capital. The stock expended in the erection of a cotton-mill, or a steam-engine, would have a much more immediate effect in stimulating the demand for labour, were it appropriated to the pay of a regiment. The fixed capital invested in a machine, must always displace a considerably greater quantity of circulating capital,—for otherwise there could be no motive to its erection; and hence its first effect is to sink, rather than increase, the rate of wages. But the capital which comes into the possession of Government, being almost entirely devoted to the support of a numerous body of soldiery, lessens

the supply of labour in the market, and consequently raises wages, without clashing or interfering with any of the ordinary branches of industry.

It is with states as with individuals. A fortune of 10,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* expended in the course of a single year in magnificent fetes, and in maintaining coachmen, valets, liverymen, &c. would occasion a much greater demand for labour, and would conciliate infinitely more of the affection of the neighbourhood to its possessor, than would fall to the lot of the individual who had employed a fortune of equal amount in the construction of a machine fitted to yield a future annual revenue of 500*l.* or 1000*l.* But, what would be the relative situation of the parties at the expiration of the twelvemonth? The capital of the proprietor of the machine would be unimpaired;—he would have the same power as before to support himself in a state of comfortable independence—to give employment to the same number of labourers—and to contribute, as formerly, to the wants of the State; while the spendthrift would be reduced to the condition of a pauper, and the instruments of his dissipation left to seek elsewhere for the means of subsistence. ‘*Les gens,*’ says one of the ablest of the French writers on Political Economy, ‘*qui ne sont pas habitués à voir les réalités au travers des apparences, sont quelquefois séduits par l’attrail et le fracas d’un luxe brillant. Ils croient à la prospérité de l’instant où ils voient l’ostentation. Qu’ils ne s’y trompent : un pays qui decline offre toujours pendant quelque tems l’image de l’opulence. Ainsi fait la maison d’un dissipateur qui se ruine. Mais cet éclat factice n’est pas durable ; et comme il tarit les sources de la reproduction, il est infailliblement suivi d’un état de gêne, de marasme politique, dont on ne se guérit que par degrés, et par des moyens contraires à ceux qui ont amené le dépérissement.*’ *

But, though this prodigious development of the powers and resources of industry, and though the depreciation of the currency, and the distracted state of the Continent, prevented taxation from exerting its full effect, and capital from escaping to other countries, still the insatiable rapacity of the Treasury proved more than a match for the united exertions of our merchants, capitalists, and artisans. Instead of the condition of the labouring classes being improved by the admirable inventions of Watt, Arkwright, and Wedgwood, the increase of taxation, and the destruction of capital, had, long previous to the termination of the war, changed it very much to the worse. We have already seen, that in the course

* *Say, Traité d'Economie Politique, 3me Ed. p. 230.*

of the twenty years from 1793 to 1813, the Poor's-rates had increased from *two* to *eight* millions; whereas, in the whole of the previous part of the century, they had only increased from *one* to *two* millions. This, of itself, is sufficient to show the effect of the privations arising out of the war, in depressing the condition of the lower classes. We may further mention, that according to the researches of Mr Young, to whom we are indebted for much valuable information respecting the rate of wages at different periods, the mean price of labour in Europe, in 1767, 1768, and 1770, was very nearly 1s. 3d. *per diem*: And he further states its mean price in 1810 and 1811, when wages were at the very highest, at about 2s. 5d., being a rise of nearly cent. per cent. on the former. But the price of wheat, according to the account kept at Eton College, during the first mentioned years, was 51s. a quarter; and during 1810 and 1811 its price was 110s., being a rise of 115 per cent.; and Mr Young estimates, that butcher's meat had in the same period risen 146, butter 140, and cheese 153 per cent.; being, on an average, a rise of 138½ per cent.; so that wages, as compared with these articles, had *declined* in the interval considerably more than *one-third*, or 38½ per cent.; and if the increased cost of tea, sugar, beer, leather, &c., besides the house-duty and window-tax, had been taken into account, the diminished power of the labourer over the necessaries and comforts of life, would have appeared still greater. How, then, can we be surprised at the excess of poverty and misery which has been experienced since the peace? When all the factitious, exclusive, and unnatural advantages we enjoyed during the war, were not sufficient to enable us to bear up under the constantly increasing weight of our burdens, it was not to be expected that we should be able to sustain them when these advantages were at an end—when we had been deprived of many branches of commerce we had previously enjoyed, and been exposed to a dangerous competition in every other—when the rise in the value of the currency had really added from 25 to 30 per cent. to the already enormous weight of taxation—and when British capital was permitted to seek, in foreign investments, that beneficial employment it could no longer find at home.

We should, however, form but a very inadequate notion of the extent of the additional burdens imposed on the country during the late war, if we supposed them limited to those which have resulted from the direct increase of taxation. The Monopoly which the agriculturists have obtained of the home market, is, if possible, still more pernicious; for it is to this monopoly

that the comparatively high price of Corn in this country is to be entirely ascribed. In ordinary years, the price of wheat at Dantzic scarcely ever exceeds 32s. the quarter; and its average price in France and the Netherlands is rather below 40s.; nor has there been any rise of price in France since the Revolution.* It is clear, therefore, inasmuch as the expense of importing a quarter of wheat from France or Belgium does not exceed 3s. or 4s., that, were it not for the restrictions on importation imposed in 1804 and 1815, we might, in ordinary years, obtain a sufficient supply of this most indispensable of all necessities, at the average price of the period from 1770 to 1793, or at about 45s. the Winchester quarter. But, by prohibiting the consumption of foreign corn, unless when the home price exceeds 80s., we have been compelled, in order to supply the wants of our great manufacturing population, to have recourse to soils of very inferior fertility, requiring a comparatively great quantity of labour to yield the same amount of produce; and, in consequence, its price has been raised to nearly double its price previous to 1793, and to more than double its actual price in any other country.

The factitious direction which has thus been given to a very large proportion of the capital and skill of the country would, under any circumstances, have been highly injurious. But it is not of the forcing a vast stock into a comparatively disadvantageous employment, that we have to complain, so much as of the heavy burden which it has entailed on every class of the community,—with the exception of landlords. The total consumption of the different kinds of grain in the United Kingdom, inclusive of seed, has been estimated, apparently on good grounds, at about 40 millions of quarters. Taking it, however, at only 35 millions, it is evident, that every advance of a shilling per quarter in the price of corn, caused by the restrictions on importation, is really equivalent, in its effects on the consumers, to a direct tax of 1,750,000*l*.! On many accounts, it would be extremely desirable to ascertain the precise extent of the burden which the Corn-Laws have in this manner entailed on the country. But without affecting minute accuracy, to which, on such a subject, it is impossible to attain, we believe we shall be considerably within the mark, if we estimate, with Dr Colquhoun, the price of the different kinds of grain annually consumed in Great Britain and Ireland at

* See article 'Corn-Laws and Trade,' Supplement to *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and the authorities there quoted.

73,734,000*l.*; * and we shall be equally within the mark if we suppose, that, in the event of the restrictions on the trade in corn being abolished, the same quantity of produce might be obtained for *two-thirds* of this price, or for 49,156,000*l.* This statement, we are convinced, is not liable to the charge of exaggeration; and it shows, that the restrictions on the importation of foreign grain are really equivalent to a *tax on corn* which should yield an annual revenue of 24,578,000*l.*—a tax, it will be remembered, which had no existence in 1793, and which is, of itself, *nearly double the entire expenditure of the Government*, including the interest of the public debt at that epoch!

We are not left to infer from general principles, however well established, what must be the effect of thus forcibly enhancing the price of the prime necessary of life, and the *chief regulator of wages*. The example of Holland—an example pregnant with instruction—ought to have warned us to abstain from so fatal an experiment. Notwithstanding the laudable economy of its Government, the public debt of that Republic became so enormous, that, in order to raise the sums required to pay the interest, heavy duties were imposed on the most indispensable necessaries; and, among others, on flour and meal when ground at the mill, and on bread when it came from the oven. In lieu of a part of these imposts, the country people of Holland paid an annual composition of so much a head, according to the sort of bread they consumed. Those who made use of wheaten bread, paid about 6*s.* 9½*d.*, and those who lived on oats, rye, &c. paid proportionable sums.† The consequences were such as might have been anticipated. In a very valuable and authentic Memoir, ‘On the Means of Redressing and Amending the Trade of the Republic,’ drawn up from information communicated by the best informed merchants, by order of William IV., Prince of Orange, and presented to the States-General in 1751, it is expressly stated, that ‘*oppressive taxes* must be placed at the head of the various causes which have co-operated to the prejudice and discouragement of the

* Wheat	-	9,170,000 quarters, at 7 <i>os.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	-	L. 32,324,250
Barley	-	6,335,000	-	37 <i>s.</i> - 11,719,750
Oats	-	16,950,000	-	29 <i>s.</i> - 24,577,500
Rye	-	685,000	-	43 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> - 1,501,291
Beans & Peas	-	1,860,000	-	30 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> - 3,611,500

35,000,000

L. 73,734,291

† Wealth of Nations, iii. 340.

commerce of Holland: And it may justly be said, that it can only be attributed to those taxes, that the trade of this country has been diverted out of its channel, and transferred to our neighbours, and must daily be still more and more alienated, and shut out from us, unless the progress thereof be stopt by some quick and effectual remedy: Nor is it difficult to see, from these contemplations on the state of our trade, that the same can be effected by no other means than a *diminution of all duties.* †

It would be easy to add innumerable proofs to those given in the Memoir just quoted, to show that excessive taxation was the real cause of the decline of the commercial greatness of Holland. 'Tel est l'effet,' says the well informed author of the *Richesse de la Hollande*, published in 1778, 'du haut prix de la main d'œuvre que le système de l'impôt a produit. Les guerres ont forcé des emprunts, et les emprunts ont exigé des impôts pour en payer les intérêts, ou faire des remboursements. Mais étoit-il indispensable d'étendre les impôts sur les choses les plus nécessaires à la vie, sur toutes les denrées de première nécessité? L'augmentation du prix de la main d'œuvre devoit nécessairement suivre de cet direction de l'impôt, et porter avec elle la destruction de la source même de l'impôt.' And, farther on, he observes, 'L'augmentation successive des impôts, que les payments des intérêts, et les remboursements ont rendue indispensable, a détruit une grande partie de l'industrie, a diminué le commerce, a diminué ou fort altéré l'état florissant où étoit autrefois la population, en resserrant chez le peuple les moyens de subsistance.' ‡ It is to the same cause—to the rise of wages occasioned by the increased price of necessaries resulting from excessive taxation, that the fall in the rate of profit, and the transfer of Dutch capital to every country in Europe, is to be ascribed. The author of the *Richesse de la Hollande* states, that, in 1778, the capitalists of Holland had above 1500 millions of livres tournois invested in the public funds of France and England, for which, owing to the decline of industry, they were no longer able to obtain any advantageous employment at home.

But the system of taxation which was productive of these fatal effects in Holland, was, in reality, much less oppressive than that to which this country is now subjected. For example, a British workman might, if he were permitted to buy his food in the cheapest market, purchase a quarter of wheat for 48s., or at most 50s.; but the prohibition against importation, by raising its price to 80s., has precisely the same effect, as if

† See p. 27. of the English Translation, published in London, 1751.

‡ *Richesse de la Hollande*, tome ii. pp. 39 & 179.

he were obliged to pay a direct tax of 30s. or 35s. on every quarter he consumes; and, averaging the consumption of each individual at *three-fourths* of a quarter of wheat, it is really equivalent to a capitation tax of 22s. 6d., or to more than *three* times the sum paid by the people of Holland, as a composition for the tax on bread. We feel it to be unnecessary to make any commentary on this statement. It is not contended that there is any thing peculiar in the situation of this country; but, unless such were really the case, must we not conclude, that the same abuse of the taxing and funding system which forced the capitalists of Holland to have recourse to foreign investments—degraded the condition of her labourers—and ultimately stripped her of her commerce, fisheries, and manufactures, will be equally fatal in Great Britain? If we do not adopt the advice of the Prince of Orange to the States-General, and *diminish all duties*, we must not flatter ourselves with the vain and delusive idea, that we shall be able to escape the fate of those by whom it was rejected.

It is perhaps impossible accurately to determine the precise portion of the produce of the capital and labour of the productive classes of Great Britain and Ireland, drawn from them by means of direct and indirect taxation—by the operation of the Corn-Laws—and as contributions for the support of the church, the poor, and other public burdens. We believe, however, that the following estimate will be found to be a pretty near approximation to the truth.

It appears, from the *official* statements given in the Finance accounts for 1818, that the *gross* produce of the revenue of Great Britain and Ireland, for the year ending 5th January 1819, amounted to 64,506,203*l.* Now, if to this sum we add 24,578,000*l.* on account of the unnatural enhancement of the price of corn, and allow for Poor-rates and other county burdens 12,000,000*l.*, and for the Church establishment 5,000,000*l.*, the total aggregate amount of the public burdens may be taken at 106,084,203*l.*

It is much more difficult, however, to ascertain the amount of the National Income, or the sum which remains as rent, profit, and wages, after replacing the capital employed in the great work of production. Dr Becke, in his very valuable and elaborate pamphlet on the Income Tax, published in 1800, estimated the income of Great Britain arising from land, labour, professions, and every other source, at 218 millions; and supposing the income of Ireland to be equal to *one-fifth* of that of Great Britain, we should have 261 millions as the total income

of the Empire. Since 1800, the national income has been considerably augmented, though not perhaps to the extent generally believed. But, assuming that it has in the interval been increased *one-third*, or 87 millions, that would give 348 millions as the present income of the United Kingdom. We are satisfied that this estimate is rather over than underrated. ^{if} it is true, Dr Colquhoun estimates the value of the *new property* annually produced in Great Britain and Ireland at 430 millions. But new property and income are very different things. The former, besides rent, profit, and wages, includes the sum which must be set apart *to replace the capital* consumed in production. The new property produced by a farmer or manufacturer may be equal to ten or twenty times the value of their incomes; nor is it possible to form any accurate estimate of the income of a country, merely from the insulated fact of its new property being equal to such and such a sum. Supposing, however, that the fixed and circulating capital of Great Britain and Ireland are together equal to 2500 millions, (Dr Colquhoun estimates them at 2647 millions), and that the annual waste in production is 2 per cent., which is surely a very moderate allowance, that would give 50 millions to be deducted from the value of the new property, in order to replace capital. But this is not the only correction to be made. Dr Colquhoun's estimate was framed for 1812, when bank paper, or the money in which his valuations were made, was at least 20 per cent. less valuable than at this moment; so that, when both these circumstances are taken into account, it will be found that Dr Colquhoun's estimate is not materially different from our own.

But, on the hypothesis that the present income of the United Kingdom is equal to 350 millions, it is plain that very little less than *one-third* of the entire revenue of the industrious classes is swallowed up by taxation, and by the bounty to the growers of corn; or, which is the same thing, every poor man is obliged to labour *two* days out of *six*, not for the benefit of himself or his master, but in order to satisfy the demands of the Treasury; and this in addition to *one-third* of the profits of all fixed capital, such as land, machinery, &c. and of professional incomes devoted to the same purpose! Surely it is unnecessary to seek elsewhere for an explanation of the difficulties in which we are involved. No country was ever subjected to such a scourge. Nor can there be the shadow of a doubt, that it is owing to the Government claiming for themselves, and allowing, or rather forcing the growers of corn to claim, in exchange for their produce, too great a share of the earnings of the industrious classes, that the latter have not enough left to support themselves.

In 1793, the gross produce of the revenue of Great Britain and Ireland amounted to about 20 millions. Corn was then sold at its natural price; and the aggregate amount of Poor-rates and tythes did not exceed 7 millions. Now, on the very moderate estimate that the income of both Islands, in 1793, only amounted to 240 millions, the public burdens must have been equal to about *one ninth* of the entire national income. And, unquestionably, it did not require any great sagacity to foresee, that it was impossible to increase the portion of the capital and labour of the productive classes, drawn from them by means of taxation, from a *ninth* to a *third*, or in a threefold proportion, in the short space of twenty-two years, without occasioning the most extensively ruinous consequences. It is this inordinate extension of the public burdens which has cast down respectable tradesmen, farmers, and manufacturers, from a state of affluence and independence, to one of embarrassment, poverty, and misery—which has rendered it next to impossible for a young, healthy, able-bodied labourer to support himself by his unaided exertions—which, notwithstanding all those stupendous discoveries by which production has been so much facilitated, has so very greatly increased the price of almost every species of commodities—and which, by reducing the rate of profit, has forced capital, or the funds destined for the support of productive industry, to seek employment in France, Belgium, and America.

But we do not despair of the country. And having thus, we trust satisfactorily, established that the present distresses are almost entirely owing to the excess of taxation, and the monopoly granted to the agriculturists, it is a comparatively easy, as well as a more pleasing task, to point out the means by which they may be alleviated. In order to accomplish this most desirable object, we have only to act on a system precisely the reverse of that by which the public distresses have been produced. An effectual reduction of taxation, and a cautious and gradual repeal of the restrictions on the trade in corn, and of the other restrictions which disgrace our commercial system, will put to flight the evils by which we are now assailed, and restore wealth and prosperity to all classes of the community. But it is in vain to suppose that any thing short of this will be sufficient to counteract the progress of pauperism—*Qui vult finem vult media*. If we have not good sense and virtue enough immediately to set about making an unsparing retrenchment in every branch of expenditure, and to permit our artisans to purchase their food in the cheapest market, we must submit not only to a continu-

ance, but to an increase of all the mischiefs we now suffer. Palliatives may delay, but it is not in the nature of things that they should be able to avert the final triumph of pauperism. Nothing but a very great reduction of the demands made by Government, and the total repeal of the worst of all possible taxes—the tax on corn, can save the country from the abyss of poverty and misery to which, if it has not already arrived, it is fast hastening.

Most of our readers, we presume, are aware, that, in order to lighten the load of taxation, Mr Ricardo has proposed that an assessment should be made on the capital of the country for the purpose of at once discharging the public debt. But waving, for the present, all examination of the probable consequences of attempting to carry this bold and decisive measure into effect, we certainly think that it ought at all events to be considered as a *dernier resort*; and that it should first be ascertained whether any real and efficient relief can be obtained from economy, and a thorough revision of our commercial system. Before submitting to so great a sacrifice as would be required for the immediate payment of the debt, the country has a right to demand that retrenchment should be carried to its utmost limits, and that every restraint on the freedom of industry should be removed. Should this prove ineffectual, then undoubtedly recourse must be had to still stronger measures. When it has been satisfactorily established that there is but one alternative, and that if the country does not rid itself of the debt, the debt will destroy the country, we must submit, cost what it will, to pay it off.

It is plain, however, that much may be done for the relief of the country, without having recourse to this measure. The interest of the funded and unfunded debt, exclusive of the sinking fund, amounts to about 32 millions. But, as has been already shown, the Corn-laws have really the same effect as if a tax of 24 millions and a half were levied from the consumers of corn. Now, when it is considered that a very large proportion of the taxes raised to pay the interest of the public debt affect only articles of luxury which are never consumed by the labourer, and that a tax on corn, on the contrary, being precisely equivalent to a direct tax on wages, must either degrade the condition of the labouring class, or lower the rate of profit, we must be satisfied that the advantages which the bulk of the nation would derive from the abolition of the restriction on importation, would at least equal those it would derive from the extinction of the public debt. And what is there that ought to stand in the way of this abolition? Landlords, it is admitted, would suffer from a fall in the price of raw produce. But there can be no reason why nine-

tenths of society should pay a monopoly price for their food, in order that the rental of the other *tenth* may be enhanced. The State has nothing to do with the account of the gains and losses of its subjects. Its business is, to treat all parties with the same indulgence, and to remove whatever obstacles may stand in the way of the accumulation of wealth; not certainly to pamper and enrich one class of producers at the expense of the whole.

But we are told, the Corn-law was not adopted with a view to increase the rents of the landlords.—*That*, we are assured, is a matter about which they feel exceedingly indifferent! The measure is defended on the ground of its being necessary to place agriculture on the same footing as the other branches of industry, which, it is affirmed, are almost all protected by prohibitory duties, and as a means of securing to the country an independent and ample supply of provisions. We shall, in a very few words, endeavour to determine the degree of credit which ought to be attached to these statements.

In the *first* place then, there is an essential difference between manufacturing and agricultural industry; and if it were true that the former was artificially protected from foreign competition, that would afford no valid plea for placing the latter in the same situation. In manufacturing industry, the cost of producing commodities must, by the successive improvements in the arts, be almost always diminishing. But this principle of improvement is, in agriculture, more than counterbalanced by the constant necessity, as population advances, of having recourse to poorer soils, which require a greater expenditure of capital and labour to produce the same supplies. The price of manufactured goods, too, is, by the principle of competition, regulated by the price of those manufactured at the *least* expense, and by the most expeditious methods; while, on the contrary, the price of raw produce is regulated by the price of that which is raised on the very worst soils, and at the *greatest* expense. For, it is obvious that, if the price was not sufficient to indemnify the cultivator of the poorest soils for his labour, and to yield the ordinary rate of profit on his capital, he must abandon his employment; and the necessary supplies would no longer be obtained. This fundamental distinction between agriculture and manufactures, ought never to be lost sight of. Supposing the supply of any species of manufactured produce to be deficient, the granting a monopoly of the home market to the manufacturers, or the preventing its importation from abroad, would not have any lasting effect on its price. An undue proportion of the national capital would no doubt be invested in that manufacture; but as the cost of manufacturing would not be in-

creased, the manufactured goods would, after the first rise of prices had attracted a sufficiency of capital to their production, sell for the same price as before. But it is quite otherwise in agriculture. If the supply derivable from lands of a superior quality, is insufficient to supply the wants of the population, the granting of a monopoly of the home market to the agriculturists, occasions a permanent rise of price. It not only causes a faulty distribution of the national capital; but as it obliges recourse to be had to poorer soils, in order to procure the necessary supply, it necessarily and directly increases the cost of its production.

Although, therefore, it were true that every manufacture in the kingdom were protected against foreign competition, that would be no reason why agriculture should be placed in the same situation. A prohibition against importing foreign woollens, though it may prevent our importing a comparatively cheap commodity from abroad, will not raise the expense of manufacturing it at home. Such, however, is the certain effect of every restriction on the importation of foreign corn into a country which had previously been in the habit of deriving a portion of its supplies from abroad.

It is not true, however, in point of fact, that any of the staple manufactures of the country derive the smallest advantage from restrictive regulations. It might formerly have been contended, and perhaps with good reason, that the woollen manufacturers were unfairly benefited by the prohibition against exporting English wool. But, now that the price of wool is higher in Great Britain than in any other country of Europe, there is no room for such an allegation. So completely indeed are the agriculturists aware of this fact, that petitions have been presented, and with too much success, to the Legislature, not for the abolition of the restrictions on exportation, but for the imposition of heavy duties on the *importation* of foreign wool. To suppose indeed that those manufactures which can at present be exported without the aid of bounties (and the rest had better have no existence) should be injuriously affected by foreigners being allowed to import the same commodities, is evidently absurd. The manufacturers of Gloucestershire, in their excellent Resolutions against the late Corn-bill, expressed in the strongest manner their acquiescence in the doctrine of a free trade, and stated their readiness to sacrifice any exclusive privileges they might enjoy, to the attainment of that desirable object. Why will not the agriculturists meet the manufacturers on this ground? And, instead of hunting after restrictions and prohibitions, consent gradually to recur to the sound principles of a free trade?

Notwithstanding the utmost freedom of trade, the price of corn must always be higher in an importing than an exporting country.—‘Every home commodity,’ says Sir Matthew Decker, ‘will, in a free trade, find its natural level; for, though that fluctuates, as of necessity it must, according to the plentifulness or scarcity of the seasons, yet, for home consumption, every home commodity must have great advantage over the foreign, as being upon the spot, and free from freight, insurance, commission, and charges, which, on the produce of lands, being all bulky commodities, must in general be about 15 per cent.;—and a greater advantage cannot be given without prejudice; for 15 per cent. makes a great difference in the price of necessaries between the nation selling and the nation buying, and is a great difficulty on the latter; but arising from the natural course of things, cannot be helped; though it is a sufficient security to the landholders, that foreigners can never import more necessaries than are absolutely required; and, I presume, in such cases, they have more charity than to starve the people merely for the sake of an imaginary profit, which yet would prove their ruin in the end; for it is a fallacy and an absurdity to think to raise or keep up the value of lands, by oppressions on the people that cramp their trade; for, if trade declines, the common people must either come upon the parish, or fly for business to our neighbours.’ *

But in the second place, it is not true that restrictions on the Corn trade afford any security for our obtaining an ample and independent supply of raw produce. On the contrary, it is a recognised principle, that the wider the surface from which a country derives its supplies of food, the less will it be exposed to fluctuations of price, arising from favourable or unfavourable seasons. The weather that is injurious to one soil, or one situation, is generally favourable to a different soil and a different situation. A general failure of the crops throughout an extensive kingdom, is a calamity that but rarely occurs. The excess of produce in one province, generally compensates for its deficiency in another; and, except in anomalous cases, the total supply is nearly the same. But, if this be generally true of a single nation, it is always true in reference to the world at large. It is invariably found that when the crops of one country fail, plenty reigns in some other quarter.—And a perfect freedom of trade is all that is wanted to guarantee a country like Britain, abounding in all the varied products of industry—in merchandise suited to the wants of every society—from the possibility of a scarcity.

Nor is there the least risk that a trade of this kind, when once established, will be capriciously put an end to. When a

* Essay on the Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade, p. 56.

nation has been, for a series of years, in the habit of importing corn from another, it must have exported some more acceptable produce as an equivalent. The farmers of the corn-growing country will, after this commerce has been established, calculate as much upon the demand of the importing country, as on that of their own citizens—they will cultivate an additional quantity of land, raise larger crops, and consequently pay higher rents, because they are assured of this vent for their produce. The benefits of such an intercourse are reciprocal; and the corn-growers, as much as the corn-buyers, are interested in a continuance of the traffic, and would suffer as much by its cessation.—‘When we consider,’ says Mr Ricardo, ‘the value of even a few weeks’ consumption of corn in England, it is evident no interruption could be given to the export trade, if the Continent supplied us with any considerable quantity of corn, without the most extensively ruinous commercial distress—distress which no sovereign, or combination of sovereigns, would be willing to inflict on their subjects; and, though willing, it would be a measure to which, probably, no people would submit.—It was the endeavour of Bonaparte to prevent the exportation of the raw produce of Russia, more than any other cause, which produced the astonishing efforts of the people of that country against the most powerful force, perhaps, ever assembled to subjugate a nation.’

Were the intercourse between Great Britain and Poland unrestricted, we should be able, by exporting manufactured goods of the value of 1000*l.*, to import as much wheat as it would cost 2000*l.* to raise on the poor soils now under cultivation in this country. Surely then, it cannot be doubted, that it would be most for the general advantage, that capital should be withdrawn from the cultivation of such soils, and invested in some more productive employment, and that the corn which is now obtained from them, should be imported.—Such a measure would materially increase the command of the labouring classes over the prime necessary of life, and would go far to double the rate of profit, and consequently to prevent the efflux of capital to other countries.

In almost all the discussions which have hitherto taken place respecting the Corn trade, the interest of the farmer has been always considered as the same with that of the landlord. Nothing, however, can be more completely different. Whenever the *real* price, or the cost of production of raw produce, is increased, the profits of agricultural and of all other stock are reduced; and, on the other hand, when the price of raw produce falls, profits are augmented. The average price of corn in Britain, is more than three times its average price in Kentucky; but a Kentucky farmer, with a capital of 1000*l.*, would,

notwithstanding, derive from it at least as much profit as he could derive from a capital of 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* employed in farming in this country. It is landlords, and not farmers, who reap advantage from a high real price of corn, and from the cultivation of bad lands. The interest of the latter is precisely the same with the interest of the consumers; and, however paradoxical it may at first appear, it is unquestionably true that a *permanently* high price of raw produce is as certainly ruinous to the farmer as to the manufacturer.

But, although we are thus decidedly of opinion that the abolition of the restrictions on the importation of foreign corn, is not merely called for on the ground of their forcing a very large proportion of the capital and industry of the country into a comparatively disadvantageous employment, but also as a means of relieving the country from the most oppressive and ruinous of all possible taxes, we think the abolition ought to be cautiously and carefully brought about. Time ought to be given gradually to withdraw capital from the poor soils now under cultivation. And, for this purpose, it would be proper that a diminishing scale of duties should be adopted. The price at which foreign grain should be admitted duty free, might be made to decline from 80*s.*, its present limit, by 2*s.* or 3*s.* per quarter annually, till it reached 50*s.*, when the ports might safely be thrown open, and the restrictive system for ever abolished.

But, besides the many advantages that would result from the increase of trade, and the reduction of taxation, consequent on a repeal of the Corn-Laws, a very great diminution of taxation might be effected, by retrenchments in other branches of expenditure. For example, the military peace establishment of Great Britain and Ireland in 1792, was fixed at 27,000 regular troops; and the whole aggregate force employed at home and in the colonies, only amounted to 44,000, and the expense to about *two* millions. Now, however, exclusive of a yeomanry force of between 60,000 and 70,000, which had no existence previous to the late war, we maintain 60,000 regular troops in England and Ireland only; and the entire expense of the military department is at least equal to *seven* millions! Here, certainly, a radical reform is imperatively necessary. We do not think it too much to affirm, that the army expenses might be reduced a full half, without occasioning the least injury to the public service. It is a monstrous absurdity to contend, that *four* times the force which sufficed to preserve the tranquillity of the country, in very critical circumstances, and when the public mind was powerfully excited by the French Revolution, should be necessary in a period of profound peace, and when

legitimacy is everywhere triumphant. Such an excess of force is not only uncalled for and unnecessary, and in the highest degree unconstitutional, but is altogether incommensurate with the means of the country. A rigid economy is in every government the first of virtues; and in ours, it is also the most pressing of duties.

In addition to the retrenchments which might be effected, not in the military only, but in every other branch of the public expenditure, it cannot be doubted that a very great reduction of the duties affecting various commodities might be made, without occasioning any diminution of the revenue. When the real price, or the cost of production, of any commodity, is so great that it can only be purchased by the rich and wealthy classes, no reduction of duties could greatly extend its consumption. But it is otherwise with those commodities whose prime cost does not exceed the power of the great body of the people to become purchasers, and which are, besides, in very great request. In such circumstances, a reduction of any heavy duty by which they may be burdened, would prodigiously extend their consumption; and, without diminishing the revenue, would add to the comforts and enjoyments of all.

These conclusions do not rest on theory only. Previous to 1744, the East India Company's sales of Teas amounted to no more than about 600,000 pounds weight annually; producing a revenue of about 140,000*l*. In the early part of 1745, an act was passed, by which the tea-duties were very greatly reduced; and, in 1746, the sales amounted to nearly *two millions* of pounds weight, and the revenue to 228,000*l*. But this unanswerable demonstration, of the superior advantages resulting to the revenue itself from low duties, was unable to restrain the rapacity of the Treasury. In 1748 the duties were again increased; and fluctuated between that epoch and 1784, from 64 to 119 per cent. In the last mentioned year, however, the Government, having in vain tried every other means to prevent the smuggling and adulteration of tea, reduced the duty from 119 to 12½ per cent.: And the revenue, instead of falling off in the proportion of *one to ten*, owing to the increased consumption, only declined in the proportion of *one to three*. The shortsightedness of ministers, and the narrow and contracted policy on which they have almost always acted, put it out of our power to refer to many such conclusive instances to prove the superior productiveness of diminished taxation: there are, however, one or two others which deserve to be pointed out. In 1787, the duty on wine and spirits was lowered 50 per cent.; but the revenue was, notwithstanding, considerably augmented. The a-

verage annual produce of the tax on coffee, for the three years previous to 1808, amounted to 166,000*l.* In the course of that year, the duty was reduced from 2*s.* to 7*d.* the *cwt.*; and the average annual produce of the reduced duty for the next three years, instead of being diminished, rose to 195,000*l.*!—showing that the consumption had been increased in a *quadruple* proportion, and that the comforts of the people had been materially increased.

It is plain, therefore, that a very considerable deduction might be made from some of the most oppressive duties, without occasioning any diminution of the revenue. Nor do we think that it is too much to expect that, although 50 per cent. were deducted from the duties on salt, tea, leather, soap, spirits, beer, French wines, &c., the revenue, instead of being diminished, would be increased. This, however, is a matter of very inferior importance. Whether these anticipations should be realized or not, *it is indispensable that Taxation should be diminished.* Instead of attempting to raise the revenue to the level of our present unmeasured expenditure, we *must* reduce our expenditure to the altered circumstances of the country, and make it quadrate with our diminished income. Subsidiary measures for facilitating and encouraging emigration, and for giving every possible freedom to the circulation of labour, might also be advantageously adopted. But it is only from a Reduction of Taxation, and a total Repeal of our barbarous Restraints on the Trade in Corn, that we are to expect adequate and effectual relief. Neither should it be forgotten, that we have now reached a period when it is no longer possible to commit faults with impunity; and, that the longer the work of retrenchment is delayed, the more difficult it will be to restore prosperity to the country.

ART. X. 1. *Substance of the Speech of the Right Honourable Lord GRENVILLE in the House of Lords, November 30th, 1819, on the Marquis of Lansdowne's Motion, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the State of the Country, and, more particularly, into the Distresses and Discontents prevalent in the Manufacturing Districts, and the Execution of the Laws with respect to the numerous Meetings which have taken place.* pp. 62. Murray, London. 1820.

2. *The Substance of the Speech of the Right Honourable W. C. PLUNKET in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, 23d November, 1819.* pp. 24. Bancks, Manchester. 1819.

THESE two Speeches have been, for various reasons, and with very different views, extremely praised, both within and

without the walls of the illustrious Assemblies where they were delivered. Lord Grenville's authority is deservedly high, from his great experience of public affairs, long official life, intercourse with many parties in the State, commanding, statesman-like talents, indefatigable industry, great information, and unimpeached integrity. Mr Plunket's reputation as an orator stands justly among the most exalted of the age; and as he rarely takes part in debates, and hardly ever except upon questions connected with Ireland, the fame of his eloquence has been better preserved than that of almost any speaker in Parliament. To obtain the sanction and the active cooperation of two such persons, on any question, was of great importance to the rash but feeble placemen who now rule this country: But infinitely more valuable was this piece of good fortune, upon an occasion when every friend of Liberty—every man whose judgment was neither warped by ambition, or the less noble failing of impatience for promotion, or bewildered by a momentary alarm, was certain to be found in ardent opposition to the pernicious and slavish policy of the Court. The liberal and enlightened views which have hitherto directed both the eminent individuals in question, and their avowed connexion, both in the sunshine of Court favour, and in the less cheering shades of retirement from office, with the great body of the Whig opposition, rendered their unfortunate concurrence in the measures of the Government a consummation, perhaps more devoutly to be wished, than readily to be expected. Unhappily for the country, and, we will add, for the future fame of those distinguished personages themselves, this rare felicity was in store for the Ministers, among many other pieces of good fortune not to be expected in the ordinary course of events: The administration which had subdued France, and sent Buonaparte to St Helena, was destined, before its close, to invade the most sacred parts of the Bill of Rights, and begin a censorship of the English Press; and the Cabinet of Messrs Addington and Bragge Bathurst, and Jenkinson and Pole, after marching to Paris, where Mr Pitt and Mr Fox could only send a spy or a flag of truce, have likewise achieved the glory of frightening two of their stoutest and most contemptuous adversaries, at home, into an alliance for the alteration of that Constitution which had survived all the corruptions of the last age, and the violence and delusions and panics of our own disastrous times.

Thus happy in their new confederates, like skilful generals, these placemen turned their forces to the best account, by crying up their value in the most extravagant terms. Lord Grenville's name and weight in the country were perpetually in their

mouths; he was become the chosen champion of the established order of things—the great saviour of the Constitution in Church and State—he who, a few short years before, had been held up, almost as a mark for persecution, certainly as the object for hatred and alarm to every one who regarded the safety of the Hierarchy, and the good of the Protestant religion. Mr Plunket, so lately denounced as a firebrand, and half suspected of being within the statutes of *Præmunire* for Popish connexions, suddenly became the very oracle to whose decisions, both in policy and law, a final appeal might be made at every stage of the discussion. Men must have something specifick to which they can recur themselves, and refer their followers, in the fervour of general admiration. Accordingly, it suited the purposes of the Government to erect the two Speeches now before us into their authorities and models throughout the argument. Whatever might be urged on the other side, received a short and easy answer—‘Look to the unanswerable Speech of the Noble Baron,’ sang the Ministers in the one House.—‘The excellent, the decisive statement of the member for Dublin College,’ responded their colleagues in the other.

Far removed as we are from the scenes of those exalted contentions, and reduced to take our information all in by the trusty eye alone, we confess that if we durst so far adventure an ignorant provincial opinion, we should be disposed to marvel at the fame which these two orations have acquired, had we not adverted to the causes of the praise so lavishly bestowed upon them. Nor can we admit the known effects of misreporting to be any solution of the difficulty. Lord Grenville himself publishes his speech. Mr Plunket’s, though apparently not corrected by his own hand, is nevertheless admitted to be given with great accuracy. Neither can it now be urged that the most perfect report, one which should convey to us every word as it was spoken, would give an unfavourable view of the effect of oral eloquence, on the ground that, to use Mr Fox’s just and admirable remark, speeches are made to be spoken, and not to be read: For, admitting the entire truth of this important saying, it is equally true, that a skilful report of a great speech produces a composition full of high beauties, though not of the highest, and certainly not of the same kind with the merits of spoken oratory. And accordingly, we can admire most cordially those inimitable specimens of masculine, chaste, epigrammatic, vehement eloquence, which Mr Plunket’s speeches on the Catholic question present to us, as given in the Parliamentary Debates for 1807 and 1813; and the manly, argumentative, and learned orations of Lord Grenville, upon the same subject,

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in the same valuable repository of civil history. But, compared with those productions, the pamphlets now before us are poor and degenerate indeed. Lord Grenville's has none of his close reasoning, his large and liberal views of policy, his honest zeal for suffering humanity, his patriotic resistance to slavish principles, his bold, uncompromising contempt for base and contrivance-like devices: While Mr Plunket's presents us only with such a plausible argument as some scores of barristers, in either end of the island, could make from a brief upon the late tumults; and is peculiarly defective in the point for which its value was most loudly magnified, a clear or definite statement of the legal views of the subject.

We trust that the great names of these two statesmen will be our excuse, for dwelling somewhat longer upon the matter of their Speeches, and taking notice of a few particulars in each of them, as specimens of the deficiencies of which we have been so hardy as to complain, notwithstanding the chorus of applause with which they are said to have been received by their admiring hearers, reechoed, or perhaps begun, by those whose interest it was to hold them up to admiration. We should premise, that the disappointment is considerably greater in the case of Mr Plunket's than in Lord Grenville's.

That Noble person certainly delivers himself with his accustomed force. Strongly impressed with the truth of what he is stating, his language bears the impress of sincere conviction—of conveying the sentiments that come from his heart; and this faithful transcript of cordial feeling, when it proceeds from a man of strong mind, always must produce a high degree of eloquence.—‘*Pectus est quod disertum facit.*’ (QUINTIL.) But, unhappily, he labours, throughout the whole speech, under the influence of a theory, not to say a panic, which seems wholly to paralyze the natural strength of his understanding. He has fancied that the whole frame of society is about to perish by some moral phrensy of the people, or a large portion of the people; and though he thinks that it may survive the struggle, yet he considers the damage it must undergo in the conflict, to be such as make it likely that a wreck only will be saved. Through so distorting a medium he views every part of the subject, and all that bears any relation to it. Truths which on every other occasion he would have admitted as self-evident, he now overlooks, or passes by as doubtful, or recoils from as perilous. Evils in our system of polity, which his profound knowledge of economics must long ago have taught him to regard as incalculably ruinous to the State, he underrates, or palliates, or is willing to bear with, in the dread of encountering

some other hazards that have taken hold of his affrighted imagination. Remedies, of which himself has heretofore been the patron, in some instances, and which, in all cases, flow clearly from principles known to be congenial to his philosophy, he now unhappily views with suspicion, and turns from, wildly staring to see if any plot or stratagem lurks beneath them. His alarm all this while impels him onward, so that he cannot look stolidly around him. '*Pedibus timor addidit alas.*' It whets his ingenuity, however, and sometimes conjures up theories from afar, to confirm his apprehensions; sometimes haunts him with phantoms of unreal things, with which he deals as if they were in actual existence. The sight is at once painful and humiliating; nor could any thing but a sense of duty, in a most important emergency, force us to linger over it. Nay, such is our unfeigned respect for the powerful understanding in which it has made such havock, that we should doubt whether the delusion were not ours, not his,—if we had not, to convince us, the unerring evidence of facts, even since the sentiments before us were promulgated.

'The mischief,' says Lord Grenville, 'against which we are now called upon to defend our country, is not merely of the present day; no, nor of the present year.' He then traces it to 1795; and even that is not a sufficiently remote origin. He goes back to the beginning of the French Revolution; but this won't satisfy him; and he cites Mr Burke's authority, 'consigned to posterity in his immortal writings,' to show how 'that terrible convulsion of the world' did not create, but 'only called forth the evil—increased it, and gave fresh vigour to its operation.' Without stopping to ask how far this doctrine is to carry us; how long ago it is since we ought in common prudence to have abandoned our free constitution, and sacrificed our liberties to our tranquillity; or how little of that freedom it can ever be safe for us at any time to enjoy—let us, with every veneration for Mr Burke's great talents, his learning and eloquence, honestly express a doubt of the soundness of that judgment, which on this subject would erect him into an authority, and draw from his extravagant theories, and the visions of his most overheated imagination, oracular maxims to guide our conduct in the practical administration of public affairs. Such appeals have been but too frequent among those who were naturally dazzled with the splendour of his rhetoric, and edified by the copious stores of his knowledge. But to hold him up as a prophet, as one who foresaw what has happened, further than to form a very vague and obscure idea of the beginning of the Revolution—a prediction possibly fulfilled by the measures to

which it gave rise—betokens a singular disregard of the most remarkable facts now existing before our eyes. When he told us that the Revolution would prove a source of mischief and confusion, both in France and other countries, he proved a true prophet; but most people were ready to admit, that the French and their neighbours had much distress and disorder to wade through before the abuses could be destroyed which centuries had engendered; and it should be remembered, that he began by predicting just as confidently the annihilation of France, and, as a proof of practical wisdom, assumed in discussing our army estimates, that our great rival was ‘*blotted out from the map of Europe.*’

Then what shall we say of the final close of the drama? No one council of Mr Burke was ever followed, except in one or two absurd expeditions of emigrants, which proved fatal; all his principles were disregarded in carrying on the war, and by no one more entirely than by Lord Grenville in both his administrations; yet the Revolution ended in the destruction of the French military power, without a single one of the neighbouring States being revolutionized; and, worst of all for his authority, it has ended in the establishment of a rational, free, happy, and improving constitution in France, to the infinite advantage of her vast population, and the extirpation of the most odious abuses ever borne by any nation. Let us not deceive ourselves. Were Mr Burke now alive, whose name and authority are so familiarly cited in these discussions, he would be found an inflexible adherent of the most bigotted, silly and contemptible party to be found in any civilized state. He would be the steady and eloquent and uncompromising patron of the *Ultra-Royalist* faction in France; he would be fulminating unceasingly against every thing that has been done at the restoration; the Charter would be his abhorrence; the toleration of revolutionary titles to property, in his eyes, would be sacrilege against the Church, and robbery of the Nobility; the impunity of so many revolutionists, and the employment of some, would be denounced by him as a participation in regicide; the King, and those of his House who adhere to his Majesty, would be, above all others, charged as accomplices in parricide after the fact; and all France would be painted by his imagination, contrary to the testimony of his own senses, as plunged in the depths of hopeless misery. No man can read a page of his ‘*immortal*’ and most eloquent and ingenious writings on this subject, without being convinced that such would be his position, and such his doctrines, were he now alive; and that his cry would be loud and unceasing, for an immediate and universal restitution of all property,—of the old

privileges of Clergy and Nobility, and almost all the old institutions—subject only to such changes as a long course of gradual reformation might bring about in the lapse of ages. Such undoubtedly was Mr Burke, whose authority as a *practical* statesman we so often hear extolled,—as if no man had access to his writings, or could look at the events daily passing before his eyes.*

no man can read the Speech of Lord Grenville, and not perceive that he has imbibed notions nearly allied to those of Mr Burke, respecting the corrupted state of the English people, and the imminent dangers to which it exposes the stability of the Government. The maintenance of internal tranquillity during war, he ascribes solely to the coercive measures of which he and Mr Pitt were the authors; from the restoration of peace, he dates the increase of the mischief. Since that moment, its progress has been, he thinks, uninterrupted. ‘Every successive period has brought only fresh menace, augmented violence, more open and more ostentatious defiance of the public authority in all its branches.’ And earnestly he calls upon all who hear him, to reflect ‘how rarely the history of any country has exhibited so rapid a progress of such a danger within so short a time.’ That distress has been the cause of it, he broadly denies; it has only, he says, been the instrument. He paints the whole country as in a state bordering on rebellion.—‘Our danger is no longer to be searched for in hidden consultations or secret conspiracies. It courts our notice—it obtrudes itself on our attention. We are daily assailed with undisguised menace, and are little removed from the immediate expectation of open violence.’ To trace the progress of the evil, he says, is only to reflect on the history of the French Revolution, with which its conformity is exact. Our agitators, according to him, have servilely, yet ostentatiously, copied all the proceedings in that story. The inundation of the country with treasonable and irreligious publications, has been the first stage in both these great convulsions. These have been industriously disseminated, he says, not only

* Perhaps an example or two, of a less general nature, may show how liable Mr Burke was to be warped in his judgments by moral causes, or *personal* feelings. He expresses, in various parts of his writings on French affairs, his alarm at the proceedings of the East Indian interest in this country; denounces all who have made their fortunes in the East, and *all the diplomatic body* over Europe, as essentially and naturally Jacobins; and especially warns the country against being overthrown by a *Bengal* junto!

through cities and towns, but even spread into hamlets and farm-houses. Nor is the evil recent:—It has been of long continuance, though it has but recently reached the height of its enormity, and ‘deluged the soil with blasphemy and sedition.’—Mr Plunket, who only arrived in England at the meeting of Parliament, goes a step further than Lord Grenville, and has discovered a truth, hidden from the researches of Englishmen, that blasphemies have been fashioned by miscreants in primers for the education of children, to inoculate with this ‘pestilence those helpless beings, while receiving the first elements of knowledge.’ The next step, it seems, of the English Revolution, was the same with the second stage of the French, thirty years before. Local societies were formed, clubs and unions of various descriptions, sedulously organized and contrived for the diffusion of these impious and destructive doctrines, and the establishment of an extensive concert and cooperation.’—‘And when, at last, by the unremitted effect of all this seduction, considerable portions of the multitude had been deeply tainted, their minds prepared for acts of desperation, and familiarized with the thought of crimes, at the bare mention of which they would before have revolted,—then it was that they were encouraged to collect together in large and tumultuous bodies,—then it was that they were invited to feel their own strength; to estimate and to display their numerical force; and to manifest, in the face of day, their inveterate hostility to all the institutions of their country, and their open defiance of all its authorities.’

Thus, too, Mr Plunket plainly describes ‘a revolutionary project, ripe for execution;’ he sees that ‘sedition and blasphemy are the instruments by which it works; that open force is to be employed for its accomplishment;’ and while he admits the great body of the people to be sound; yet he apprehends that the attempt, though it may fail, will produce incalculable misery to the country:—For he argues, that the revolution in contemplation is not one upon any principle, or conducted by talents, or property, or rank; but ‘a revolution for revolution’s sake, to be achieved by letting loose the physical force of the country against its constituted authorities, to take away the property of the rich and to distribute it among a rabble, previously freed from the restraints of moral and religious feeling.’ In support of this doctrine, ‘he feels sufficient confidence at once to express his opinion, without waiting for evidence;’—because he says that ‘the facts are of public notoriety, known and seen by every man who does not chuse to shut his eyes.’ Lord Grenville takes the

history of our Revolution, in like manner, from common fame and public notoriety; and stops not to examine documents.

Now it happens, rather unluckily, that the evidence brought forward by the Ministers to justify their violent proceedings, falls extremely short of all the assertions which these two speakers so easily draw from the 'universal notoriety' of the facts. They appear to have thought that the work of legislation should at once have been proceeded in, without any inquiry, either in a Committee, or by papers submitted to Parliament. They knew enough, it seems, by means of 'notoriety;' and deemed it needless to go further! Unluckily, they who did go further, fared worse; for the documents contradict most of the great positions laid down by the Alarmists; and do not, in any one material respect, prove their case. It is of essential importance, that we should advert a little more in detail to this evidence, in giving the History of this Alarm, as we formerly undertook to record that of the year 1817. If we shall ever live to see the country cured of its truly mortifying, we may say humiliating, propensity, to be the easy dupe of such panics as often as a tottering government finds its account in raising them, this salutary change can only be wrought by soberly reflecting upon the past, recalling to mind the stories told, and examining these at a season when, the panic having subsided, reason may be allowed to operate, and demonstrate their falsehood; or, at least, by showing that the event has disproved them.

There is a very material difference to be observed between the late alarm, and the others which have been industriously propagated in our times. In those former cases, the panic was deemed necessary to preserve the existing ministry. The course of public events, and, above all, their own misconduct or incapacity, had made the placemen of the day tremble for their patronage or power; they raised, therefore, a cry that aedition threatened the monarchy; or that an invasion was impending, while a domestick enemy was ready to cooperate with France; or that the Church was in danger from the Pope; and, latterly, that property was in jeopardy from the Spencean Philanthropists: And, under the cover of these delusions, they secured their own retreat from the difficulties of their situation; getting the country to rally round themselves,—and requiting it, by leaving it in the same difficulties as before, with the loss of some branch of its liberties. In all these former cases, however, the unconstitutional acts, or violent measures, which were adopted in such emergencies, were only desired as a means of increasing

the panic, not for their own sakes; and, accordingly, they were made *temporary*,—because, in point of fact, their authors cared not if they expired and were forgotten as soon as they had served the turn of thickening the plot, frightening the timid, and making all good alarmists regard the danger of the existing administration as synonymous with the overthrow of the State. This was remarkably proved both in 1812 and 1817. In the former year, our commercial embarrassments, the silly and most mischievous policy pursued with regard to America, and the unexpected loss of the only able debater in the cabinet, conspired to shake the ministry to its foundation. Some discontents in the manufacturing districts, and the violent proceedings of persons combined against machinery, were made the ground of having secret committees appointed; and their Reports recommended several measures of legislation, under which it would be difficult to show that any thing has ever since been done. In a few months the whole was forgotten: and, at this moment, very few persons recollect that 1812 was a year of alarm. In 1817, the agricultural and trading interests were reduced to a state of unprecedented depression; and rational men generally required a change of men and of policy. Their demands were straightway met with a plot; and, as some variety was now absolutely necessary to season the thrice-told tale, an alarm was cunningly, but most clumsily raised, that a scheme had been formed to seize the property of the rich, and divide it among the poor. To discomfit the supposed authors of the conspiracy, bills were passed, on the usual Reports of Secret Committees. The British Legislature was actually reduced to the humiliating employment of enacting laws against some half dozen wretched fanatics, in the lowest stage of poverty and imbecility; and the country was desired to rejoice in having escaped from a plot to destroy it, by means of a revolutionary treasury of a few pounds, a magazine of bullets in the foot of an old stocking, and a force of cavalry, the mounting of which was to depend upon the supply of generous steeds to be drawn from our hackney-coach stands. In both these cases, the whole object was to keep alive the panic of the country until the panic of the ministers should subside; and the measures were only valued for their subserviency to this end.

It has certainly been otherwise upon the late occasion. A design seems to have been formed of at once strengthening the existing ministry by means of the alarm excited, and *permanently abridging the liberties of the people, and increasing the power of the Crown*. The danger to the administration arose principally from our financial embarrassments, and from the

universal reprobation of their conduct in the affair of Manchester. But to secure their places against the effects of these untoward circumstances, was not the only purpose to which the alarm might be applied. The '*Radicals*' were capable of rendering far more lasting and valued service to their country. '*Jacobin*,' become a stale phrase, was now varied; and many worthy men, in the enjoyment of much lucrative preferment, began to flatter themselves with the pleasing prospect of deriving as much profit from '*Radicalism*,' as they had in past times, the golden era of the French Revolution, drawn from shouting '*Jacobinism*,' and campaigning against the '*domestick enemy*.' There is always a certain class of persons, high in station and well provided with treasure, to whom those vulgar, noisy, indelicate things, called popular meetings, are an object of fastidious disgust, and, indeed, of perennial alarm. When the multitude is assembled, they are strong and make themselves respected; a certain deference becomes due to those who individually are our inferiors; and they do in fact possess a power which it requires the vigilance of the magistrate in executing the law of the land, to render safe for the publick peace. With such habitual alarmists, any measure must always find favour which affords a prospect of bringing to an end what they really think hurtful to the country, because they feel it unpleasant to themselves. The same persons mortally hate a free press; they are shocked at its licentious attacks upon private character; and, far from pardoning these faults in consideration of its political services, they regard those services to the cause of Liberty as no small aggravation of the principal offence. Measures for restraining newspapers, accordingly, are hailed by our alarmists as eminently wholesome; and, when these are combined with restrictions upon publick meetings, there is such a semblance of general views, of large policy, of systematic vigour, as perfectly captivates and dazzles their moderate understandings. It is in vain that you call for proofs of new danger; they have it *within*,—in their perpetual fears and constitutional squeamishness. In vain you ask those habitual eulogists of the English Constitution, whether it has provided no remedy for such obvious evils, and how in past times we have been saved from their devastation. The answer is silent contempt—or a charge of disaffection. In vain you propose the equal and unsparing enforcement of those laws which brought us through the dangers of domestick rebellion, foreign attack, and a disputed succession, for a whole century,—and of the French Revolution, and its plots and its wars, for thirty years. To execute the old law has in it nothing new, and therefore nothing satisfactory; they have

worked themselves into a belief that the danger is novel, and they can only find comfort in its being met by a new code of police and of punishment. Thus it has happened, we are verily persuaded, that the blind supporters of Government, far from being scared by the late changes in our Statute book, are disappointed at more violent alterations not having been propounded, and discontented at the large concessions in each measure, extorted by the strenuous efforts of the Opposition.

Not only has the object now appeared for the first time to be changed, and a party to have grown up to power, whose principle is the permanent alteration of the Constitution to one less free; but the mode of carrying on the plan of alarm has been materially varied. The publick, and even the Parliament, could no longer bear the gross delusion of pretended inquiries by Secret Committees, which the ministry first packed with their tried supporters, and then fed with such evidence as it suited their own views to produce: thus securing a favourable Report as matter of absolute certainty. Any examination of papers, without seeing and questioning the authors, would no longer satisfy those who deemed inquiry requisite at all; and the *ballot* had, from frequent use and frequent exposure to ridicule, become a term not to be used with the due gravity of countenance. The suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, too, and its accomplice, the Bill of Indemnity, had been too recently tried, and too decidedly condemned at the last general election, to make any such measures of restriction tolerably safe; especially as they must, in conformity with the new scheme of Government, be made lasting, if not perpetual. Accordingly, the ministers satisfied themselves with producing a number of papers, as proofs of their conspiracy; and upon these they at once founded the first chapter of their Code of Imperial Law.

It seems obvious, that this course of proceeding is liable to every objection; and is in all respects less consistent, without being in any manner more satisfactory than the line proposed by Lord Grenville and Mr Plunket, of resting upon the *general notoriety* of the facts,—in other words, upon something made up of light and shade; partly of what we see, partly of what we hear by report; a little of what we know, and a great deal of what we know nothing at all about;—a very vague ground of legislation, it is true, and a most sorry foundation upon which to build great and lasting changes in the Constitution of the country; but not in reality one *iota* improved in solidity by the addition of selected scraps of paper flung upon the tables of the Two Houses, without any confronting, or cross-examination whatever, and in many cases without a disclosure of the names of the authors,

Upon the former occasions the evidence was suppressed; the publick saw nothing but the Reports of the *Selected Committees*, and were left to conjecture the force of the arguments by seeing the effects which they produced upon the minds of the *chosen* inquirers. Now the contrary course is pursued; the farce of an inquiry, where there can be no examination, is given up; and such evidence is produced as would have been sufficient, before a Committee, to obtain the Report desired by the Ministers, we will venture to say, whatever that might be. In some respects, this is a more fair method of proceeding; but it also has its advantages for the Government, who thus avoid recording their own description of the plot which they wish the country to believe in. Formerly we had the great benefit of seeing, in the Reports of the Secret Committees, the portrait of the danger which was asserted to exist, and which was said to justify the measures proposed; from whence we derived the power of afterwards comparing the picture with the reality, as disclosed by the event, in the course of a few weeks or months; and the result of this comparison, both in 1812 and 1817, was quite fatal to the accuracy of the conclusions drawn by the Secret Committees; or to the credit of the evidence laid before them,—or, it may be, to both. This opportunity we have not in the present instance; but are left to collect the impression intended to be conveyed by the Ministers, of the kind and magnitude of the peril, from the evidence itself, and from their own statements in debate, and the published Speeches of their supporters, the two most considerable of which are now before us.

Before going at all into that evidence, it is fit that we should very generally remind the reader of the delusions which the Committees of 1812 and 1817 propagated or shared, supported in all likelihood by much the same sort of documents as those promulgated on the present occasion. The extreme thoughtlessness of those who can once more be deceived by such stories, and the incredible assurance of those who can challenge credit for them, will thus the better be made manifest.

Both these Reports describe an extensive, and most dangerous conspiracy, as having been formed, and almost reached a state of maturity. In both, the explosion is represented as upon the eve of bursting forth and overwhelming the country: Yet, strange to tell, five years had elapsed between the dates of the two documents: so that we are gravely told to believe in schemes like these, confided to hundreds of thousands, and yet kept profoundly secret; ripe for execution, and yet standing still year after year—contrary to the whole nature of man and designs and plots from the beginning of time. Indeed, the Com-

mittee of 1812 indulge themselves in the most flowery descriptions of the extent and perfection of discipline already attained by the disaffected all over the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, and Lancashire, (from whence, they innocently remark, 'the contagion has spread to Carlisle.') They march, it is said, in corps of 500, well armed; 'place mounted parties in advance, with drawn swords, and the same number of men also mounted as a rear guard.' They assemble in the night 'on heaths and commons, taking the usual military precautions of *paroles* and *countersigns*; calling over their muster rolls by numbers, not by names; obeying leaders in disguise; placing sentries to give the alarm if any suspected person approaches; and dispersing instantly at the ringing of a gun, or other signal agreed upon; sometimes also using signals by rockets or blue lights, which enable them to communicate from one of their parties to the other.' It is less to be wondered at, that so well disciplined an army should have been able 'to levy contributions in money, which serves the double purpose of support, and of inducement to persons to join them,' (we suppose by recruiting bounty and the marching guinea.) Of course, they have not been unmindful of the essential duty of great commanders, the establishment of magazines; they have, we find, for a long time, been plundering all the country of arms, powder and lead, for casting into balls; in some districts 'the arms of all the peaceful inhabitants have been swept away by these armed bands;' and at one place (Sheffield) they attacked the depôt of the local militia, destroying part, and carrying off some of the arms found there. If such be the perfection of the Military system of this new European power, whose dominions extend through the central counties of the Island of Britain, its Civil polity is in a state no less advanced. 'A Secret Committee is the great mover of the whole machine;' societies, in subordination each to its own secret committee, are formed everywhere; 'delegates pass continually from place to place to concert their plans;' and 'signs are arranged by which the persons engaged in these conspiracies are known to each other.' The most horrid oaths again form, as it were, the Liturgy of the community, binding each other to mischief, and assassination, and secrecy; nor is it possible, in consequence of those acts, and the system of terror established, to bring any one engaged in these affairs to justice.

Such is the phantom conjured up by the Committee of 1812! Now no one is silly enough to contend, that the Arms and Oaths Bills then passed, could have the slightest effect in dissolving or counteracting a plan so deep laid and so well matured,—the more

especially as hardly any thing was done under those acts. Yet, in a few months, no one recollected the existence either of phantom or report; the new military power was 'blotted out from the map' of England; of its civil government, '*etiam pervenire ruinae.*' The special commission held at York the ensuing winter, for trying offences connected with machinery (as they all were), found no difficulty in trying and convicting some dozens of their ringleaders by the *old law* of the land; not one witness was molested for his testimony, nor a magistrate for his exertions; and the evidence of the Crown, in some most important particulars, directly falsified the statements in the Reports of the Secret Committees. *

Unfortunately all this deception, so successfully practised, and so satisfactorily exposed, was forgotten in 1817—to such a degree, that there was as much alarm excited by the reading of the oath in Parliament, as if it were a mere novelty—no one recollecting that a copy of the self-same oath is given in the Reports of 1812. The Committee of 1817 begin with a terrific description of the plan formed for attacking and seizing London; the Tower and Bank were to be invaded; the different barracks taken; the prisons opened, and their inmates armed: And all this was not sufficiently extensive—for it is represented as only being 'part of a general plan of rebellion and insurrection.' The scheme, it seems, extended all over the country, both England and Scotland, looking to 'the leading persons in London' for orders and example. Clubs were everywhere formed under the names of '*Hampden*' and '*Union*' Clubs, ostensibly for Reform,—and by many of their members only known as connected with that object, but designed by others to connect the members of the conspiracy. A Spencean Society is described as engaged in plans of dividing the land, and destroying the funds; and a general system of propagating sedition and blasphemy, by cheap publications, is stated to be pursued.

The acquittal of the persons charged with the famous London Plot, was the first blow which this notable story required; its details were found to be too ridiculous to deserve one moment's credit. The Spenceans were next found to amount in all to less than a dozen, headed by a worthy brace-maker; and the errors of this little sect were discovered to be of a religious but fanatical cast. No one since that time has ever had the courage to pretend a dread of the Spenceans; the bare men-

* See the remarkable instance of Mr Horsefall's murder, in our Journal for April 1817, where the particulars of the mistatement are detailed.

tion of whose name would now, prone as we still are to alarm, excite a smile in the most loyal company in the land : Yet three years have not elapsed since they formed the principal features in the Plot of the Season ; their reveries were cited in Ministerial Speeches ; their tenets, equally hostile to landholders and stockholders, were held up by committees to the intimidation of both ; a grave and solemn statute was passed to put them down ; and the dread of them actually formed the main ground of suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act for a year. The attack on the Prince Regent's person was carefully connected by the same Reports with the general conspiracy ; and the courtiers represented it as made with a pistol and slugs, until the most positive demonstration proved the physical impossibility of a bullet making two holes, by rebounding on the perpendicular glass of a carriage. But a truly remarkable circumstance was, that the Rebels of 1817 seemed to have no arms, nor ammunition, nor drilling, nor other military organization ; a tumultuous meeting at Spafields, and a riot in some gunsmiths' shops, were their only tactics ; so that the armies, the magazines, the treasure, the excellent discipline both of horse and foot, which had rendered the Land of Lud so formidable to the neighbouring powers in 1812, had entirely disappeared ; and this mighty state had sunk into total oblivion, so as not even to be commemorated by the Secret-Reporters—a melancholy example of the vicissitudes of Empire ! This military commonwealth, however, had been, it seems, melted into a civil community of many hundreds of thousands, all linked in secret associations, and moved at will by the power of a London Committee. They were even represented as beginning to arm themselves, though no explanation whatever was given how they had come to lose their former equipments. But a formidable, though not a very unexpected enemy, soon began his operations against this confederation, in the shape of a plentiful harvest ; and, before the end of the year 1817, no more was heard of plots, armings, central bodies, combined operations, and Spencean schemes, than if Select Committees had never been.

Here let us pause, to mark the strange passion for political alarm that seems so deeply rooted in the people of this country, excited almost at the will of their rulers ; again and again agitating them to acts of violence, blinding them to the grossest impostures, beguiling them of all regard to their dignity or their interest ; changing only its object or its direction, but always ready to rise at the call of those who can serve their own ends by reproducing it ; and so entirely independent of reason, that no experience of its groundlessness one year, seems to cure the

general predisposition to indulge in it the next. We might naturally imagine, that when the stories of 1812 were so completely exposed—when the mere lapse of time had shown the impossibility of the plots then reported to be ripe for execution—the people, thus undeceived, would have been more slow to believe in similar fictions five years after; and, when this second delusion had been dispelled, it might well have been deemed a hopeless task to attempt the revival of it, under a new name, in three years more. The fable of the wolf represents most men as apt to feel too great security after having been deluded with false alarms; but, however unfounded our national panics may prove, the oftener they prevail, and the more groundless they turn out, we seem only the more prone to be seized with them time after time, and to act under the influence of each succeeding terror, as if all the former had been found to proceed from the rational apprehension of real perils. This peculiarity of our character, is perhaps in some degree owing to the free constitution, which makes every man more or less a politician; and thus enlisting the feelings of all in the discussion of each question, subjects the operations of the public mind to something like the agitations of a multitude, or a popular assembly. Yet more is required to account for such a succession of delusions; for certainly, though the people may err once or twice, and during a season persist in their mistake, they correct themselves if let alone, and become wise and rational by experience, unless pains are taken to keep them in error. But when the great influence of Government in all its departments throughout the country, is considered, we shall understand the facilities which the Ministers of the day always possess, when they are desirous of propagating a temporary delusion. Not only the avowed agents of power are everywhere at work, speaking the same language, and using their direct authority to enforce their doctrines; not only the press is at work weekly and daily to repeat, with every gross exaggeration, and even all the resources of the most shameless fabrication, the tale of terror which its patrons wish to have borne round the land; but all the adherents of the system, from expectation, or recollection, or mere vanity and love of importance, are eternally echoing the cry proceeding from above. It serves to silence their honest but annoying adversaries—it is better than a thousand arguments—it enables them to triumph for the moment, by hunting down as disaffected all who are slow to believe; and experience tells them how little risk they run, of being discredited at any one time by former convictions of falsehood or of folly.

We are now to see the application of these remarks to the

late alarm, closely resembling the former panics in all its essential particulars, except the more dangerous purposes to which it has been made subservient. We must premise, that nothing can be further from our intention than to deny that a general discontent has for some years prevailed through the country; that it has been on the increase of late; that it especially infects populous districts, like those where manufactures are spread; that it is ready to be turned by factious and unprincipled demagogues to dangerous purposes; that when distress prevails, it is always most to be dreaded; and that, to secure the peace of the State against its effects, demands the vigilant care of the Executive Government. Whatever be the more remote origin of this spirit, we conceive the load of taxation under which the community labours, to be the chief proximate cause of its increased diffusion, to which we may add, the generally prevailing distrust of the Government, from the alternate harshness and feebleness of its measures, and their consistency only in one point, a resolute, unfeeling, insulting denial of all redress of grievances, all economical reform, and all improvement, however moderate, in the representative system. That the old law of the land was amply sufficient to cope with the disaffected, had it been administered by steady hands, and accompanied with the spirit of conciliation, we hold to be equally manifest; and the folly of believing in any conspiracies beyond the one which we have been describing, must appear plain, if we only attend to the proofs on which, in an evil hour for their own case, and contrary to the sounder advice of Lord Grenville and Mr Plunket, the Ministers have choosed to rest it.

At the beginning of last July, the acting magistrates for the Manchester district, appear to have announced to the Government their apprehensions that 'some alarming insurrection was in contemplation.' They distinctly state the existence of great distress; and justly observe, that 'when the people are oppressed with hunger, they do not wonder at their giving ear to any doctrines which they are told will redress their grievances:—a circumstance very much overlooked both by Lord Grenville and Mr Plunket, who assert, that the disaffection is unconnected with distress, and whose view of the subject would, therefore, have been materially aided by proceeding upon 'the notoriety of the facts,' and producing no documents at all. The same magistrates add their expectations of 'a general rising at no distant period,' and mention two meetings as in preparation: But it is important to remark, that they speak of distress, and the harangues of demagogues, as *the only* grounds of

their apprehension; advert to no combination or secret plots; and make no use whatever of the word 'conspiracy.' In a fortnight after this, they adopted the excellent precaution of forming an armed association, to aid the civil power in keeping the peace; and, when the Manchester meeting on the 9th of August was advertised, for the purpose of choosing a Member of Parliament, or Legislative Attorney, they wisely gave warning to the people that such a proceeding was illegal. This prudent measure too had the desired effect; a notice was issued that no such meeting would be held; and another meeting, on the subject of reform only, was called for the 16th, after a formal requisition had been given in to the Borough Reeve to summon one, and he had declined. (*Papers laid before Parliament*, pp. 5, 9, 10.)

About ten days before this fatal day, we find the Magistrates communicating to Government the information that drilling was going on 'very extensively,' and at the same time that 'flags and caps of liberty' were provided in the neighbouring towns, evidently for adorning their processions. Soon after, depositions are transmitted respecting the system of drilling; and these testimonies deserve our most serious attention. They are *thirty-seven* in number, of which *nine only* are given with the names of the informants, the remaining *twenty-eight* being distinguished only by the letters of the alphabet; and of the *nine* which appear in their real names, *four* are the examinations of persons taken in the act of drilling, and the other five seem to have been spies sent by the Magistrates. But it is most material to observe how differently the nameless witnesses speak, and how much more strong these statements are. The persons with names, all, with one exception, speak of drilling in small bodies, and either at seven in the morning, or in the evening before nightfall. The *anonymous* deponents speak of meetings in the dead of the night, and in great numbers, and with a degree of discipline of which no mention is made by the others. Thus B. C. (*Papers*, p. 19.) describes an assemblage early in the morning at Tandle Hill thus;—we give it as a specimen.

'There was a concourse of two or *three thousand*; of which number there were upwards of seven hundred who were *drilling in companies*, by marching both in slow, quick, and double quick time, and in every other respect went through the usual evolutions of a regiment; that each company might contain from fifty to sixty men, and were commanded by a person in the character of a captain; that when they were ordered to fire, it was immediately followed by a clap of hands throughout the line; that, out of the number who were met, I knew a few persons who reside in Crompton and its neighbourhood; but,

of the men who were acting as drill-serjeants, or officers of companies, I know nothing; yet, from my knowledge of military discipline, I am satisfied they were persons capable of organizing a regiment; that, whilst I was on the ground, I heard persons say, that they (meaning the parties in drill) were fit to contend with any regular troops, only that they wanted arms; and, in the evening of yesterday, a man told me who had been at Tandle Hill, and who said he had been drilled that day, that a similar meeting would take place next Sunday, but that would be the last; that the persons remained on the ground until about seven o'clock, having been there upwards of three hours; and the whole of this time was devoted to drilling.' p. 19.

Now, we entreat the reader who may have recovered his sober senses, as well as him who never lost them, to remark two very material things in this willing and even zealous informant's story. The drill meeting which was to take place next Sunday was to be the last, says B. C.; and he intends that his employers should conclude (nor did they disappoint him), that the time for taking the field was then to come, and all this discipline to be turned to account in actual campaign with the 'regular troops.' But 'next Sunday' was the 15th of August, the jurat of the affidavit being the 9th; and the day after that was the Manchester Meeting; so that the plain meaning of the whole was, that these drillings were intended to teach the parties from the villages and neighbouring towns to form their procession in a more orderly and magnificent manner on that day, when a further occasion for such discipline would cease. Again, B. C. says, that only 700 of the 2000 or 3000 persons present, were engaged in drilling; therefore, the conspirators who were planning and preparing their traitorous designs, were actually levying war against the King, before a crowd of near two thousand spectators. Surely such kinds of High Treason are not very likely to overturn a State. If such *overt-acts* (we may well call them) should be laid with a *proditorie*, the term would seem applied rather to a betraying of the plot, than the duty of allegiance.

Passing over such discrepancies between the anonymous gentlemen, as that one could count 400 or 500 men at drill in the dark, at the same time that another could see nothing (p. 21.); and such improbabilities, as that a person should, in giving his first account of a nightly meeting, leave out almost all the most remarkable particulars, and then make a supplementary affidavit of them two days afterwards (p. 22.),—we may take notice of the depositions of three unknown persons (p. 21.), who all describe a night drill in such a manner as can leave no manner of doubt in any one's mind that the object of those concerned in it was innocent, according to their notions, and that it was to prepare them for bearing part in a procession on the 16th;—the

Captain, after exercising his men, having announced to them that 'their meeting was put off, *on account of their paper being illegal*; but that this would give them more time, and that they would want a colour, and twelve young ladies to carry it!'

Another witness describes a drill, or parade, or field-day (for it does not exactly appear which), as being held near the highway, and relates the march of the persons concerned in companies on the road itself, he having seen and conversed with them from the mail-coach, then passing through them (p. 25). Nor is there one single depositions, even from the anonymous witnesses, that gives the least impression of any mystery or concealment being used in the whole course of these proceedings. Their object appears to have always been openly avowed, before strangers, in crowds, and upon the highways; and against this incontestable evidence of facts, we are desired to set such testimony as that of three persons, who, without swearing to any fact at all, except generally to night drills, take upon them to say, upon their oaths, that the intent of that drilling is 'to qualify them for hostile purposes, against the Government of the country, and against the peace of our Lord the King, his crown and dignity, and to the disturbance of them these informants,' (p. 15.)—words evidently prepared for them by some Attorney, or Justice's clerk, who mistook the work he was set upon, and added to a Deposition the *but-end* of an Indictment.

But we should be glad to know, in general, why the names of all these twenty-eight personages are suppressed? What risk can they run by being known? The Magistrates and Constables all appear in their proper characters, and seem to apprehend no evil, though they are far more the objects of attack than their more obscure neighbours. Several even of the spies are named at full length; and one man who had actually been maltreated for spying, and threatened with death if he interfered again, is yet not afraid of coming forward with his testimony, and signing his name to it. Can any good reason be imagined for keeping back all the others? Have we not a right to conjecture, either that they would be found persons not of the best character and credit, or that their stories would be contradicted by responsible witnesses? Above all, it is most unaccountable that such meetings as those on the highway and at Tandle Hills, should not be described by any of the hundreds, and even thousands, who were present as spectators, and some two or three of whom might have been expected to give the account of what they saw and heard. It may safely be asserted, that they who prepared a case resting on scraps of de-

positions vouched by no names, may lay their account with an inference being drawn extremely unfavourable to their good faith. They may expect to be told that they have good reasons for suppressing so much; and they seem to do a foolish and inconsistent thing in giving such evidence at all, unless they chuse to tell more about it; for while they admit the necessity of proof, they in truth do little or nothing to furnish it.

All inquiry,—in short all methods of informing the Legislature of the country must needs be futile, except one,—the examination of witnesses: And, unless the subject is such as to admit of this species of investigation, it is infinitely better to allow measures to be adopted on the responsibility of the Executive Government alone, than to deceive the nation with the mockery of evidence. The kind of tribunal before which the examination shall take place, is comparatively of little moment; whether before the Houses of Parliament openly, or, where the subject requires secrecy, before a Select Committee, to whom the discretion may be entrusted, of withholding facts in some cases, and concealing names in others, as has been done in the most delicate of all inquiries, those concerning the affairs of the Bank. But that those who are to judge, should see those whose testimony is to guide their decision, seems a proposition too self-evident to require, or even to admit of demonstration. Even if the Ministers were suffered to pack the Committee, something like the truth must be elicited from examining witnesses; whereas, if the Committee be as fairly named as possible, nothing but deception can result from their labours, if they are only to read such documents as the Ministers select to suit their own views, and are not to have the power of putting a single question, or seeing a deponent, or even knowing his name. The fairest Committee must thus be wholly in the hands of the persons who pack the Green Bag, as much as if those persons had packed the Committee also. To take an example from the mistakes of the Committee in 1812; the false statement that Mr Horsefall was murdered in the face of day, before a multitude who rejoiced in his massacre, never could have been made, had the Committee, instead of reporting upon the contents of letters and reports from Magistrates, seen the person who gave the account, or had the power to call before them one or two by-standers to contradict him; for, in all probability, the least cross-examination would have shown the story to be a fiction; and no one could have confirmed it, because there were so few people near, that there was only a single passenger who could help the wounded man to a house at some distance, as afterwards fully appeared by the Crown's evidence at the trial of the murderer.

ers. In the same manner, many of the loose stories, rumours, and surmises, which the depositions of this year contain, if sifted by the smallest rigour of cross-examination, would have ceased to afford the least ground for believing in a systematic conspiracy. But the depositions, or rather such portions of them, and of their secret correspondence, as suited their own purpose, were laid before Parliament, without any of the checks which an examination would have afforded, before the most partial Committee that could have been packed.

We now resume this Evidence, such as it is; and, passing over the too well known events of the 16th of August, we may advert to the state of the other discontented counties. Each step we take will now tend to dissipate whatever portion of alarm may seem to arise from Lancashire,—for the whole case of the Government and the Alarmists is to be found there; and wherever greater forbearance was shown, the danger seems to have subsided of itself.

At Birmingham a meeting was held on the 12th July, for a purpose clearly illegal—the choice of a Member of Parliament without the King's writ. The worthy Magistrate who records its proceedings, begins by stating, that it 'was not attended with any breach of the peace, and that the whole assemblage had quietly dispersed before seven o'clock,' the hour of meeting having been nominally three. He adds, that the procession and ceremonies were ridiculous; the speeches far more moderate than in other places, and confined to the topics in vogue with Reformers; and that the whole members who attended, did not exceed 10,000, including a great portion of women and children, although the meeting had been represented as consisting of 25,000. The attendance of women and children, also, at the Manchester meeting, and their accompanying the processions which came from the country, affords a strong presumption, rebutted by no one ascertained fact, that those who took part in it had conceived no designs whatever hostile to the peace; and if it be said that the leaders had designs unknown to their numerous followers, we can only answer, that any meeting in the world, if numerous attended, may in the same way be accounted dangerous; both because large mobs are easily inflamed, and because a great show of numerical strength is, at all times, a mode of intimidation.

But the history of these proceedings in the West Riding of Yorkshire, is still more important in elucidating the nature of the supposed conspiracy. The first Reform meeting mentioned in the Papers, was held at Hunslet Moor, near Leeds, on

the 19th of July. The truly venerable and patriotic Nobleman, who happily was then at the head of the County, had arrived at his post, and offered the Mayor of Leeds whatever aid he might deem requisite, for enabling him to preserve the King's peace. That worthy Magistrate, however, required no assistance; and Lord Fitzwilliam then gives an account of the proceedings—which, as compared with that of the meeting held there some time before, merits all our attention.

'For the present, I have to report to your Lordship (according to the reports made to me), that the tone of these gentlemen was manifestly humble and much lowered, compared to that they assumed at the preceding meeting, at the same place; so much so, that even an inclination to petition Parliament was expressed;—at the close, the meeting was *dissolved*.

'I am given to understand, that scarcely more than half the number of the preceding meeting had assembled at this, and that the proportion of women was much larger at this than at the former: "It passed off without the least disturbance or tumult; and they dispersed in the most peaceable and orderly manner, without insult or affront to any one." I have reason to think, that such a termination of this meeting was foreseen by the Mayor, founded upon an opinion, that the mass of the population within his jurisdiction is by no means disaffected, nor seditiously disposed; though they are suffering most cruel privations through want of employment, the consequence of stagnation of trade. But I am told, that, aware of the cause, they bear their hard lot with wonderful patience and resignation; but the very circumstance of want of occupation, leads many to make part of the throng on occasion of such meetings, without being parties in the views of the leaders, or participating in their sentiments.

'It will be a happy thing, if the seditious and dangerous language that undoubtedly has been most directly held by these itinerant orators, can be brought home to them; the conviction of any will be a public good. But, bad as the men may be, and indefatigable in propagating their doctrines, their mischievous spirit does not pervade the mass of the population of the West Riding; on the contrary, from all I can collect, I report with confidence to your Lordship, that the peace, tranquillity, and good order of the Realm, will not be disturbed by these people.' *Papers*, p. 12.

Some days after making this satisfactory report, his Lordship went to the Assizes at York; and, during that great assemblage of the County, had a favourable opportunity of learning the prevailing sentiments of all classes, touching the real state of their several districts; and he found his own opinion both as to the cause and the extent of the discontents amply confirmed.

'I am confident,' says he, 'I speak the general sentiment of those present at York, in saying, that there is no cause for suspecting any disposition of the people of this Riding, to turbulence or commo-

tion : if there be any discontent in their minds, it has nothing to do with constitutional considerations, but arises out of the improvements in the art of manufacture, which diminishes the calls for their exertions and industry, and has become to them a real afflicting grievance. — I add likewise, as the prevalent and I believe universal opinion of the gentlemen I met at York, that no step that could in any way convey a suspicion or jealousy of the people's views and wishes, should be adopted ; but that, on the contrary, we should prove to them by our own demeanour, our opinion of their good disposition, and our confidence of their good conduct.' *Papers*, p. 13.

Thus it is to be observed, that, previous to the 16th of August, the meetings in Yorkshire had dwindled away in numbers and lowered in spirit ; and that the local authorities, though properly upon their guard, were in no degree alarmed or uneasy respecting them. When the affair of Manchester unhappily took place, immediately we find the spirit of discontent revived, and the meetings both more frequent and more numerous attended. On the 20th of August a meeting of 3000 was held at Huddersfield, and very violent language was used ; but it is added that the speaker was supposed to be a spy.* About the same time, a meeting as large was held at Leeds ; and the Mayor states ' a considerable change to be working among the reformers,' since the Manchester business ; to discuss which, all these assemblies were convened. At Wakefield, complaints are made by the Justices, of the ' great irritation occasioned among the lower orders by the laudable conduct of the civil and military authorities at Manchester ;' and ' various assemblages are stated to have been held there since those occurrences.' (*Papers*, p. 36, 37.) On the 27th of August, however, the Mayor of Leeds, having obtained an addition of cavalry, writes, that ' he feels perfectly confident ' in the sufficiency of his precautions, for keeping the peace at the great meeting about to take place. It is impossible to praise

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* It is remarkable that the orator, Mitchell, whose violence so greatly alarmed men at those meetings, and who is the person alluded to in the text, has since been arrested, and is to stand his trial for the seditious practices which he pursued, in order to seduce the unwary, and make business for himself with his employers in the Home Department. His intimacy with Oliver was the ground upon which the suspicions against him first arose, and in consequence of which he was turned off from the Hustings at the Yorkshire County Meeting. He now lies in jail for want of bail ; and, by a strange coincidence, the committing Magistrate was the very person who gave the alarming accounts from Halifax.

too highly the admirable conduct pursued by this excellent, active, and judicious Magistrate, affording so remarkable a contrast to that followed elsewhere with such lamentable effects.

‘ I sincerely hope the strong attitude we have taken in this respect, without hitherto interfering with the proceedings of the reformers, will have due weight with them, and deter them from going to the dangerous lengths they have in Lancashire ; and which, I am quite satisfied, is the object of their leaders. I am most anxious to avoid any contact with them, until they commit themselves by some breach of the peace, when I might be warranted in a decisive interference. — I have a strong objection, which I think it right to name to your Lordship, to make use of the yeomanry, except as an auxiliary force, and in case only of emergency. I perceive a strong hatred exists against this force, which is carefully cherished by all the reformers ; and if, unfortunately, we should require their services, the probability is, that in discharging their duty they would lay the foundation of perpetual heartburnings and animosity.’ p. 37.

This meeting passed off in perfect peace and quiet. (p. 38.) And another, much more numerous, was announced for the 20th of September. ‘ At one time 20,000 persons were present ; but the Mayor observed, that as these consisted, of the ‘ idle † and curious, as well as the mischievous,’ they, ‘ not finding attractions for them, began, with the women and children, early to retire ; and, before the business was despatched, the numbers were reduced as low as at the last meeting, not exceeding 4 or 5000.’ It is important to observe, that the account of this assemblage most closely resembles that of the famous Manchester meeting. Large bodies came from a distance ; they marched in regular order ; and they had bands and flags : But the Mayor was satisfied with having the constables, watch and patrol in readiness : he desired the troops to remain close in their quarters until they were wanted ; and the day was passed in perfect tranquillity.

Another Magistrate, who appears by exaggerating the numbers to be a great alarmist, states that the Halifax meeting, held on the same subject, October 4th, dispersed without any further disturbance than three or four of the ale-houses being full of people drinking after eight o’clock, the hour at which his Worship had ordered them to be closed, so that he was obliged to ‘ have them cleared by the constables by force.’ (p. 40.) — the people (adds, he) showing the worst possible spirit ; — of which the cause is pretty manifest. According to this sagacious gentleman, more than 50,000 were assembled,

† This word is, by an odd mistake, printed ‘ vile ’ — a word, we suppose, which many an alarmist builds upon in his argument.

and all, except a few thousands, from a distance:—but he did not see and count as the Mayor of Leeds did, who thereby reduced his estimate to two-fifths of the Rumours. ‘This place (he concludes) seems to have been well selected, being destitute of defence.’ (p. 41.) Then it will naturally be asked, what operations did the Enemy undertake? The place had been happily selected; there were no means of resistance but a few constables; and these were engaged in the very obnoxious and irritating work of clearing the alehouses, by force of this Magistrate’s Curfew Law. Never could the Radical army be expected to muster in greater force than 50,000 on one point, and in more advantageous circumstances. Why then did they gain no victory? Of course they must at least have made some attempt, and been defeated by a special providence, where ‘human means were none.’ No such thing—They all dispersed quietly; and the only reason given for their not overpowering the constables, is ‘a heavy rain which fell most fortunately, and drove home those who came from the country,’—that is, between forty and fifty thousand Radical troops! Truly, if that force yields to such resistance, our powder and shot may well be saved for more stubborn antagonists. Now, it is not a little remarkable, that the Magistrate who gave this alarming account, and whose terrors were communicated so rapidly to others, without any pause being allowed for reason to operate, was far from being a person of the highest consideration; he had been liberated from the County Jail, under the Insolvent Act, and had been sued, successfully, for the penalties, in consequence of having acted without having the qualifications required by law,—circumstances, no doubt, unknown to those who acted upon his written information, but which must have come out before any Committee that examined him, and which certainly would have somewhat shaken his credit.

The evidence relating to Cheshire, presents few points for consideration. It consists almost entirely of very general Reports from the Magistracy, expressive of their apprehensions for the peace of the county, from the discontents prevailing there and in the neighbouring districts; together with a letter from the Postmaster of Macclesfield, describing a riot two nights after the Manchester Meeting, and one from the Clerk of the Peace, shortly stating the atrocious attempt to kill Birch the Constable—an act worthy of all detestation, but plainly the deed of some desperate individual, and not shown, or even alleged, to have been the result of any concert whatever, much less to have had the least connexion with the Reform Meetings. The mention of it in these Papers, however, was sure to have some ef-

fect of this sort with careless readers, who regard principally the juxtaposition of things, and conclude, that a murder being found in the company of documents relating to the Radical schemes, it must have had something to do with those schemes. The evidence relating to Cheshire, however, is worthy of notice from two circumstances. The first of these is the change admitted to have taken place after the 16th of August. The Foreman of the Grand Jury transmits to the Secretary of State, together with public Resolutions of that body, a statement (dated 3d September), which he terms ‘*a private communication*’ (p. 30) from them; and the principal information contained in it is, that ‘within the last fourteen days, the danger, from active measures of terror and intimidation employed, had assumed a more formidable character.’ The other particular deserving of attention, is the statement respecting attempts made to poison the minds of the rising generation, by inculcating pernicious principles at the schools. We believe no one of the assertions so rashly hazarded in the course of these discussions, produced, and very naturally, half as much alarm and even horror as this; and the history of the tale affords so remarkable a specimen of the progress of all such reports from nothing to inaturity, that we must be excused if we trace it minutely.

Its origin, at least the earliest mention of it, is to be found in a Resolution passed at the Cheshire Quarter-sessions, August 9th, in the very heat of the alarm, which had indeed then attained its height. A month before, the same Magistrates had passed a resolution, expressing their abhorrence of the attempts made to disturb the peace of the county, and had incidentally made mention of ‘*blasphemous and seditious doctrines*’ as circulating among the ignorant and unwary. But the latter resolution makes a far more definite charge. ‘Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Court, that meetings are held in this and the neighbouring counties, for the purpose of training to arms and seditious purposes; and also, that there are schools consisting of some thousands of young persons, in which principles of a most dangerous tendency to the community at large are industriously disseminated; which facts can be verified on oath. And it is the decided opinion of this Court, that these meetings and schools ought to be suppressed; and if the existing laws are not sufficient for that purpose, that other laws should be immediately framed for their prevention.’ (p. 23.) Now, under such circumstances, could any thing be more obvious than the duty of those Magistrates to pursue an instantaneous and rigorous inquiry into these alarming particulars?—except perhaps the facility of performing satisfactorily so urgent a duty! The meet-

ings to drill may have been secret; and spying out such plots might be attended with danger; but schools where 'some thousands of young persons' were taught, whatever the lessons were, never could in the nature of things be concealed: This must have been an operation carried on in the face of day; and the more 'dangerous' the principles thus inculcated, the more impossible was it to teach them in secrecy. Yet what do these *active* Magistrates? They content themselves with saying, or rather with 'Resolving,' that this most appalling fact *can be* 'verified on oath;' But *they call no witnesses to make oath*; they give no particulars; they avoid the subject as soon as they broach it; and the Secretary of State directs no further investigation of the matter to be made. Yet the Papers are full of anonymous affidavits about training and arms, while any one of the Magistrates could, in half an hour, have satisfied himself openly as to the lessons taught at the schools. He had only to knock at the door:—If he was refused admittance, there was a case of grave suspicion; and he had only to confirm it or remove it, by conversing with any of the children, if the teachers refused to communicate with him. If he was allowed access, he must either have seen what lessons were taught, or something must have been hastily put out of the way, and the lessons changed. We ask any reasonable man, what possibility is there of such things being concealed, when the whole plot, concealment and all, must be known to 'thousands of children'? Now, as the proof by witnesses of such facts as are here only generally alleged, would have been most essentially useful to the cause of the Alarmists who prepared these documents, we are entitled to conclude that no such proof could be procured; and that is only saying, in other words, that no such facts existed. But again, the resolution of August 9th says nothing whatever of *blasphemy*; it only mentions 'dangerous principles;' and there can be no doubt that the authors of it had *political* doctrines alone in their eye, otherwise they who, at their last meeting, had generally mentioned 'blasphemy,' would have been too happy to furnish so remarkable an instance of the pains taken to spread it.

After the 16th, when men's minds on both sides were ripe for believing any thing, we find another body, the Grand Jury, only four of whom had been at the Quarter-sessions, declaring their 'disgust and horror at the odious and blasphemous publications poured forth throughout the country, in which the Holy Scriptures are held up to derision, reviled and scoffed at, and audaciously denounced as false.' And they add, that 'they contemplate with the most serious and peculiar anxiety and detestation, the *unremitting exertions* to poison the minds of

‘ the rising generation with the same horrid and detestable doctrines,’ (p. 31.) Now, we believe no one who reads this will doubt for an instant, that the Grand Jury, without having any new evidence before them, merely intended, in this one resolution, to embody the two statements of the Magistrates at Sessions; the first mentioning the prevalence of blasphemous as well as seditious publications generally; the second, a month after, asserting that principles of a dangerous tendency (without an iota of blasphemy) were taught in the schools. Four of the Magistrates being on the Grand Jury, had communicated, from an indistinct recollection, the two statements; and thus, in the eager credulity of the moment to swallow any thing alarming, a new statement very different from either of the former was produced, charging the schools at once with teaching the most pernicious blasphemy. But this is not the end of the progress which the tale was fated to make. Both Magistrates and Grand Jury keep entirely to the safe generalities already mentioned. But Mr Plunket, whose Speech will be read by thousands who can never see the evidence, thinks fit, in the fervour of his eloquence, to say ‘ that blasphemies have been fashioned by miscreants into Primers for the education of children—to inoculate, with this pestilence, those helpless beings, while receiving the first elements of knowledge!’ Now, is there any one who reads this, without knowing the actual amount of the evidence by which it is supported, who would not imagine that it had been proved, that little books had actually been composed and printed, in which the elements of Atheism were set forth in short words and large characters, and infidelity accommodated to the most tender capacities, in the way of question and answer, or by short apologues and fables? And yet the only evidence on which this rhetorical statement has to rest, is that which has just been abstracted from the ‘ Resolutions’ of the Justices and Grand Jury of Cheshire.

With regard to the state of the North of England, and of the county of Northumberland especially, we do not know if any one item in this strange tale of terror, and of the panic to which it gave rise, was half so operative, for the short time that it lasted, as the memorable statement of a Noble Lord who has the particular charge of that district, when he asserted, in his place in Parliament, that he had positive information ‘ that 100,000 men were actually in arms against the Government, between the Wear and the Tyne.’ This, it must be confessed, was a truly alarming communication: and the terror which it naturally excited was such as not to be immediately allayed by the consolatory reflection, that the whole population of the district alluded to could not possibly afford any thing like that

number of men of a military age. The correctness of the statement, indeed, is no longer defended in any quarter; and the advocates of the noble person alluded to have been obliged to contend, that his words must have been mistaken; and that, in his statement, he could only have alluded to the strength of the supposed conspirators *all over the country*. That there must have been a mistake somewhere, we are very ready to allow;—and also, that, if it existed on the part of that illustrious person, it must have been an innocent and casual mistake. But it is matter of notoriety, that it was given as we have stated it, in all the newspapers of the day—and made the subject of many terrifying comments, for weeks together, in the Ministerial or Alarmist journals, by means of which it contributed mainly to increase the general alarm, and predisposed the public to sacrifice the safeguard of their liberties to their protection from dangers so great and so imminent. It is most important however to remark, that not only is there nothing whatever to warrant or account for such a statement, in the evidence laid before Parliament, but that the scanty documents with which we are there presented, as to the state of this part of the country, concur with the whole of the rest in proving, that the danger of actual violence was altogether chimerical.

There appears to have been a large meeting held on Newcastle Moor on the 11th of October;—which is proved, from the letter of Lord Darlington, (p. 41), to have ‘quietly dispersed.’ On the 17th of that month, however, the worshipful Mayor of Newcastle, whose nerves appear to have been somewhat shaken by an alarming riot among the keelmen, that had occurred in the interim at Shields, and in which his person seems to have been in some hazard, writes to Lord Sidmouth, that ‘it is impossible to contemplate the meeting of the 11th without awe—more especially, if my information is correct, that 700 of them were prepared with arms (concealed) to resist the civil power. Those men came from a village about three miles from this town; and there is strong reason to suspect that arms are manufactured there: they are chiefly forgers. I have given my information to the Magistrates of Durham, it being within their jurisdiction.’ (p. 43.)

Now, this is the whole of the evidence as to the armaments and preparations for resistance in the counties of Northumberland and Durham. And it is worth while, to make one or two observations upon it. In the first place, the particulars or the general nature of the Mayor’s information, is nowhere given; there are no examinations or depositions transmitted—and not even an anonymous voucher produced for such extraordinary intelligence. In the second place, 700 men are said to have

come in arms from one village within three miles of Newcastle. We should like to know what village could have furnished such a contingent. If its whole population were Radicals, it must have contained at least 5 or 6000 inhabitants, to have sent out in one day such a number of men fit to bear arms. If the opinions of the people were at all divided, it must have contained 8 or 10,000. In the *third* place, those arms, the existence of which neither A. B. nor X. Y. can be brought to speak to, were confessedly *concealed*; and therefore *could* not be seen by any body, on the only occasion on which it is alleged that they were mustered; it is certain they were neither used nor displayed at the meeting. In the *last* place, though the letter of the Mayor substantially expresses nothing more than *suspicion*, and bears that he had communicated all his informations to the Magistrates of Durham, there is neither any information from those Magistrates, nor any traces of the result of the inquiry which *must* have been instituted on that information—although it appears to have been given immediately after the 11th of October, and the Parliamentary Papers are brought down to the 18th or 20th of November. It is impossible, therefore, to doubt that the information turned out to be erroneous; and that the result of the inquiry was to ascertain, that the suspicions of the Mayor were groundless; and that neither arms, nor armed men, had gone forth from this Vulcanian village. There is some *anonymous* evidence as to a few pikes being made in Lancashire; and we do not mean to deny, that there is ground to believe that a small number of such implements were provided in that district, after the fatal transactions at Manchester. But the direct evidence, such as it is, does not prove the existence of a dozen; and all the researches that have since been made, have not brought to light much more than that number. It is downright insanity to say, that the evidence before Parliament affords the slightest reason to believe, that there was any thing like a general arming going on amongst the disaffected, or any concert or preparation for a warlike insurrection.

A considerable portion of the Papers relates to Scotland, where there can be no doubt that the distress was in some districts the greatest, and where, as might naturally be expected, the discontent was the most marked, the more especially as these happened to be the most populous towns in the country, and contained a very considerable number of Irish labourers, who, when the bad times came, were of course turned out of employment, in order to retain the native workmen. The first Glasgow Meeting was held the 21st of August; and by the Provost's Report (p. 34.) 'ended without any breach of the peace, or even disturbance.'

The Magistrates judiciously made all suitable preparations, by swearing in special constables, and having military in readiness; but they did not interfere with the meeting; and no evil consequence ensued from permitting it to go on unmolested. The next Meeting, of which the Papers make any mention, took place at Paisley; but it should seem that one had been held in the interval at Glasgow; for the Provost, in the last quoted despatch, states his apprehensions of another much more numerous meeting to be held on the 26th of August. From this silence in the documents, we conclude that it passed off as quietly as the former. The Paisley Magistrates appear to have conducted themselves with the same prudence and exemplary moderation which distinguished those of Glasgow, excepting in the single particular of causing the flags to be seized; which unfortunately produced resistance, and this ended in considerable rioting. During the outrageous proceedings of the mob, nothing could exceed the temperate, conciliatory, and even kind demeanour, both of the Magistrates and Military. The Riot Act was read; full warning of this was given; the admirable precaution (which ought to be made a part of the law) was pursued, of posting up handbills among the mob, informing them that the proclamation had been made; and, after all, the military only acted, amidst the insults of the rabble, in such a way as to command general admiration. Several of the rioters were taken, and are now under prosecution; none were killed, nor even severely hurt; and the quiet of Paisley, as well as Glasgow, was restored, after riotous proceedings for two days, resembling, in the nature of the mischief, and in the description of its perpetrators, the riots that not unfrequently take place there without any kind of political design, or any concert whatever. Similar mobbing had disturbed the publick peace a few months before, and led to no serious consequences. In a word, the conduct pursued by those truly worthy Magistrates forms a signal contrast to the ill-judged violence shown by their brethren elsewhere: In the one place the law was administered in mercy, and the sword unsheathed reluctantly, by men who wisely, as well as humanely, felt that they had to deal with misguided children of a larger growth; in the other, an occasion of displaying power in all its harshness, seems to have been eagerly sought for, and even created, when it could not be found. Let the country contemplate the opposite results produced in the two cases.

The more general accounts given in the correspondence of the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Glasgow, also deserve to be considered. His Grace, in describing the irritation of his district, and the effects of the prevailing alarm in preventing persons

from uniting to aid the civil power, evidently ascribes the whole to distress, as its ultimate or producing cause. 'This part of the country (says that distinguished and justly respected person) is unfortunately surrounded by idle Irishmen, weavers and colliers, who create a general uneasiness.' (p. 49.) 'I must repeat to your Lordship (he says in another Letter), that this neighbourhood continues in a state of extreme distress; generally in want of employment, and under a considerable degree of agitation, all of which appear more likely to increase than diminish.' (*ibid.*) Lord Glasgow's Letter is quite general; enters into various statements of the spirit of discontent prevailing; and complains of the attempts made to pervert the minds of youth, without giving a single fact in support of his assertion. He speaks the technical language of the alarmists, and, like the rest of his sect, avoids all discussion of particulars. He prefers, with Lord Grenville and Mr Plunket, to stake the question upon '*general notoriety.*'

We have now minutely gone through the whole evidence laid before Parliament; and we venture to draw from it one inference, without the least fear of contradiction,—that distress is at the bottom of the whole discontent; that no deep-laid design exists to destroy the Constitution, or war against the Law, or invade the property of the country; but that, as always happens in a popular Government, demagogues have availed themselves of the bad times to further their views, whether of political speculation, or of personal vanity; and that these proceedings may have here and there overstepped the bounds which are prescribed by law. The history of these events reminds one forcibly of the insurrections which broke out in Henry VIIIth's reign; upon occasion of the first attempt to introduce an Income Tax into this country. The masters were forced, by the difficulties it imposed on them, to throw men out of employment; and the poor workmen in many places rose up and took arms, not being quite so shortsighted as some of our demagogues, who conceive such a tax to fall wholly on the rich, and hold that the poor are noway concerned in opposing it. The Government took precautions to quell the riots, and enforce the tribute; and the principal scene of operation being in the eastern counties, the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk were sent thither with a force to quell the insurgents; with whom, when they began to reason, and asked who was their leader or captain, an aged man, called John Green, stood forth and said, 'If it please you, Sirs, our captain's name is Poverty, and his brother Necessity;' and 'opined plainly the causes of their ferment to lie in the impost, and its grinding effects on their

‘employers, who could thus pay no wages. And after a while,’ adds the *Chronicle (Hall)*, ‘this tribute surceased through the land, and quiet was restored—for well it was seen that the Commons could none pay.’

If any addition were wanting to the proofs which we have given of the groundlessness of our late alarm, we assuredly have it in the important fact, wholly overlooked by the supporters of the new Bills, that the meetings, so much the object of dread, had in fact ceased all over the country before a single Bill was brought in. Previous to the 16th of August, we have seen how they were dwindling away both in numbers and violence;—the events of that memorable day excited a general ferment, and revived the drooping spirit of popular assemblies; and then this was continued and augmented by the constant irritation kept up in the public mind by the unfortunate course of judicial proceedings, both before the Magistrates, the Grand Jury, and the Coroner, apparently amounting to a complete denial of justice; so that for a few weeks more numerous and violent meetings were everywhere held than had at any former time been known. But no fact is more certain than the tendency of all popular spirit to evaporate of itself, if unchecked by persecution; and the difficulty of repeating public meetings frequently within a short period of time, where there is nothing done but debate, is well known to all who have ever engaged in such proceedings. Accordingly, the effects of the Manchester outrage, and of the subsequent course pursued by the Courts in the Country, by degrees subsided; and even to discuss those interesting and fruitful topics, no new meetings were assembled. The leaders of the multitude tried in vain to renew their exploits; the spirit of the capital was found to have evaporated in a great procession; that of Manchester was under the control of a salutary caution, and the indisposition to witness another 16th of August was manifest. The demagogues, both in town and country, began to quarrel among themselves, and to show some sense of justice in copiously reviling one another, both by parole and in writing; vain attempts were made to assemble even the rabble of London; and two Spafields meetings, lately the terror of all men, were held with hardly any auditors, to the laughter and pity and contempt of all the town; till at length the whole having dwindled to nothing, the last account, that lived in the recollection of the publick, was the accusation brought against one rebel chief of embezzling *four pounds thirteen and twopence*, and the arrest of another for about the same sum, being the tavern bill of a civic entertainment to commemorate the triumph of the popular cause! Strange, that the

Alarmists should have been so little comforted by contemplating these proceedings—these manifest symptoms of innate debility in the cause of the disaffected—these demonstrative proofs that the machinations of such miserable creatures never could hurt the State—and that whatever ferment might have at one moment subsisted, had all yielded to the operation of the ordinary laws of the land. But it was now said that the danger lay not in London. Here was a material change of doctrine; for the whole malignity of its character in 1812 and 1817, had been made to depend upon the influence of the London chiefs, and the universal ramifications into the country of a conspiracy, the root of which was planted in the capital. But, then, all ferment in the country had also ceased; no outrages were committed; not a meeting of any sort had been held, or even announced for weeks before the Bills were brought into Parliament, and for two months before the new measures were in force. How could this be reconciled to the accounts so lavishly circulated, and so greedily devoured, of the imminent dangers of our situation? Surely every man must have been aware that the prospect of restraints upon publick meetings would necessarily have forced on the crisis, had any such risk really existed; for those who really wished to meet, and those whose plan was to avail themselves of meetings to work their mischievous purposes, must equally have endeavoured to hold meetings while they were yet lawful: Yet not a meeting was called while the new Bills were in progress. Of all this there is but one explanation. The season of tumult, the time for being afraid of such assemblies, had passed by; and there never was any ground for the alarm which they had excited; nor the shadow of a ground for maintaining that the ancient constitutional law of the country, if steadily as well as equally administered, would not prove more than a match for all the machinations of discontent.

We have now seen two months more pass away in equal tranquillity; on which we shall only observe, that a more vile piece of empiricism never was practised than their's who now pretend to ascribe this quiet to their nostrums of last Session. The operation of the act restraining meetings, never could have checked the evil all at once, had its nature and magnitude been such as those men described; for that measure left so many means of holding meetings of the most dangerous description, that it would have been found wholly ineffectual, had real danger existed. For example, all meetings in buildings, however numerously attended; all processions, if without emblems; all district meetings; all meetings of whole towns and counties, provided discussion was not the object, including a meeting and

procession to bury Paine's bones, though attended by 100,000 persons—all these were left as legal as before the new law was passed. But, another most demonstrative proof that this law had no connexion whatever with the peace we have enjoyed since it passed, is the equally profound tranquillity enjoyed for an equal period of time before it was in operation at all. This clear point ought ever to be kept in view, in order to detect and confound the political quacks who would palm their pernicious drugs upon us, as having effected cures which had been completed by the regular practitioners long before their vile medicaments were compounded.

And now we have had a proof, if possible more striking, of the truths which have been inculcated in these pages. Having shown at large, from reason and probability; from analyzing the evidence; from known facts; and from subsequent events, that the danger was imaginary; we have at length, to crown the whole, obtained an ample admission that the authors of the alarm themselves believe it to have been so. They have chosen to dissolve the Parliament at the earliest day, instead of waiting for six months as the law allowed; and have thus flung the country into all the bustle and confusion of a general election, and suspended * the law which they had a few weeks before pretended to think necessary for preserving the country from revolution. Nothing can more clearly show their intimate persuasion that all the plots and insurrections had no existence but in the heated imaginations of their adherents, or the false mouths of their spies. Let them then make the only reparation the country ought to accept at their hands, by restoring those constitutional rights which in an hour of delusion they were suffered to abrogate.

We conclude with one or two more general observations. The two distinguished persons whose Speeches are before us, and, with them, the great body of Ministerial Alarmists, agree in maintaining, that the present clamour for Reform, and its attendant spirit of discontent and disaffection, have been constantly afoot in this country since the year 1793, or earlier, and have been uniformly gaining strength among us during that eventful period:—and the remedy they propose for this evil, is increased restraint on the liberties of the people, and on the freedom of speaking, writing, and complaining, which they for-

* The provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act are suspended from the Teste of the Writ—one of the many mitigations introduced by the Whigs.

merely enjoyed. Now we humbly conceive, that this very account of the progress and state of the malady affords a conclusive proof that *this* cannot be the remedy.

If these thirty years had been years of relaxed authority and popular encroachment—if the influence of the Crown had been all that time diminishing, and the democratic elements of the Constitution been proportionally multiplied and extended—if the Whigs had been all the while in office, and, in the wantonness of confirmed authority, had proscribed the principles of their opponents, and carried their own to unprecedented excess,—there might have been some reason to ascribe these new and progressive disorders of the commonwealth to this new and progressive disturbance of its wholesome constitution; and to expect that its harmony might be restored by measures of an opposite tendency—by strengthening the hands of the Executive, and restraining the license of the people. But it is but too notorious that our condition has been in all respects the very reverse of this. The thirty years during which this evil has been generated and diffused, have been years in which the power and influence of the Crown, and the burdens of the people, have been increased to an extent not only unprecedented, but unimagined in any former period—in which the Constitution has been almost as often suspended as in operation, and more restraints laid on the exercise of popular rights than for a whole preceding century. There have, in short, been more coercive and restraining laws passed in that period—more strength added to the Crown, and more privileges, and more money taken from the people, than any one before could have imagined possible. If these are the things that have been most manifestly progressive during that period, and if discontent and impatience, and loud and angry clamours for reform have been progressive along with them, it really appears more natural to ascribe these last symptoms to the former as their causes, than to suggest that they may be removed, by multiplying and adding force and activity to these causes. If there be any plausibility in the notion, that restraints and encroachments on our liberties are the causes of discontent, (and we cannot see any thing very extravagant in the supposition), we cannot but think it a strange way to cure this discontent, by increasing those encroachments, and multiplying those restraints. If a system of coercion and severity be the true cure for our present disorders, it is rather unaccountable that they should have grown up under such a system, and should never have been heard of till it was adopted. The discipline which is now proposed to correct our errors, has proved insufficient to prevent them; and was no sooner resorted to, than they spread and multiplied in all directions.

Might it not be worth while, then, to try the obvious and natural remedy, of endeavouring to satisfy the discontented, instead of stifling their complaints, and punishing them for complaining?—And would not a little Reform of defects and abuses—and a little Retrenchment of expenditure—and a little confidence in the people, be a suitable accompaniment to new punishments for libels on the Government, or new restrictions on the right of petitioning?

No long-enduring and progressive discontent ever existed without *reasonable* causes; and it is mere drivelling to talk of a general and increasing disaffection of thirty years standing being produced by the seductions of wicked and designing men. There never was an instance of such a course of complaining, where the main fault was not in the Government; and, though severe and repressive measures have always been resorted to, they have never failed to aggravate the evil, and to recoil on the heads of those by whom they were employed.—Such a period of dissatisfaction existed almost the whole time from the Restoration to the Revolution; and it was then treated very much as Lord Grenville is for treating the fit that is now upon us: But did the condemnation of Russell and Sydney—the persecutions of the Cabal—the severities of Jeffries, or the still more brutal and unrenitting oppressions of the Scottish Government, eradicate the evil,—or aggravate and force it on to a most hazardous, though glorious consummation? We have had one fortunate Revolution; but we want no more. It is an experiment far too full of peril to be steadily contemplated by any one who truly loves his country. But the guilt of bringing on such a crisis always rests on the Government which is overthrown: And that guilt uniformly consists in obstinately resisting those moderate and reasonable reforms which the long continued and progressive discontent of the people have shown to be necessary—and obstinately maintaining those abuses, without which it is absolutely impossible that any *such* discontent should have existed.*

* Since the publication of our last Number, there has a pamphlet appeared in defence of one of the two unfortunate clergymen who got into so serious a scrape, from their zeal upon the Manchester question. We then felt ourselves compelled to expose the great, but not inexcusable ignorance of these gentlemen; and one of them, Dr Phillpotts, not knowing it seems, when he had enough, has, in an evil hour, returned to the charge, and, as might be expected, got still deeper into the mire. We shall certainly not think of following this unhappy man through his new set of blunders, all deli-

ART. XI. *Œuvres Complètes de Demosthène et d'Eschine, en Grec et en Français.* Traduction de L'Abbé AUGER, de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres de Paris. Nouvelle Edition. Revue et corrigée par J. PLANCHE, Professeur de Rhétorique au Collège Royal de Bourbon. Paris. Année, 1819.

WITHOUT any ostentation of profound reflection or philosophical remark—with few attempts at generalization—without the glare and attraction of prominent ornaments—with extremely few, and those not very successful, instances of the tender and pathetic—with a considerable degree of coarseness, and what we should call vulgarity, particularly in his great oration—and, absolutely, without any pretension to wit or humour, to have acquired the reputation of the Greatest Orator

vered with the presumption which is called pedantry and arrogance, when accompanied with learning; but which is truly laughable when bottomed in sheer ignorance and conceit. One sample may suffice. He persists in saying, that the offence of conspiring to levy war within the realm, is a Misdemeanour; and cites Judge Foster, with an air of consummate self-satisfaction, to show that it is so. He then proceeds, in a truly edifying manner, to exult over us,—as if he must be right, and we wrong, because he has that great authority on his side. Never was there a happier illustration of the maxim, that a little learning is a dangerous thing: and never did hapless author labour more effectually to illustrate by examples the remarks of his critic. We had blamed him for interfering in legal disputes, where he must needs be ill-informed; he gives us a new and striking proof how full of risk such an interference is to the half-learned. In Judge Foster's time, the offence in question was only a Misdemeanour; but in 1795 it was made High Treason by a Statute in force at the time in question. So much for this Reverend controversialist.

As for Mr Davison, he has had the good sense to keep where he was: But we truly regret to hear of his ill-advised speculation of writing down the Radicals, by editing a Periodical Paper, called the *Englishman's Adviser*. Of this we have seen some Numbers; and a more complete failure is not upon record. Mr Coleridge's *'Friend'* was only tiresome, like some others who call on us weekly, under the same title. But the *'Adviser'* will never irritate like so many of his namesakes; for he will never be listened to for a moment. In short, it is a truly melancholy failure; and may stand at the head of such impotent attempts to go beyond our own line, and force nature. —Mr Collier is far better qualified to read lectures at Oxford, than Mr Davison to write a weekly newspaper.

whom the world has ever produced, is a peculiarity which belongs to the character of Demosthenes. In no other instance, in the whole range and circle of the Fine Arts, is the same ascendancy admitted with the same degree of unanimity. ‘Of the three Poets,’ for instance; ‘in three distant ages born,’ what critic has ever pretended, with any success at least, to class and place them in their due rank and order of merit? Is it not notorious, that, with one reader, the vigour and freshness of the father of poetry have superior charms; with another, the delicacy of taste and passion preeminent in the Roman poet; and, with a third, the learned copiousness of our own countryman? Not to mention the partisans of Dante, of Tasso, and of Ariosto, who severally contest, for these distinguished Italians, the point of precedence with the three, most usually admitted, Princes of Epic Poetry. To the Tragedians of antiquity, the same observation applies. The gorgeous declamation of Æschylus, the passionate eloquence of Euripides, and the measured stateliness of Sophocles, attract to each their several admirers and advocates, without being able to procure an admitted superiority. The same thing may be said of the Greek and Roman, and (if there be any who do not shrink from the comparison) of the modern Historians also. Nobody affects to say which is *the best*.—To take one instance more.—In a case, in which, amongst every description of readers in this kingdom, learned and unlearned, there is a more perfect (and we doubt not, in the main, just) agreement, than upon any other subject of criticism whatever,—we mean the almost universally prevalent opinion of the unrivalled excellence of our own Shakespeare—is not this very preference of the Poet of Nature considered, by our refined and fastidious neighbours, whose Capital, our Editor and Translator M. Planché, with no apparent doubt of its being universally acquiesced in, modestly terms the Athens of modern Europe, as a decisive proof of the remains of barbarism,—the ‘*vestigia ruris*’ amongst us? To Demosthenes alone, in that faculty which is common to the whole species, and one of its highest distinctions, and in which all mankind must have been, in some degree, his competitors, is the palm conceded by (nearly) the unanimous consent of ancient and modern times.

It is not our intention to do more than make extracts sparingly from the many things which have been written upon this subject; but we shall notice some of the most remarkable. The opinion delivered by Hume (in which he has been implicitly followed by Dr Blair) in his celebrated Essay upon Eloquence, is, of course, familiar to our readers. By no other writer, not

merely has a more decisive judgment been pronounced in favour of Demosthenes, but by none, are the peculiar qualities and distinguishing properties of his style more vigorously and happily, though briefly, portrayed, than by this most acute and ingenious Critic. After remarking that his manner is more chaste and austere than that of Cicero, he proceeds thus—' Could it be copied, its success would be infallible over a modern assembly. It is rapid harmony exactly adjusted to the sense: It is vehement reasoning without any appearance of art: It is disdain, anger, boldness, freedom, involved in a continued stream of argument: And, of all human productions, the Orations of Demosthenes present to us the models which approach the nearest to perfection.' How well this agrees with the testimonials of antiquity, we shall see hereafter; for the present we shall only remark, that this commendation of Demosthenes is in a style of decision, and even of animation, very different from the balancing and cautious system habitually adopted by our reserved and dispassionate countryman. It is manifest he must have felt very strongly, before he would have expressed himself so warmly.

Longinus is, obviously, a writer for *effect*. The different authors, who are the subjects of his criticism, are, in truth, little more than instruments for forwarding his principal purpose, which is to let his readers see what he himself can do in the sublime. In his often quoted, and, we suppose we must add, celebrated description of the Greek and Roman orators, for instance, in which he is pleased to compare the one to a thunderbolt, and the other to a conflagration,—what precise idea of their particular qualities can be collected—what distinct or individual picture of the leading features and characteristics of those great masters is presented to the mind? Apart from the principal purpose of showing off, we believe he might as usefully have compared them to Frost and Snow. This writer, however, in his general criticism upon Demosthenes, after having contrasted him with Hyperides, and, apparently, intimated a pretty strong opinion in favour of the latter, (as to the correctness of which opinion we have no direct means of judging, but as Cicero is against him, we doubt not he is wrong), concludes with the following laboured and remarkable passage.

Αλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ μὲν βελίον καλῶς, καὶ εἰ πολλὰ, ὅπως αὐτοῖσι καὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, (Anglice, 'saber at heart') ἀγαθὰ, καὶ τὸν ἀνταρσίου ἐκαστὸν εὖτε, ἔδει γὰρ ὑπερῖον ἀνταρσίου φοβεῖσθαι.—Ὁ δὲ ἔκδιν εὖτε τῷ μεγαλοφρονεῖν καὶ τῷ ἀρετῇ ἀλλὰ τὸν ἱδρυμένον, — ἐνθυμίας ἰόντων, ἡδύνακα πάλιν, πικρύνει, τῶς, — ἐκδιν, (ὁ κέρων) τὸν ἀπασιν ἀπρόσ-
τοι δυνάμει καὶ δύναμει, ἐκδιν ἰούσιν, φησὶ, ὡς δυνάμει ἵνα δυνάμει (ὁ γὰρ

ειπὼν διμίσθον ἀνδραγαθίαν) ἀθροῖα ἐς ταυτὸν ἵστανται, δια γὰρ το, οἷς ἔχουσιν καλοῖς, ἀπαύσις αἰετὶς καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν ἔχει, ἀσπίδι καὶ ἀβροσίᾳ καὶ καλῶς φέγγει γὰρ ἀπὸ αἰῶνος εὐφροσύνης.—καὶ θάττον αὖτις περὶ τοῖς φερομένοις ἀνιανθίζουσι τὰ οὐρανοῦ δύναιτο, ἢ ἀποφθαλμῶσι τοῖς ἐπαλλήλοις ἐκένε παύσιν.

Forasmuch, however, as the beauties of the one (Hyperides) although numerous, are not great in their kind,—are the productions of a person of no excitement,—are inefficient, and such as permit the hearer to remain unmoved, no one, for this reason, who reads Hyperides, is impassioned. But the other (D.) having acquired qualities of the highest order, and improved them to the highest pitch of perfection,—a tone of sublimity,—heart-felt passion,—a richness and copiousness of style,—justness of conception,—rapidity, and, in addition to these,—that which is his peculiar characteristic, a force and power which none have ever approached;—having, I say, appropriated to himself in abundance these, which ought rather to be deemed gifts vouchsafed to him from the Gods, than human qualities and excellencies, he thereby always surpasses all competition: and, as a compensation for his defects, he strikes down before him, as if with a thunderbolt, all orators of all times, and consumes them in his blaze. For it would be easier for a man to behold, with undazzled eyes, the lightning flashing upon him, than to contemplate without emotion his successive and various passions.*

Our readers will not fail to remark, (and therefore chiefly the quotation is made)—we do not say what efforts the rhetorician makes,—but into what agonies and convulsions he throws himself to give, if possible, an adequate idea of—what he seems to think, the more than human excellence of this Orator.

Cicero, to whose admirable proficiency and transcendent powers we have done no more than justice upon former occasions, and whose testimony, upon a subject of this nature, is almost conclusive, never speaks of his great predecessor and prototype, except in terms of the most unbounded and unaffected admiration.—‘It is perfectly astonishing,’ says he, ‘how much Demosthenes is superior to all the Grecian orators.’—In Græcis verò oratoribus quidam admirabile est, quantum inter omnes unus excellat.† Orat.—Upon another occasion, he thus expresses himself: ‘Demosthenes you may, without difficulty, pronounce to be absolutely perfect, and deficient in no particular.’—‘Plane quidem perfectum, et cui nihil admodum desit, Demosthenem facile dixeris.’—Not Plato more copious, not Lysias more simple, not Isocrates more finished, not Hyperides more acute,—not Athens itself more Attic.—† ‘Ne Athenas quidem ipsas magis credo fuisse Atticas.’ Practically, and judging by experience, and with reference to any thing which

* De Cl. Orat.

† Orat.

had existed, he pronounces him, as we have seen, absolutely perfect, and declares 'that what he (Cicero) was attempting, Demosthenes had achieved.'—† 'Vides perfectò illum multa perficere,—nos multa conari;—illum posse, nos velle quocunque modo Causa postulet, dicere.' Upon one occasion, he goes farther, and declares, as a reason for his preference, 'that Demosthenes had formed himself upon a model of imaginary excellence, and not of what had been known to exist in any person.'—§ 'Recordor me longè omnibus unum, anteferre Demosthenem, qui vim accommodaret ad eam, quam sentiam, Eloquentiam, non ad eam quam in aliquo esse agnoverim.' Elsewhere, he does indeed complain, and it is with a sort of apology for his own unreasonableness,—'that he is so severe a critic, and so difficult to be pleased, as not even to be satisfied by Demosthenes himself; who, though he admits him 'to be above all competition in every species of oratory, did not, as it seems, always fill his ears;—so greedy and capacious were they, and always longing after something immense and infinite.'—'Tantum abest ut nostra miremur, ut usque eò difficiles ac morosi sumus, ut nobis non satisfaciat ipse Demosthenes; qui quamquam unus emineat in omni genere dicendi, tamen non semper implet aures meas; ita sunt avida et capaces, et semper aliquod immensum infinitumque, desiderent.' ¶ It seems then that this wonderful man, by his unwearied diligence,—his everlasting application to one single object,—by constant reflexion and endless efforts,—in the Senate,—in the Forum,—at Athens,—at Tusculum, had been able to frame to himself, with difficulty nevertheless, a possible excellence,—an imaginary perfection,—a beau idéal, beyond the performances even of Demosthenes.—Just as no degree of dignity or of loveliness can be supposed to exist, beyond which art may not be supposed to reach; (the Olympian Jupiter was, we are told, a sort of concentrated Majesty,—and the Coan Venus a quintessence of Beauty);—or as in Geometry, no point, however remote, can be assigned, beyond which another may not be assumed in the vast and boundless regions of absolute space.

To Dionysius of Halicarnassus we refer the more willingly; because, though inferior to none in powers of composition himself, or of forming a judgment on others, he is, for some reason or other, less known and admired than he deserves. This distinguished Critic, as many of our readers are aware, commences his Treatise on 'The Oratorical Power of Demosthenes,' with a general definition of style, of which he (as does Ci-

cero) makes three kinds : which are usually called, the Austere, the Florid, and the Middle. Having discussed the general subject, he proceeds to examine, with much acuteness and sagacity, the respective properties and merits of Lysias, Thucydides, Isocrates, and Plato. He then comes to Demosthenes, on whose account, he observes, the preliminary observations and criticisms had been introduced, and begins his notice of him by the following (to us, at least, we know not what M. Planche may think), untranslatable passage.

Τοιοῦτον δὲ καταλαβὼν τὴν πολιτικὴν λέξιν ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὅτε κοινωμένην ποικίλος, καὶ ἰσχυροῦς πεισθεῖν ἀνδράσιν, ἵος ἔσσης ἐξίστη γινέσθαι ζηλώσης, ὅτι χαρμάλῃρος, ὅτι ἀνδρὸς· ἡμίγῃρος ἰσὺς ἀπαλῆς ἰσχυρὸς ἐστὶ καὶ αἰεταῖς· ἐξ ἀπάλην ὁ αὐτὸν ἴσα κράτιστον καὶ χρησιμώτατον ἦν, ἐκλογμένους, συνύφαντι, οὐ μὴν ἐκ πολλῶν διαλέκτων ἀπὸ τίλοι, — μαγματοπρεπῆ, λίην· — πρεττήν, ἀπειττόν· — ἐξήλλαγμένον, συνήθη· — πανηγυρικόν, ἀλαφρινόν· — αὐστηρὸν, ἱλαρὸν· — σύριον, ἀναιμῆν· — ἡδύαν, πικράν· — ἡδίκην, παρρηλικήν· ἑδὼν διαλλάττεσθαι τῷ μεμυδισμένῳ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ποιηταῖς Πρωτίως· ὅς ἀπασαν ἰδίαν μορφὴν ἀμοιρῇ μετέλαβαν· ὅτι διὸς ὁ δαίμων τὸς ἑκάστος ἄρῃ ἦν, παρακρούμενος ὅφεις τὰς ἀνδρωπίνους· ἔτι διαλέκτου ποικίλον δὲ χεῖμα ἐν ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ, πάσης ἀπαλήλου ἀκῆς· ὁ μᾶλλον ἂν τὸς ἀκρόσσει. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοιαύτην ἰσὺν δέξαν υπὲρ τῆς Δημοσθένης λέξης ἔχον, καὶ ὁ χαρμάλῃρος πῶς ἀπαδὶ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ ἐξ ἀπαλῆς μικρὸν ἰδίας.*

Demosthenes, then, finding the art of public speaking in this state,—so skilfully improved, and coming, as he did, after men of such excellence, did not condescend to become an imitator of any one style or person,—conceiving them all to be *half-artists* and incomplete;—but, selecting from all whatever was the best and the most useful in each, he combined and, out of the many, made up a species of composition,—sublime, yet simple,—redundant, yet concise,—refined, yet idiomatic,—declamatory, yet natural,—austere, yet lively,—nervous, yet flowing,—soft, yet pungent,—temperate, yet passionate,—differing, in no respect, from Proteus, celebrated by the poets of old for being able to assume, without effort, every kind of shape:—whether he was some God or Dæmon who deceived the vision of mankind, or, as one would rather guess, some gifted person, accomplished in the power of speech, by which he imposed upon the senses of every hearer. Some such notion have I of the oratory of Demosthenes; and this description I give of it, that it is composed of every species.

In another part, he selects a passage (and a very beautiful one) from the Funeral Oration of Plato, and then one from that part of the Oration for the Crown, which includes the celebrated Apostrophe, and places them side by side. He then proceeds thus,—

‘ There is surely no one, who has even a moderate skill in composition, and is not determined to wrangle and dispute, who must not readily admit, that the latter specimen as much exceeds the former, as the arms of warfare are superior to those which are used in Shows and Spectacles,—as real figures to shadows,—or, as the bodies of men trained up in air and exercise are to those which have been rocked and dandled in confinement and luxury.’

Οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὃς οὐχ ἀμελογήσειεν εἰ μόνον ἔχει μίτριον αἰσθησὶν περὶ λόγους, καὶ μὴ βαρκατος, ἢ μήτε δύστηρίης, ἢ τῶ διαφέρειν τὴν ἀρίστην παρακλιθεῖσαν λέξιν τῆς σφοδρίας, ὅσω διαλλάττει πολυμυστήρια μὲν ὅπλα πομπησιγῶν, ἀληθινὰ δὲ ὅψας ἐκδύλων, ἐν ἡλίῳ δὲ καὶ πόντοις ἡδραμεμένα σώματα ἰσθμίας καὶ ραυτῶνας διακρίων. *

The preference here given, our readers will observe, is over no less a writer than the one, of whom it has been said, ‘that if the Gods spoke Greek, which, if we had any faith in the Polytheism of antiquity, we should believe they did,—without doubt Jupiter would adopt his style. Again, (and it shall be our last extract), after saying, that when he reads Isocrates he feels himself in a composed and tranquil state, not unlike that which is induced by soft music, he goes on thus.

‘Οἶαν δὲ Δημοσθένες ἴναι λάβει λόγον, ἐκαστὴν ἴα, καὶ δαῦρο καὶ κῆρυξ ἀγομαι, παῖδες ἴτερον ἐξ ἐτέρου μεταλαμβάνων—ἀπιστῶν, ἀγωνιστῶν, διδασκ., καὶ ἀφροιστῶν, μιστῶν, ἐλπίων ἐνδοσίων, οργιζόμενος, φθονῶν,—ἀπῆλθε ἰα πᾶσιν μεταλαμβάνων, ὅσα κρεῖσιν ἀνδραγαθίας γυναικῶν. †

‘ But when I take up one of the orations of Demosthenes, I am wrought up to a pitch of enthusiasm, and am hurried backwards and forwards, and assume one passion after another,—distrusting,—labouring,—fearing,—despising,—hating,—now moved with compassion, now with good-will,—sometimes with anger, and sometimes with envy,—taking up, in succession, every passion that sways the human breast.’

We cannot go farther. Our readers will, at once, recognise in the description which this admirable writer, who is worthy of being a Commentator on Demosthenes, gives of his own hurried and varied emotions, the very effects which Cicero, in his glowing panegyric upon Eloquence, ascribes to the power of speech. Dionysius concludes by asking, ‘If, at such a distance of time from the transactions themselves, when all interest has long ago subsided, such marvellous impressions are made by the bare perusal,—What must have been the effect upon the contemporary Athenians and strangers who flocked to hear the Orator defend his own and his country’s cause,—and that, too, with a force and energy of action which

* Dion. Hal. Vol. 2. p. 298. Oxford Edition. Fol.

† Ibid. 288.

is admitted to have been foremost, if possible, amidst his numerous and transcendent qualifications? *—‘What,’ said Æschines to the Rhodians, applauding the recital of the speech which caused his banishment,—‘What if you had heard *the monster himself?*’ *Τί δὲ, εἰ αὐτὸν τῷ Σπείρι ἀκκουσέτε!*

After perusing these testimonials, to which addition might be made at pleasure, from persons of the highest authority,—themselves at once judges and masters of composition, if such ever existed, the first question which suggests itself is,—where are discoverable these astonishing properties,—these dispensations of the Divinity?—In what part of the Speech does the thunderbolt reside? By what peculiar arrangement—by what laborious and artificial structure—by what display of ornament, has the Orator contrived to attract such unbounded and passionate commendation?—To which our classical readers are aware that we must answer, that these praises have been bestowed upon compositions remarkable for simplicity, in the whole of which, we will venture to say, not one single ornament (for its own sake) is to be found; in which there are no splendid patches; where a vulgar appetite for tropes, figures and metaphors (no matter how introduced) must remain unsatisfied;—where, though the composition is so highly wrought, that one of the critics, to whom we have referred, bestows a whole page upon a sentence of a dozen words, to show the delicacy of its structure, and the disorder which would ensue upon the slightest alteration or transposition of any of its parts, yet would no one suppose that to the mind of Demosthenes was ever present more than one idea,—his subject, and nothing but his subject. Not that we would be supposed as flying in the face of such a body of criticism:—We perfectly agree with it, and are aware that, when apparently unadorned, he is adorned the most; but we notice this general abstemiousness observable in the manner of Demosthenes, not merely as peculiar to his character, but, in some degree, as illustrative of his powers. The less imposing and attractive he is upon a superficial observation, the more of substance must there be to justify such commendations from such judges. The truth is, that this vigour,—this tension,—this sublimity, of which we read so much, is not discoverable in detached parts,—in striking and brilliant passages, but in the effect of the whole. The Spirit and Power and Rapidity, which are so justly celebrated, and which, in the perusal of his Orations, we as-

* Demosthenem ferunt ei, qui quævisset quid primum esset in dicendo,—actionem,—quid secundum, idem,—et idem tertium respondisse. *Cic. de Cl. Orat.*

surely perceive and feel, are the Soul, which dwells in no particular part, but which pervades and vivifies the whole Mass.

Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus

Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet. Æn. 6.

To judge fairly, we must take the whole piece. The 'ex pede Herculem'—if ever an admissible rule of criticism in the case to which it is applied, which we much doubt, assuredly furnishes no means of judging of the merits of Demosthenes. An attempt to give the effect of any oration by a selection, or the merit of the whole by splendid passages, would be as hopeless as to produce an adequate idea of the bounding elasticity,—the matchless symmetry and ethereal attitude of the entire Apollo, by the production of a finger or an ear.

Some of the smaller Oration of Demosthenes,—and those too, which have contributed not a little to his reputation (the Philip-pics we mean), might be selected, in which not one ornament (in the ordinary sense of the word) or figure of speech is discoverable. A certain studied temperance and downright homeliness of manner, and a choice of matter illustrating and enforcing his view of the subject,—and never above it, pervade the whole,—mixed up, indeed, with an earnestness, zeal, force and passion, which account for their celebrity.—Even in the Oration for the Crown,—the most perfect, undoubtedly, and comprehending in it the excellencies of the rest, though every species of weapon in the oratorical armoury is employed,—poetic description,—indignant exaggeration,—inflammatory declamation, and bold apostrophe, yet is there not an instance, we will venture to say, (and we appeal to those of our readers the most confidently who have studied him best), in which they appear to be ostentatiously introduced, or in which they are not sustained by the surrounding passages of the Speech. They, indeed, more nearly resemble an occasional and accidental inflammation of the fervid and electric torrent which the orator is pouring on his hearers, than foreign and adventitious lights brought forward for mere purposes of shining and display. The sublime appeal to the manes of the heroes of Marathon and Plataea, to which we shall not be suspected of referring, in order to bestow, for the thousandth time, unnecessary commendation, or to compare it, as we have seen Dionysius did, with any effort of human composition, we notice for a different object. It is, perhaps, one of the boldest and most excessive, and, from the constant reference to it, we must suppose, one of the most successful of his Figures. Those, however, who will take up the speech at that part where Demosthenes describes the

jealousy and distrust which rankled between the Athenians and Thebans before the battle of Cheronæa, the removal of which formed one of the most successful feats of his policy and eloquence, and will pursue his lofty appeals to national honour, and the deeds of their ancestors, which called upon the Athenians, if necessary, rather to fall in a struggle for liberty and glory, than to pursue inglorious security in obedience to Philip;—those, we say, who follow up the preceding passages with any thing of an adequate spirit, will feel themselves, from the tone of excitement and elevation which surround it, upon a level with the sublimity of this most celebrated apostrophe. Let this passage, then, have its reputation: We shall not attempt to add to it; but we call upon our readers, when they feel, by actual experiment, how little this part *stands out* from the rest, to reflect what must be the tone of the surrounding parts to sustain what, if taken by itself, must be deemed such extravagance and excess.

In adverting to the apparently natural growth of ornament in the Orations of Demosthenes, and pointing it out as a proof of their excellence, we must not omit to notice how different is the conduct of his antagonists and rivals in this particular.—Æschines, whose general good taste is undoubted, in the concluding paragraph of his Oration, after having dwelt upon the laws, the breach of which by Ctesiphon formed the strength of his case (and nothing could be stronger), in the treatment of which subject he had been, of course, plain and simple and didactic, by design, without any previous excitement to justify it, breaks out, all at once, into this exclamation.—‘I then (I call you to witness—ye Earth, and Sun, and Virtue, and Intellect, and Education, by which we distinguish what is honourable) have spoken and given my help;—if adequately, and in a manner worthy of the violation of the laws,—as I wished;—if imperfectly, then only as I have been able.’—*Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ Γῆ, καὶ ἥλι, καὶ Ἀφροδίτη, καὶ Σοφία, καὶ Παιδεία, ἣ διαγινώσκουσι τὰ καλά, &c.*—Who does not perceive, that this sudden appeal to bodies and qualities, which had nothing to do with his particular subject, and hardly with any other, is a mere oratorical flourish? Accordingly, we find that Demosthenes, in his reply upon him, ridicules this matured and misplaced apostrophe, and charges Æschines with considering the controversy between them as an affair of the lungs, and, under that idea, bawling and mouthing *οὐ γὰρ, &c. &c.* like a tragedy hero.—The same observations apply, perhaps with more justice,—certainly more frequently, to Cicero’s style,—or, rather to passages which, though the admiration of schoolboys, are unquestionably the most faulty, and from

which, if he had not redeemed himself by the great body of his Orations, he would never have commanded the extraordinary admiration of more severe judges. In his Oration for Marcellus, in returning thanks to Cæsar for sparing him, and restoring him to his honours, he breaks out,—‘By heavens, the very walls of this Senate-house are impatient to express their gratitude to you, Caius Cæsar,’ &c.—‘Parietes, mediusfidiūs C. Cæsar, ut mihi videtur, hujus Curiae gratias tibi agere gestiunt,’ &c.—In one of his Orations against Verres, we have the following animated, and tolerably *sustained*, but, nevertheless rhetorical and *professional* passage—‘Should I paint the horrors of this scene,—not to Roman citizens,—not to the allies of our State,—not to those who have ever heard of the Roman name,—not even to men, but to Brute-creatures; or, *to go further*, should I lift up my voice in the most desolate solitude, to the rocks and mountains, yet should I surely see those mute and inanimate parts of nature moved with terror and indignation, at the recital of so enormous an action.’ *Hume’s Transl.*—‘Quod si hæc non ad cives Romanos, non ad aliquos amicos nostræ Civitati, non ad eos quī populi Romani nomen audissent; denique si non ad homines, verūm ad bestias; aut etiam, *ut longius progrediar*, si in aliquā desertissimā solitudine ad saxa et ad scopulos hæc conqueri et deplorare vellem, tamen omnia muta atque inanima tantā et tam indignā rerum atrocitate commoverentur.’—We are aware, that there is all that composition can do *to carry this off*; and there is excitement also—but the artist shows himself too strongly. But who would have expected from the second orator in the world, in the full possession of his powers, in a passage of no irritation,—a mere literary subject,—in praise of the poets, and his client one of the number, the following puerile declamation?—‘Rocks and deserts answer to their voice; savage monsters are arrested by their song, and stand still;—Shall we,—formed as we are by the best instruction, refuse to be moved by the power of song?’—‘Saxa et solitudines vocī respondent; bestię sæpe immanes cantu flectuntur atque consistunt;—nos, instituti rebus optimis, poetarū voce non moveamur?’—From these, and innumerable other instances which might be selected, but from which, we repeat, it would be most unjust to form a judgment of Cicero, it is quite manifest, that his art is much more upon the surface; that he is much more ostentatious than Demosthenes; and that, in such instances, sound criticism must often disapprove; as, indeed, we find the immortal orator himself pronouncing sentence, at a more advanced period of his judgment, against some early and fanciful, but highly-wrought passages of his own, from their very excess,

and because too far removed from the business, and bosoms of men,—*minùs aptæ rebus agendis.*

The next question is,—How is the ascendancy of Demosthenes to be accounted for?—We are aware of the fearful extent of this inquiry, and must confine ourselves within certain limits.—The language, rich as it is, undoubtedly, and copious and powerful,—expressing the varieties of moods, and tenses, and cases by most artificial and elegant inflexions, without the aid of our useful, but untuneful monosyllables,—will, shall, would, could, should, &c.—with the delicacy of compound words, which frequently assign qualifications and degrees to expressions, which, with us, are general and indefinite (to fear, to love, &c. means any quantity of the sensation, and is, *of itself*, indeterminate)—the peculiarity of the middle voice partaking of the active and passive nature;—this language, we doubt not, is an ingredient in the case, but we think overrated, and too much relied upon in considering this subject.

The true solution of this phenomenon is to be looked for, we believe, in the singular state and condition of Greece, and of Athens more particularly.—A Republic of independent nations, differing from each other in their particular habits and institutions, but united for purposes of general safety,—burning with the most anxious and jealous desire of surpassing each other;—brought into frequent contact and collision upon set and solemn occasions of Religion—of Games—of Spectacles;—nursed and impered into the most unbounded and bigotted nationality by the achievements of their ancestors,—a nationality kept alive by Poetry, by Oratory,—by Monuments and Inscriptions;—impressed with an unshaken belief (not very far removed from the truth), that whatever was great and good and virtuous and splendid, centered in, and was confined to their own territory:—Such a people were continually goaded and stimulated to exertion by the most intense rivalry and impatient thirst for glory.—The very narrowness of their limits, to which, in their firm persuasion, no accession of importance or of value would have been made, if the rest of the world had been added, by facilitating frequent intercourse, served only to condense the spirit.—The eager controversy for victory at their games,—the anxiety and interest in the spectators, and the infinite applause which was showered down upon the victors, serve to illustrate the course and tendency of our remarks, of which we purposely only give our readers a taste, without pursuing them in all their details.—‘Why do you not die, Diagoras,’ said a spectator at the Olympic Games to the father of two victorious sons,—‘Why do you not die,—for you cannot become a God?’—‘Moriri

Diagora, neque epim in cœlum ascensurus es.' In a nation composed of such materials, and in such a constant strife for eminence and superiority, the Athenians were, unquestionably, the foremost in the race of fame,—and that too of literary fame. We forbear to notice other particulars, which are only, incidentally, to our present purpose, and come at once to the study of Oratory.—Not merely from what they have left us, which would justify an *inference* of their superiority in the art, but from the *direct* testimony of Demosthenes himself, given in the most unsuspicious and undesigning manner, it appears that such was the contemporary opinion respecting them.—When he spoke for the Crown, Greece came and listened to him. This ascendancy we must, of course, attribute not merely to the peculiar aptitude of this most ingenious and lively people for making a proficiency, but to the vigour and earnestness of the pursuit. Eloquence was the road to honours and distinction; and the competitors for them outstripped each other in proportion to their acquirement and success. Now this we take to be the solution. 'Honos alit artes,' says Cicero most truly, 'omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloriæ;' and the quantity of exertion is sure to be in proportion to the ardency of the love of fame. And as in Greece, generally, and particularly at Athens, the intensity of this glorious passion was, for the reasons we have generally alluded to, greater we believe than it ever was in any other country, it would only be reasonable to expect, and accordingly we are informed, that there were greater exertions made in cultivating public speaking, than there can have been anywhere else,—and this accounts for excellence.—Our readers are aware, that Fielding has *proved satisfactorily*, in his dry and humorous manner, that an author will write something better, for knowing something of his subject; but we are persuaded that our readers will not require us to make out, by regular deduction, that a man who employs his whole life in one pursuit, is likely to excel another who applies only one-tenth part of the time to it.

If our limits would allow us, we should abstain from entering into particulars of the *midnight lamp* and labours of Demosthenes. Cicero abounds in them, and Plutarch still more. We will confine ourselves to one slight circumstance. He could not, it seems, pronounce the first letter of his own profession, the *ρ* in *Rhetor*; a letter, by the way, which sticks in the throats of no inconsiderable part of the inhabitants of this Empire. How few, we would ask, amongst us, even in the educated classes, who have once been fairly infected with this impediment, have the courage and resolution to conquer a defect,—un-

pleasant in conversation, but, for any of the higher exertions of elocution, fatal? Yet Demosthenes, we are told, by some means or other (we wish we had an easier receipt than his, for the sake of some of our nearest English neighbours) contrived, by perseverance, to vanquish the difficulty, and to articulate the stubborn guttural *most plainly*. ‘*Exercitatione fecisse, ut plenissime diceret!*’ Cicero’s exertions were equal. His Life is before us in his works; and from them it appears, that he literally never said, or did, or thought of any thing else but in what manner to improve himself in oratory. The consequence has been, that if the world should last ten times as long as it has done already, we believe he never will be surpassed in mere composition.

When Demosthenes and Cicero concur expressly upon any subject connected with eloquence, he must be a bold man who differs from them. Now the former, in his Oration for the Crown, in the only passage in which he speaks of his own talent, and the latter in his principal Treatise, declares, that *the audience* forms the speaker. With reference to Demosthenes, Cicero observes of the Athenians, ‘that their judgment was always correct and genuine; so that an orator, who court-
ed their approbation, never durst venture to use a single unauthorized or offensive expression.’—‘*Semper oratorum eloquentiæ moderatrix fuit auditorum prudentia.*’ And again, of the Athenians, in the same passage—‘*Semper fuit prudens sintercumq. judicium, nihil ut possent nisi incorruptum audire et elegans. Eorum religioni cum serviret orator, nullum verbum insolens, nullum odiosum ponere audebat.*’ *Orat.*

After this, we will not stop to discuss the qualities of the Athenian *Mob*, as contrasted with the British Senate, or incur the hazard of a Breach of Privilege, by any opinion we might express;—but this at least is certain, that in one most essential particular affecting the very business of a speaker, Demosthenes had a manifest advantage, in possessing an audience perfectly open to persuasion.—Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of such a government, it furnished materials most fit for eloquence to work upon. The people, themselves the Legislators, if convinced by what they heard, manifested their conviction by instant adoption.—The power of the orator was confessed,—the effect immediate,—his triumph complete.—Now, let us see how the case is in the British House of Commons, which, from the spirit of inquiry amongst our countrymen,—their love of liberty, the parent and nurse of eloquence,—their information, as well as from the freedom of debate, which has obtained there for more than a century—and, above all, from the weighty and

interesting subjects of discussion, must be considered the principal theatre for oratory in modern times. In that assembly, then, can any Member, judging from experience and observation, reasonably hope to produce that effect, which Cicero justly considers so honourable and so gratifying—*mentes impellere quò velit, unde autem vellet, deducere?*—May not the Division usually be predicted before the commencement of the debate?—Are not the opinions of honourable Members securely deposited in their heads, or in their pockets, or in some place of security into which Eloquence cannot penetrate?—Is it not a fact, of obvious and indisputable notoriety, that the greatest speakers on both sides of the question (and they cannot both be right) do frequently exhibit their powers without obtaining a single convert—without procuring a single vote?—And can the same animation,—the same energy,—and, in one word; the same eloquence be expected, where there is no possible chance of producing (that which is the primary object—the obvious use—the legitimate end of all speaking)—conviction, and conviction manifested by the overt act of adopting or rejecting the measure which the orator recommends, or from which he dissuades?—If it be said that, as to the effect within doors, this may be true; The speaker may no doubt, in one sense, consider himself, by a sort of reflex operation, as convincing the distant inhabitants of Cumberland or Cornwall.—But so may a writer composing in his closet: And surely it cannot be said, (as assuredly it has never yet been supposed), that such an obscure and remote anticipation of we know not what success, can be compared to the spirit-stirring effect—the electrical excitement of a numerous, attentive, and, above all, a *convertible* audience.

In many respects, the Trial by Jury, as practised in this country, seems much better calculated to elicit and encourage this admirable talent. Their integrity—their impartiality—their openness, approaching to facility, to impression, are all strong excitements to exertion, and calculated to lead to success. The nature of the subjects, indeed, which come before them, so generally incapable of ornament, and devoid of interest, and the peculiar study of those who address them,—a study, which, though Burke says (we know not how truly) it does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding than all other sciences put together, is an enemy to good taste and composition, and often seems to thrive best without them,—these, undoubtedly, are serious objections. Yet we have seen, from the Speeches of Lord Erskine, both public and private, and since, from a defence of an alleged libel upon the subject of military punishments by Mr Brougham, what might be expected if sub-

did; and, what is beyond comparison the highest of all possible stimulants, *he saw and felt* that he was doing at the time. He tells us so, or rather he told them so at the moment. Secure of this point, but not satisfied, and not permitting the advantage gained to be even a stage and resting-place in his lofty career;—animated by success, and conscious of his strength,—in the midst of universal inflammation—of his audience and of himself, he proceeded to deliver that victorious and triumphant passage, which contributed, doubtless, largely to the deliverance of his client, and will remain an everlasting monument of his own glory, whilst the name of England and its language shall endure.—‘What’ we can only add with *Æschines*,—‘what if we had heard him?’

Large, however, and ample as have been our commendations of this celebrated oration, we cannot conclude (though at the utmost verge of our limits) without observing that no speaker has approached so nearly, in general resemblance and manner, to Demosthenes, as Mr Fox. No politician, we believe, and few scholars, understood and admired the old master more perfectly. Many striking properties and qualities were the same in both.—A certain sincerity and open-heartedness of manner,—an apparently entire and thorough conviction of being in the right,—an everlasting pursuit of, and entire devotion to the subject, to the seeming neglect and forgetfulness of every thing else,—an abrupt tone of vehemence and indignation,—a steadfast love of freedom, and corresponding hatred of oppression in all its forms,—a natural and idiomatic style,—vigour, argument, power—these were characteristics equally of the Greek and English orator. Even in the details, in their hurried and hasty transitions,—in their use of parentheses to get rid of minor topics as they proceed, and in the general structure of sentences, it would not be difficult to point out frequent similarity.—But we must have done.—Possibly, when M. Planche shall have published his Translation of the Oration for the Crown (which we collect, from his Preface, is ready), we may resume the subject;—and *possibly*, though it would be with the utmost diffidence, and without professing to do one-twentieth part of what M. Planche seems to think he has performed, we may attempt to give our readers an English specimen of the orator himself.

We must, of necessity, confine ourselves to a hasty and rapid notice of the performance of M. Planche, and we shall begin with that part of it, which we can speak of with approbation. He tells us, in the Preface, that great exertions have been made to give the text faithfully and correctly: and we believe him. It, certainly, does appear to be given, with great

accuracy, from the best editions, and with minute attention to the printing. We have discovered no blunder; and the punctuation, moreover, is made with some reference to the sense, which, in many common editions, is so far from being the case, that, if the stops were regarded, there would, frequently, be no making any thing of many passages. When we come to the next part of M. Planche's execution, however, our praises must stop. We had to notice, in our last Number, that the French plume themselves, not a little, upon the science of Book-making; and here we have it upon the most improved recipe. Three-fourths of the first volume are consumed, before we get to the work. We have Treatises on Oratory—(of which the world was full already)—Oratory in general,—Oratory in particular,—Greek Oratory,—Latin Oratory,—(of course) French Oratory,—and how to acquire it, 'Moyens d'acquérir la véritable Éloquence;'—'Portrait des Atheniens,'—'Portrait des Romains,'—(we don't stop to inquire wherefore)—Tableau précis de toute la Grece;—Treatises on Laws,—Treatises on Customs,—Treatises on War—and God knows what not,—each, in itself, too small to give the slightest useful information, but capable, by their countless number, of filling up 369 mortal pages. Then we have again, Reflections on Translation in general, and Translation in particular,—'Reflexions sur la Traduction en general,' and 'Reflexions sur la Traduction des Orateurs.' Upon the general subject, he has fallen, unwittingly, we must presume, into much the same course of remark as we adopted in our Review of a Translation of Cicero, Vol. 22. Some of the difficulties, which we there enumerated, are adverted to, not so much to show an apprehension of them, as a confident expectation of mastering them. His acquaintance with the Greek he does not put his readers to the trouble of finding out. He has, it seems also, an enthusiastic admiration of his author, and some opinion of himself.—But the French!—the language of modern Athens!—Upon this he places no small reliance.—Always is it equal to his purpose;—never has it failed him.—'Aussi je déclare, que si je ne pas rendu toutes les beautés de mes originaux, il faut l'imputer à l'incapacité du Tradacteur, et non à la pauvreté de la langue.'—Then we learn that it is soft, vigorous, precise, harmonious,—'douce, forte, précise, harmonieuse,' (Pref. p. 27.); and again that it possesses 'clearness, neatness, a lively turn of expression, force, delicacy, simplicity, nobleness, softness, precision, harmony, and imitative harmony;' and moreover (what was reserved for the discovery of M. Planche) an astonishing resemblance to the Greek!—'En lisant, et, surtout, en traduisant j'ai aperçu moi-même, entre

same sentence, though it has *some* meaning, p. 144. In p. 147, Αἰδὲ τοιαῦται πολίταις is sunk into l'abus, and συνήθεις not touched. In the same page, τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακίευσθαι is mistranslated 'heureux dans vos Assemblées.' In p. 167, διορμυγμένα, separated, cut off—*trenched off* from each other, is feebly and imperfectly given by a long periphrasis. In 171, ἀνέχονται, 'hold back,' is not translated at all, and ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποιήκει τὰ τῶν Ελλήνων πράγματα, (same page) 'turned the affairs of the Greeks upside down,'—*lopsylurvy* is too coarse for the *modern Attic*, we presume, and passed by accordingly.—But we must have done; and can only take another instance, which M. Planche himself has selected as a specimen (and we surely must suppose it to be a favourable one) of his being able to give the form and spirit of the original. He gives the passage, and a remarkable one it is, in his Preface; and remarks, very properly, upon the failure of Laharpe, who renders it in such a manner that he might as well have said, generally, 'Here the orator said something 'about going as Ambassador to Thebes.' It runs thus—

Ὅτι εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔρρευσεν δὲ ἑδὲ ἔγραψα μὲν, ἐκ ἐπείσβευσαν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐπείσβευσαν μὲν, ἐκ ἔπεισαν δὲ Θεβαίους.—ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, διὰ πάντων, ἀχρεΐης ἰελευΐης διεξήλθοι, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἐρασίην ὑμῖν ἀπλῶς, εἰς τὴν περιετοκίαν τῇ πόλει κινδύνους.*

M. Planche translates thus. 'Je ne me contentai pas de proposer mon avis sans rediger le decret, ni de rediger le decret sans me charger de l'ambassade, ni de me charger de l'ambassade sans persuader les Thebans; mais depuis le commencement jusqu'à la conclusion de cette affaire, je fis tout ce qui pouvait en assurer le succès, et je me livrai sans reserve à tous les perils dont la republique était environnée.' And we have no difficulty in admitting, that this is well;—si sic omnia! The beginning is given with great fidelity and spirit, though 'mon avis' is hardly a translation of ταῦτα; but, as if weary of well-doing, he flags at the end.—διὰ πάντων is wholly omitted, and the essential and descriptive word διεξήλθοι is let down to 'je fis tout ce qui pouvait en assurer le succès;' and lastly, (though this is of less importance), Demosthenes does not say he gave himself up to the perils, &c., but to his country—οὐμῖν. We attempt the passage as follows,—but, it must be remembered, in homely English,—which, of course, cannot vie with the *modern Attic* in 'force, clearness, nobleness, harmony,' and so forth.

'Nor did I propose these measures, and not reduce them into the form of a Decree;—nor did I reduce them into the form of a Decree, and not go as Ambassador; nor did I go as Ambassador, and not

convert * the Thebans,—but from the beginning,—throughout the whole,—to the very end, I went through, and gave myself up to You, without reserve, against the perils which surrounded the country.’

We have given ‘*through*’ twice, because in the original it is so, and *û*; we render ‘*against*,’ which it must be, or ‘*as to*,’ or ‘*for the purposes of*;’ for it cannot be ‘*in*,’ as usually translated.

There is one consideration, it seems, which has induced M. Planche to bring forward his present work, which it is impossible to pass over without expressing some interest. The introduction of the Representative System, and, in consequence, of a larger share of popular Influence in the Government, are assigned by him as a reason for attempting to make his countrymen acquainted with these precious remains of Antiquity. Most heartily do we wish M. Planche success in this part of his undertaking; and that our volatile neighbours, by catching some portion of that spirit which blazes out in every page of these immortal works, may acquire and preserve a zealous and steady attachment to genuine and practicable Freedom, which they have hitherto seen dimly and obscurely in long perspective, and of the benefit of which they have begun, of late only, to feel some effects.

* We might have quoted this passage, when we were noticing the advantage of Demosthenes, in having *convertible* Audiences. He considered this conversion of the Thebans as a great triumph.

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THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,

MAY, 1820.

N^o LXVI.

- ART. I. *The Life of the Right Honourable John Philpot Curran, late Master of the Rolls in Ireland.* By his Son, WILLIAM HENRY CURRAN, Barrister-at-Law. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. 970. London, 1819.

THIS is really a very good book; and not less instructive in its moral, and general scope, than curious and interesting in its details. It is a mixture of Biography and History—and avoids the besetting sins of both species of composition—neither exalting the hero of the biography into an idol, nor deforming the history of a most agitated period with any spirit of violence or exaggeration. It is written, on the contrary, as it appears to us, with singular impartiality and temper—and the style is not less remarkable than the sentiments: For though it is generally elegant and spirited, it is without any of those peculiarities which the age, the parentage, and the country of the author, would lead us to expect:—And we may say, indeed, of the whole work, looking both to the matter and the manner, that it has no defects from which it could be gathered that it was written either by a Young man—or an Irishman—or by the Son of the person whose history it professes to record—though it has attractions which probably could not have existed under any other conditions. The distracting periods of Irish story are still almost too recent to be fairly delineated—and no Irishman, old enough to have taken a part in the transactions of 1780 or 1798, could well be trusted as their historian—while no one but a native, and of the blood of some of the chief actors, could be sufficiently acquainted with their motives and characters, to communicate that life and interest to the details which shine out in so many passages of the volumes before us. The incidental light which they throw upon the national character and state of society in Ireland, and the continual illustrations

they afford of their diversity from our own, is perhaps of more value than the particular facts from which it results; and stamp upon the work the same peculiar attraction which we formerly ascribed to Mr Hardy's life of Lord Charlemont.

To qualify this extraordinary praise, we must add, that the limits of the private and the public story are not very well observed, nor the scale of the work very correctly regulated as to either; so that we have alternately too much and too little of both:—that the style is rather wordy and diffuse, and the extracts and citations too copious; so that, on the whole, the book, like some others, would be improved by being reduced to little more than half its present size—a circumstance which makes it only the more necessary that we should endeavour to make a manageable abstract of it, for the use of less patient readers.

Mr Curran's parentage and early life are now of no great consequence. He was born, however, of respectable parents, and received a careful and regular education. He was a little wild at college; but left it with the character of an excellent scholar, and was universally popular among his associates, not less for his amiable temper than his inexhaustible vivacity. He wrote baddish verses at this time, and exercised himself in theological discourses: for his first destination was for the Church, and he afterwards took to the Law, very much to his mother's disappointment and mortification—who was never reconciled to the change—and used, even in the meridian of his fame, to lament what a mighty preacher had been lost to the world,—and to exclaim, that, but for his versatility, she might have died the mother of a Bishop! It was better as it was. Unquestionably he might have been a very great preacher; but we doubt whether he would have been a good parish priest, or even an exemplary bishop.

Irish lawyers are obliged to keep their terms in London; and, for the poorer part of them, it seems to be but a dull and melancholy noviciate. Some of his early letters, with which we are here presented, give rather an amiable and interesting picture of young Curran's feelings in this situation, separated at once from all his youthful friends and admirers, and left without money or recommendation in the busy crowds of a colder and more venal people. During the three years he passed in the metropolis, he seems to have entered into no society, and never to have come in contact with a single distinguished individual. He saw Garrick on the stage, and Lord Mansfield on the bench; and this exhausts his list of illustrious men in London. His only associates seem to have been a few of his countrymen, as poor and forlorn as himself. Yet the life

they lived seems to have been virtuous and honourable. They contracted no debts, and committed no excesses. Curran himself rose early, and read diligently till dinner; and, in the evening he usually went, as much for improvement as relaxation, to a sixpenny debating club. For a long time, however, he was too nervous and timid to act any other part than that of an auditor, and did not find even the germ of that singular talent which was afterwards improved to such a height, till it was struck out as it were by an accidental collision in this obscure arena. He used often to give an account of this in after life himself; and as the following seems to have been taken down by the author from his own lips, we gladly take the opportunity of inserting it, both as the most authentic account of the fact, and as a specimen of that colloquial pleasantry for which he is here so lavishly commended.

‘ One day after dinner, an acquaintance, in speaking of his eloquence, happened to observe that it must have been born with him. “ Indced, my dear sir,” replied Mr Curran, “ it was not; it was born three and twenty years and some months after me; and, if you are satisfied to listen to a dull historian, you shall have the history of its nativity.

“ When I was at the Temple, a few of us formed a little debating club—poor Apjohn, and Duhigg, and the rest of them! they have all disappeared from the stage; but my own busy hour will soon be fretted through, and then we may meet again behind the scenes. Poor fellows! they are now at rest; but I still can see them, and the glow of honest bustle on their looks, as they arranged their little plan of honourable association (or, as Pope would say, ‘ gave their little senate laws,’) ~~where~~ all the great questions in ethics and politics (there were no gagging bills in those days) were to be discussed and irrevocably settled. Upon the first night of our assembling, I attended, my foolish heart throbbing with the anticipated honour of being styled ‘ the learned member that opened the debate,’ or ‘ the very eloquent gentleman who has just sat down.’ I stood up—the question was Catholic claims or the Slave trade, I protest I now forget which, but the difference, you know, was never very obvious—my mind was stored with about a folio volume of matter, but I wanted a preface, and for want of a preface the volume was never published. I stood up, trembling through every fibre; but remembering that in this I was but imitating Tully, I took courage, and had actually proceeded almost as far as ‘ Mr Chairman,’ when, to my astonishment and terror, I perceived that every eye was riveted upon me. There were only six or seven present, and the little room could not have contained as many more; yet was it, to my panic-struck imagination, as if I were the central object in nature, and assembled millions were gazing upon me in breathless expectation. I became dismayed and

dumb; my friends cried 'hear him!' but there was nothing to hear. My lips, indeed, went through the pantomime of articulation, but I was like the unfortunate fiddler at the fair, who upon coming to strike up the solo that was to ravish every ear, discovered that an enemy had maliciously soaped his bow. So you see, sir, it was not born with me. However, though my friends, even Apjohn, the most sanguine of them, despaired of me, the *cacoethes loquendi* was not to be subdued without a struggle. I was for the present silenced, but I still attended our meetings with the most laudable regularity, and even ventured to accompany the others to a more ambitious theatre, 'the Devils of Temple Bar;' where truly may I say, that many a time the Devil's own work was going forward.

"Such was my state, the popular throb just beginning to revisit my heart, when a long expected remittance arrived from Newmarket: Apjohn dined with me that day, and when the leg of mutton, or rather the bone, was removed, we offered up the libation of an additional glass of punch for the health and length of days (and heaven heard the prayer) of the kind mother that had remembered the necessities of her absent child. In the evening we repaired to 'the Devils.' One of them was upon his legs; a fellow, of whom it was impossible to decide, whether he was most distinguished by the filth of his person, or by the flippancy of his tongue; just such another as Harry Flood would have called 'the highly gifted gentleman with the dirty cravat and greasy pantaloons.' I found this learned personage in the act of calumniating chronology by the most preposterous anachronisms, and (as I believe I shortly after told him) traducing the illustrious dead by affecting a confidential intercourse with them, as he would with some nobleman, *his very dear friend*, behind his back, who, if present, would indignantly repel the imputation of so insulting an intimacy. He descanted upon *Demonianus*, the glory of the Roman forum; spoke of Tully as the famous cotemporary and rival of Ciceró; and in the short space of one half hour, transported the straits of Marathon three several times to the plains of Thermopylæ. Thinking that I had a right to know something of these matters, I looked at him with surprise; and whether it was the money in my pocket, or my classical chivalry, or most probably the supplemental tumbler of punch, that gave my face a smirk of saucy confidence, when our eyes met there was something like wager of battle in mine; upon which the erudite gentleman instantly changed his invective against antiquity into an invective against me, and concluded by a few words of friendly counsel (*horresco referens*) to 'oratorum,' who he doubted not possessed wonderful talents for eloquence, although he would recommend him to show it in future by some more popular method than his silence. I followed his advice, and I believe not entirely without effect; for when, upon sitting down, I whispered my friend, that I hoped he did not think my dirty antagonist had come 'quite clean off?' 'On the contrary, my dear fellow,' said he, 'every one around me is declaring that it is the first

time they ever saw him so well dressed.' So, sir, you see that to try the bird, the spur must touch his blood. Yet, after all, if it had not been for the inspiration of the punch, I might have continued a mute to this hour; so for the honour of the art, let us have another glass." I. pp. 41—47.

Now this is certainly lively and good humoured; but it is not, according to our notions, by any means the best style of wit, or of talk, that we have met with. It is too smart, snappish, and theatrical—and much more like the practiced briskness of an actor of all work, or an itinerant lecturer on heads, than the polite and unobtrusive pleasantry of an agreeable companion. We suspect, indeed, from various passages in these volumes, that the Irish standard of good conversation is radically different from the English; and that a tone of exhibition and effect is still tolerated in that country, which could not be long endured in good society in this. A great proportion of the colloquial anecdotes in this work, confirm us in this belief—and nothing more than the encomium bestowed on Mr Curran's own conversation, as abounding in 'those magical transitions from the most comic turns of thought to the deepest pathos, and for ever bringing a tear into the eye before the smile was off the lip.' In our more frigid and fastidious country, we really have no idea of a man talking pathetically in good company,—and still less of good company sitting and crying to him. Nay, it is not even very consonant with our notions, that a gentleman should be 'most comical.'

As to the taste and character of Mr Curran's oratory, we may have occasion to say a word or two hereafter.—At present, it is only proper to remark, that besides the public exertations alluded to in the passage just quoted, he appears to have gone through the most persevering and laborious processes of private study, with a view to its improvement—not only accustoming himself to debate imaginary cases alone with the most anxious attention, but, 'reciting perpetually before a mirror,' to acquire a graceful gesticulation, and studiously imitating the tone and manner of the most celebrated speakers. The authors from whom he chiefly borrowed the matter of these solitary declamations, were Junius and Lord Bolingbroke—and the poet he most passionately admired was Thomson. He also used to declaim occasionally from Milton—but, in his maturer age, came to think less highly of that great poet. One of his favourite exercises was the funeral oration of Antony over the body of Caesar, as it is given by Shakespeare; the frequent recitation of which he used to recommend to his young friends at the Bar, to the latest period of his life.

He was called to the Bar in 1775, in his 25th year—having rather imprudently married two years before—and very soon attained to independence and distinction. There is a very clever little disquisition introduced here by the author, on the very different, and almost opposite taste in eloquence which has prevailed at the Bar of England and Ireland respectively;—the one being in general cold and correct, unimpassioned and technical; the other discursive, rhetorical, and embellished and encumbered with flights of fancy and appeals to the passions. These peculiarities the author imputes chiefly to the difference in the national character and general temperament of the two races, and to the unsubdued and unrectified prevalence of all that is characteristic of their country in those classes out of which the Juries of Ireland are usually selected. He ascribes them also, in part, to the circumstance of almost all the barristers of distinguished ability having been introduced, very early in life, to the fierce and tumultuary arena of the Irish House of Commons—the Government being naturally desirous of recruiting their ranks with as many efficient combatants as possible from persons residing in the metropolis—and Opposition looking, of course, to the same great seminary for the antagonists with whom they were to be confronted. We cannot say that either of these solutions is to us very satisfactory. There was heat enough certainly, and to spare, in the Irish Parliament; but the barristers who came there had generally kindled with their own fire, before repairing to that fountain. They had formed their manner, in short, and distinguished themselves by their ardour, before they were invited to display it in that assembly;—and it would be quite as plausible to refer the intemperate warmth of the Parliamentary debates to the infusion of hot-headed gladiators from the Bar, as to ascribe the general over-zeal of the profession to the fever some of them might have caught in the Senate. In England, we believe, this effect has never been observed—and in Ireland it has outlived its supposed causes—the Bar of that country being still as rhetorical and impassioned as ever, though its Legislature has long ceased to have an existence. As to the effects of temperament and national character, we confess we are still more sceptical—at least when considered as the *main* causes of the phenomenon in question. Professional peculiarities, in short, we are persuaded, are to be referred much more to the circumstances of the profession, than to the national character of those who exercise it; and the more redundant eloquence of the Irish bar, is better explained, probably, by the smaller quantity of business in their courts, than by the greater vivacity of their fancy, or the warmth of their

hearts. We in Scotland have also a forensic eloquence of our own—more speculative, discursive, and ambitious than that of England—but less poetical and passionate than that of Ireland; and the peculiarity might be plausibly ascribed, here also, to the imputed character of the nation, as distinguished for logical acuteness and intrepid questioning of authority, rather than for richness of imagination, or promptitude of feeling. We do not mean to deny the existence or the operation of these causes—but we think the effect is produced *chiefly* by others of a more vulgar description. The small number of Courts and Judges in England—compared to its great wealth, population, and business—has made brevity and despatch not only important but indispensable qualifications in an advocate in great practice,—since it would be physically impossible either for him or for the Courts to get through their business without them. All mere ornamental speaking, therefore, is not only severely discountenanced, but absolutely debarred; and the most technical, direct and authoritative views of the case alone can be listened to. But judicial time, to use the language of Bentham, is not of the same high value, either in Ireland or in Scotland; and the pleaders of those countries have consequently given way to that universal love of long speaking, which can never be repressed by any thing but the absolute impossibility of indulging it—while their prolixity has taken a different character, not so much from the temperament of the speakers, as from the difference of the audiences they have generally had to address.—In Ireland, the greater part of ~~their~~ tediousness is bestowed on Juries—and their ~~vein~~ ^{style} consequently, has been more popular.—With us in Scotland, the advocate has to speak chiefly to the Judges—and naturally endeavours, therefore, to make that impression by subtlety, or compass of reasoning, which he would in vain attempt, either by pathos, poetry, or ~~popular~~ ^{popular} ~~ity~~ ^{ity}.—Professional speakers, in short, we are persuaded, ~~will~~ ^{will} always speak as long as they can be listened to.—The quantity of their eloquence, therefore, will depend on the time that can be afforded for its display—and its quality on the nature of the audience to which it is addressed.

But though we cannot admit that the causes assigned by this author are the main or fundamental causes of the peculiarity of Irish oratory, we are far from denying that there is much in it of a national character, and indicating something extraordinary either in the temper of the people, or in the state of society among them. There is, in particular, a much greater Irascibility, with its usual concomitants of coarseness and personality, and a much more Theatrical tone, or a taste for forced and exaggerat-

ed sentiments, than would be tolerated on this side of the channel. Of the former attribute, the continual, and, we must say, most indecent altercations that are recorded in these volumes between the Bench and the Bar, are certainly the most flagrant and offensive examples. In some cases the Judges were perhaps the aggressors—but the violence and indecorum is almost wholly on the side of the Counsel; and the excess and intemperance of their replies generally goes far beyond anything for which an apology can be found in the provocation that had been given. A very striking instance occurs in an early part of Mr Curran's history, where he is said to have observed, upon an opinion delivered by Judge Robinson, 'that he had never met with the law as laid down by his Lordship in any book in his library;' and, upon his Lordship rejoining, somewhat scornfully, 'that he suspected his library was very small,' the offended barrister, in allusion to the known fact of the Judge having recently published some anonymous pamphlets, thought fit to reply, that 'his library might be small, but he thanked heaven that, among his books, there were none of the wretched productions of the frantic pamphleteers of the day. I find it more instructive, my lord, to study good works than to compose bad ones; my books may be few, but the title-pages give me the writers' names—my shelf is not disgraced by any of such rank absurdity that their very authors are ashamed to own them.' (p. 122.) On another occasion, when he was proceeding in an argument with his characteristic impetuosity, the presiding Judge having called to the Sheriff to be ready to take into custody any one who should disturb the decorum of the Court, the sensitive counsellor at once applying the notice to himself, is reported to have broken out into the following incredible apostrophe—'Do, Mr Sheriff,' replied Mr Curran, 'go and get ready my dungeon; prepare a bed of straw for me; and upon that bed I shall to-night repose with more tranquillity than I should enjoy were I sitting upon that bench with a consciousness that I disgraced it.'—Even his reply to Lord Clare, when interrupted by him in an argument before the Privy Council, seems to us much more petulant than severe. His Lordship, it seems, had admonished him that he was wandering from the question; and Mr C. after some general observations, replied, 'I am aware, my lords, that truth is to be sought only by slow and painful progress: I know also that error is in its nature flip-pant and compendious; it hops with airy and fastidious levity over proofs and arguments, and perches upon assertion, which it calls conclusion.'—To Lord Clare, however, Mr C. had every possible temptation to be intractable and impertinent. But even to his best friends, when placed on the seat of judgment, he could not always forbear a similar petulance. Lord Avonmore was al-

ways most kind and indulgent to him—but was sometimes in the habit it seems of checking his wanderings, and sometimes of too impatiently anticipating his conclusions. Upon one of these occasions, and in the middle of a solemn argument, we are called on to admire the following piece of vulgar and farcical stupidity, as a specimen of Mr C.'s most judicious pleasantry.—“ Perhaps, my Lord, I am straying; but you must impute it to the extreme agitation of my mind. I have just witnessed so dreadful a circumstance, that my imagination has not yet recovered from the shock.”—His lordship was now all attention.—“ On my way to court, my lord, as I passed by one of the markets, I observed a butcher proceeding to slaughter a calf. Just as his hand was raised, a lovely little child approached him unperceived, and, terrible to relate—I still see the life-blood gushing out—the poor child's bosom was under his hand, when he plunged his knife into—into”——“ Into the bosom of the child!” cried out the judge, with much emotion—“ Into the neck of the calf, my lord; but your lordship sometimes anticipates.”

But this is not quite fair.—There is no more such nonsense in the book—nor any other Iricism so dis-creditable to the taste either of its hero or its author. There are plenty of traits, however, that make one blush for the degradation, and shudder at the government of that magnificent country.—One of the most striking is supplied by an event in the early part of Mr C.'s professional history, and one to which he is here said to have been indebted for his first celebrity. A nobleman of great weight and influence in the country—we gladly suppress his name, though it is given in the book—had a mistress, whose brother being a Catholic, had, for some offence been sentenced to ecclesiastical penance—and the young woman solicited her keeper to use his influence with the priest to obtain a remission. His Lordship went accordingly to the cabin of the aged pastor, who came bareheaded to the door with his missal in his hand; and after hearing the application, respectfully answered, that the sentence having been imposed by the Bishop, could only be relaxed by the same authority—and that he had no right or power to interfere with it. The noble mediator on this *struck* the old man! and drove him with repeated blows from his presence. The priest then brought his action of damages—but for a long time could find no advocate hardy enough to undertake his cause;—and when young Curran at last made offer of his services, he was blamed and pitied by all his prudent friends for his romantic and Quixotic rashness. These facts speak volumes as to the utter perversion of moral feeling that is produced by unjust laws, and the habits to which they give rise. No nation is so brave or so generous as the Irish,—and yet an Irish nobleman could be guilty of the brutality of striking an aged

priest, without derogating from his dignity or honour:—No body of men could be more intrepid and gallant than the leaders of the Irish bar; and yet it was thought too daring and presumptuous for any of them to assist the sufferer in obtaining redress for an outrage like this. In England, those things are inconceivable; but the readers of Irish history are aware, that where the question was between Peer and Peasant—and still more when it was between Protestant and Catholic—the barristers had cause for apprehension. It was but about forty years before, that upon a Catholic bringing an action for the recovery of his confiscated estates, the Irish House of Commons publicly voted a resolution, ‘that all barristers, solicitors, attorneys, and proctors who should be concerned for him, should be considered as public enemies!’ This was in 1735. In 1780, however, Mr C. found the service not quite so dangerous; and by great eloquence and exertion extorted a reluctant verdict, and 30 guineas of damages from a Protestant Jury. The sequel of the affair was not less characteristic. In the first place, it involved the advocate in a duel with a witness whom he had rather outrageously abused—and, in the next place, it was thought sufficient to justify a public notification to him, on the part of the noble defendant, that his audacity should be punished by excluding him from all professional employment wherever his influence could extend. The insolence of such a communication might well have warranted a warlike reply. But Mr C. expressed his contempt in a gayer and not less effectual manner. Pretending to misunderstand the tenor of the message, he answered aloud, in the hearing of his friends, ‘My good sir, you may tell his lordship, that it is in vain for him to be proposing terms of accommodation; for after what has happened, I protest I think, while I live, I shall never hold a brief for him or one of his family.’ The threat, indeed, proved as impotent as it was pitiful; for the spirit and talent which the young counsellor had displayed through the whole scene, not only brought him into unbounded popularity with the lower orders, but instantly raised him to a distinguished place in the ranks of his profession.

In 1783 Mr C. got a silk gown, and was brought into Parliament; and here properly commences the Political part of the work. Nothing can be so deplorable as the history of Ireland up to this epoch—except perhaps a part of its history since. But nothing can at the same time be more pregnant with warning and instruction, both as to the utter hopelessness of repressing Discontent by Severity, and as to the inefficacy of Parliaments that do not really represent the sense and the interests of the people. Ireland was governed for centuries by a native Par-

liament—but it was so constituted as to have no sympathy with the body of the population; and her worst corruptions and oppressions were those that originated in its bosom. Her rulers, too, have at all times been in possession of an overwhelming force, by which to overbear and repress every appearance of resistance; and they have used it without measure or mercy—but with the most lamentable success. The great modern specifics for preserving tranquillity—coercion, intimidation, and punishment—have been lavishly and relentlessly administered in Ireland, from the earliest periods of her history down to the present day; and the result has been, not that she has been more tranquil than the other parts of the empire, but that she has been far more agitated. There has been no relaxation of the reins of authority in that unhappy country—no weak compliances with popular inclinations—no rash neglect of popular usurpations. The Government has always been strong and jealous, and prompt and efficacious—and has never yet had to reproach itself with ill-timed lenity, or menaces not carried into execution. Martial law, and military execution without the warrant of any law, have always been ready to combine their energies with those of coercive and disqualifying statutes and sweeping proscriptions; and spies and informers have been constantly employed and believed, to an extent elsewhere unheard of; and the consequence has been, not only that the country has been uniformly misgoverned and oppressed—that its trade and agriculture have been incredibly depressed, so that its revenue has always fallen short of the ~~state~~ expense of its government—but that it has been, without intermission, in a state of the most frightful insecurity and disorder, or at least has passed, in a constant and miserable alternation, from the gloomy despair of one defeated insurrection to the desperate contrivance of another.

If these facts do not speak a loud memento to England—if they do not afford a practical answer to those who cry out against all reform, and think peace is only to be maintained by severity, we know not where to find in history any lessons of authority; or in what circumstances to look for a nearer parallel to the policy that is now in question among ourselves. There is one other feature in the Irish story, the application of which we most earnestly deprecate—but which it is necessary to state, in order to show the nature of the hazards, and the measure of the humiliation with which such policy is sure to be attended. The only great improvement which the Government received, was effected by an Armed Insurrection,—and wrung by force from the hands of those rulers by whose justice it would never have been yielded.

It is scarcely necessary to mention any of the earlier particulars of this wretched story. It was at the Revolution, that era of glory and freedom to England, that the humiliation of Ireland was consummated—her political independence openly invaded—her trade intentionally depressed—and four-fifths of her population disfranchised, and excluded from all public, and almost all private rights. ‘The law,’ it was publicly stated from the Bench, ‘did not presume a Papist to exist in the kingdom; nor could they breathe but by the sufferance of the Government.’ The House of Commons, of course, was a mere Committee of the leaders of the Orange faction; and, as if to make the mockery of representation more ridiculous, it was never dissolved; and the members held their seats for their own lives, or for that of the monarch. This enormity was not corrected till 1767, when, the octennial bill, limiting the endurance of Parliament to eight years, was introduced by the English minister, to the great indignation of the Perpetual Senate. But the effect of this was only to transfer the task of oppression from a domestic faction to the more pliant dependants of the English Cabinet, who continued to domineer over Ireland as a conquered country, and without disguise to sacrifice her interests to their own. The American war however, at last brought on a crisis of suffering which in part operated its own cure. By that event, the linen trade with the colonies, which was the great staple of Irish industry, was at once annihilated; and the exportation of her provisions, the only other branch of her commerce, was relentlessly interdicted by the English government, lest supplies should in this way be obtained by the revolted colonies. Thus beggared and plundered, Ireland was next denied the common benefit of protection; and while the fleets of the enemy were cruising round her shores, almost the whole of her army was transported to the Western hemisphere, and her ports and cities left defenceless, to the mercy of the expected invaders. When, in this extremity, the city of Belfast, and the great adjoining district, applied for some means of defence, the answer they received from the Government was, that they would endeavour to send them ‘half a troop of dismounted horse, and half a company of invalids!’ The citizens were driven, therefore, to arm for their own protection; and a corps of volunteers was speedily formed in every considerable place of the kingdom. The occupation was congenial to the martial character of the people; and held out, for the first time, a show of national power and independence to which they had long been strangers. The associations spread over all the country with incredible rapidity; and, before the end of the year 1781, they had grown to a great army, of not less than 80,000 men.

The country, of course, was now entirely at their disposal; and they soon began to feel the power which they possessed, and resolved not to separate till the independence of Ireland had been secured. The feeble and infatuated ministry, whose counsels had by this time lost America, and sown the seeds of inextinguishable discontent at home, looked with helpless consternation at the giant spectre they had contributed to raise. They broke up, however, at last, in their own weakness and unpopularity; and their successors handsomely conceded what it was no longer practicable to withhold—renounced the legislative pretensions of England, and recognised Ireland as a free nation, with a legislature independent and supreme.

* This Revolution however, for such it clearly was, was more flattering to the national pride of Ireland, than beneficial to the body of her people. The Legislature, though independent, was yet far from having any community of interest or of feeling with the nation at large. Lavish creations, and it is said even purchases and bargains, had filled the House of Lords with the devoted adherents of the English ministry. Out of the 300 members who composed the House of Commons, 220 sat for burghs, in almost all of which the Orange faction either domineered, or the influence of some great proprietor was despotical; while by far the greater part of the remainder were devoted to the same interest. Then, whatever virtue or independence might have belonged to a body so constituted, was assailed by a larger and more profuse dispensation of offices and pensions than has been known, even since, in the sister kingdom. The enormity of the Irish pension list has at all times been a topic of reproach to the general Government; and Mr Curran himself stated openly, in the House of Commons, that he was ready to prove that upwards of 100 of his auditors held places or pensions from the Government. In such circumstances, it is not much to be wondered at, that one of the first questions agitated in the emancipated Parliament, should have been that of Parliamentary Reform—or that it should have been lost by a vast majority. Mr Curran first distinguished himself in that hopeless cause—and there first came into contact with an antagonist, whose hostility, neither generous nor placable, pursued him through the remainder of their joint lives—the Attorney-General Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare.

‘ During Mr Curran’s first years at the bar they had been on terms of polite and even familiar intercourse; but the dissimilarity of their public characters, the high aristocratic arrogance of the one, and the popular tenets of the other, soon separated them; even their private tastes and habits would have forbidden a lasting friendship. Lord

Clare despised literature, in which Mr Curran so delighted. The one in private as in public disdained all the arts of winning; he was sullen or overbearing, and when he condescended to be jocular was generally offensive. The other was in all companies the reverse; playful, communicative, and conciliating. Mr Curran never, like his more haughty rival, regulated his urbanity by the rank of his companions; or, if he did, it was by a diametrically opposite rule; the more humble the person, the more cautiously did he abstain from inflicting pain. For all those lighter talents of wit and fancy which Mr Curran was incessantly and almost involuntarily displaying, Lord Clare had a real or an affected contempt, and would fain persuade himself that they were incompatible with those higher powers which he considered could alone raise the possessor to an equality with himself. Mr Curran was perhaps equally hasty in underrating the abilities of his antagonist. Detesting his arbitrary principles, and disgusted with his unpopular manners, he would see nothing in him but the petty despot, ascending to a bad eminence by obvious and unworthy methods, and therefore meriting his unqualified hatred and invective." I. 196, 197.

In 1785, those conflicting principles broke out into personal hostility. Fitzgibbon called Curran 'a puny babbler;' and he retorted, by telling him that 'his argument was more like the paltry quibble of a lawyer than the reasoning of a statesman, and his language more like that of an *Attorney particular*, than an *Attorney General*;' and then they went out, like true Irish debaters, and finished the dispute by firing a brace of pistols at each other—but left the field, unlike Irish combatants, with sentiments of unabated hostility.

In 1786, Mr C. made one of his best Parliamentary speeches on the Pension list; of the spirit and somewhat excessive liveliness of which, the following may be taken as a specimen.

'This polyglot of wealth, this museum of curiosities, the pension list, embraces every link in the human chain, every description of men, women, and children, from the exalted excellence of a Hawke or a Rodney, to the debased situation of a lady who humbleth herself that she may be exalted. But the lessons it inculcates form its greatest perfection. It teacheth that sloth and vice may eat that bread which virtue and honesty may starve for after they have earned it: it teaches the idle and dissolute to look up for that support which they are too proud to stoop and earn: it directs the minds of men to an entire reliance upon the ruling power of the State, who feeds the ravens of the royal aviary that cry continually for food: it teaches them to imitate those saints on the pension list that are like the lilies of the field, they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet are arrayed like Solomon in his glory: in fine, it teaches a lesson, which indeed they might have learned from Epictetus, that it is sometimes good not to be over virtuous; it shows, that, in proportion as our distresses in-

crease, the munificence of the Crown increases also ; in proportion as our clothes are rent, the Royal mantle is extended over us.

" But notwithstanding the pension list, like charity, covers a multitude of sins, give me leave to consider it as coming home to the members of this house ; give me leave to say, that the Crown, in extending its charity, its liberality, its profusion, is laying a foundation for the independence of Parliament ; for hereafter, instead of orators or patriots accounting for their conduct to such mean and unworthy persons as freeholders, they will learn to despise them, and look only to the first man in the state ; and they will by so doing have this security for their independence, that while any man in the kingdom has a shilling they will not want one." I. 204—206.

In 1787, he paid a short visit to France, from which there are two or three letters of no great interest—the most remarkable thing in them being, that they take no notice of the political ferment that had by that time begun to show itself in that country. Soon after his return, he received a visit from a worthy clergyman of the name of Boyse, to whose kindness he had been indebted in his early youth—the opening of which strikes us as extremely characteristic of the peculiarities of Irish manners.

Upon the morning of Mr Boyse's arrival in Dublin, as he was on his way to Ely Place, he was met by his friend, who was proceeding in great haste to the courts, and had only time to welcome him, and bid him defer his visit till the hour of dinner. Mr Curran invited a number of the eminent men at the bar to meet Mr Boyse ; and on returning home at a late hour from court, with some of his guests, found the clergyman, still in his travelling dress, seated in a familiar posture at the fire, with a foot resting upon each side of the grate. " Well, Jack," said he, turning round his head, but never altering his position, " here have I been for this hour past, admiring all the fine things that I see around me, and wondering where you could have got them all."—" You would not dare," returned Mr Curran, deeply affected by the recollections which the observation called up, " to assume such an attitude, or use so little ceremony, if you were not conscious that every thing you see is your own. Yes, my first and best of friends, it is to you that I am indebted for it all. The little boy whose mind you formed, and whose hopes you animated, profiting by your instructions, has risen to eminence and affluence : but the work is yours ; what you see is but the paltry stucco upon the building, of which you laid the foundation." I. 232, 233.

Now, all this might have done very well in a tête-à-tête between the two friends ; but when we consider it as their debut, before various learned Serjeants and other Primates of the bar, assembled on the occasion, we think no Englishman can avoid feeling that the speech of the clergyman is rude and indelicate, and that of his friend dreadfully too theatrical to be tolerated in private society.

The stormy debates of 1789, and the vote of the Irish Parliament, offering the regency of their kingdom to the Prince of Wales, unfettered by any limitations, are sufficiently known. The motives which led so great a majority of that dutiful and submissive legislature to take part on this occasion against that ministry to which they had hitherto been so laudably devoted, are rather hinted at than spoken out by the author before us. In so far as we can gather his opinion, however, from the vague and cautious expressions he has employed, we take it to be, that their great object being personal gain and advancement, they concluded, that upon this occasion it would probably be better served by securing the favour of the new sovereign, than by adhering to a party with whom he was likely to be dissatisfied; and accordingly, with a few honourable exceptions, including the Duke of Leinster and the Ponsonbys, they returned to their allegiance, as soon as the King's recovery destroyed their golden hopes,—and testified, by their zealous and devoted compliances, the sincerity of their penitence for this occasional error. On a motion for a vote of thanks to the Lord Lieutenant, for his early communication of his Majesty's illness, Mr Curran, who contended that it had been unduly delayed, observed, among other things—

‘ For my part, I am but little averse to accede to the sentiment, of an honourable friend who observed, that he was soon to leave us, and that it was harsh to refuse him even a smaller civility than every predecessor for a century had got. As for me, I do not oppose his being borne away from us in the common hearse of his political ancestors; I do not wish to pluck a single faded plume from the canopy, nor a single rag of velvet that might flutter on the pall. Let us excuse his manners if he could not help them; let us pass by a little peculation, since, as an honourable member says, it was for his brother; and let us rejoice that his kindred were not more numerous. But I cannot agree with my learned friend who defends the conduct of the noble lord on the present occasion. He has abused his trust by proroguing the two Houses, and has disposed of every office that became vacant in the interval, besides reviving others that had been dormant for years. Yet the honourable member says he acted the part of a faithful steward. I know not what the honourable member's idea of a faithful steward is; I will tell him mine. A good steward, if his master was visited by infirmity or by death, would secure every article of his effects for his heir; he would enter into no conspiracy with his tenants; he would remember his benefactor, and not forget his interest. I will also tell him my idea of a faithless, unprincipled steward. He would avail himself of the moment of family distraction: while the filial piety of the son was attending the sick-bed of the father, or mourning over his grave, the faithless steward

would turn the melancholy interval to his private profit ; he would remember his own interest, and forget his benefactor ; he would endeavour to obliterate or conceal the title-deeds ; to promote cabals among the tenants of the estate ; he would load it with fictitious incumbrances ; he would reduce it to a wreck, in order to leave the plundered heir no resource from beggary, except continuing him in a trust which he had been vile enough to betray.' pp. 244-6.

This may appear to be fiery enough ; but a still better idea of the inflamed tone of discussion which then prevailed in that assembly, may be obtained from the account which is given of another debate which took place the year after, on a motion of Mr Curran's, for an address against a late increase in the officers and salaries of the Board of Stamps and Accounts. In introducing this motion, Mr C. observed—

' Sir, I bring forward an act of the meanest administration that ever disgraced this country. I bring it forward as one of the threads by which, united with others of similar texture, the vermin of the meanest kind have been able to tie down a body of strength and importance. Let me not be supposed to rest here ; when the murderer left the mark of his bloody hand upon the wall, it was not the trace of one finger, but the whole impression which convicted him. — I bring forward this motion, not as a question of Finance, not as a question of regulation, but as a Penal inquiry ; and the people will now see whether they are to hope for help within these walls, or, turning their eyes towards Heaven, they are to depend on God and their own virtue. I rise in an assembly of three hundred persons, one hundred of whom have places or pensions ; I rise in an assembly, one third of whom have their ears sealed against the complaints of the people, and their eyes intently turned to their own interest ; I rise before the whisperers of the treasury, the bargainers and runners of the Castle ; I address an audience, before whom was held forth the doctrine, that the Crown *ought* to use its influence on this House. This confession was not made from constraint ; it came from a country gentleman, deservedly high in the confidence of administration, for he gave up other confidence to obtain theirs. — I know I am speaking too plain ; but which is the more honest physician, he who lulls his patient into a fatal security, or he who points out the danger and the remedy of the disease ? — I should not be surprised if bad men of great talents should endeavour to enslave a people ; but, when I see folly uniting with vice, corruption with imbecility, men without talents attempting to overthrow our liberty—my indignation rises at the presumption and audacity of the attempt. That such men should creep into power, is a fatal symptom to the constitution : the political, like the material body, when near its dissolution, often bursts out in swarms of vermin. — In this administration a place may be found for every bad man, whether it be to distribute the wealth of the treasury, to vote in the House, to whisper and to bargain, to

stand at the door and note the exits and entrances of your members, to mark whether they earn their wages—whether it be for the hireling who comes for his hire, or for the drunken *aid-de-camp* who swaggers in a brothel. — In this country, Sir, our King is not a resident; the beam of royalty is often reflected through a medium, which sheds but a kind of disastrous twilight, serving only to assist robbers and plunderers. We have no security in the talents, or responsibility of an Irish ministry: injuries which the English constitution would easily repel may here be fatal. I therefore call upon you to exert yourselves, to heave off the vile incumbrances that have been laid upon you. I call you not as to a measure of finance or regulation, but to a criminal accusation, which you may follow with punishment.’ pp. 256–263

In answer to this speech, neither argument nor explanation was offered; but the party abuse was pretty well made up by personal invective. Sir Boyle Roche having observed—‘that not being used to deal out scurrility by the yard to the highest bidder—not having been bred a pettifogger, or a Newgate solicitor, he was hardly able to follow the learned gentleman through the long windings of his declamation’;—and after resenting, in the same dignified style, the insinuations made against the military retainers of the Court, actually concluded by recommending it to his antagonist to take a little more care of his expressions, ‘lest some of those gentlemen might speak to him on the subject in another place!’ The threat was not altogether without meaning; for, a few days after, Mr C. was insulted in the street by one of the lower tools of the Government; and, on applying to Major Hobart, then one of the Secretaries of State, for his dismissal, an angry correspondence ensued, which terminated as usual in a duel, in which neither party received any injury. We really cannot say that Mr C. seems to have been justifiable in pushing the matter to that fatal extremity.

Lord Clare was now raised to the peerage, and made Chancellor;—and unworthily remembering, in that exalted situation, the mortifications of the Attorney-general, proceeded to revenge the wounds he had received in the Senate, by excluding Mr C. from all practice in his Court—a pitiful and flagrant abuse of the judicial function, for which, if the facts be as stated in the work before us, he has never been sufficiently reprobated.—Mr C. is said to have lost upwards of 1000*l.* a year by this paltry piece of vindictiveness.—He persisted, however, with unabated spirit, to expose the manifold corruptions of that wretched Government. And in 1791, in bringing forward a motion as to the sale of peerages, observed,

‘I have proof, and I stake my character on producing such evidence to a committee, as shall fully and incontrovertibly establish the fact, that a contract has been entered into with the present ministers, to

raise to the peerage certain persons, on condition of their purchasing a certain number of seats in this House.' I. pp. 295, 296.

The charge was afterwards followed up by Mr Grattan, who expressed himself in the following emphatic terms.

"We charge them (the ministers) publicly, in the face of their country, with making corrupt agreements for the sale of peerages; for doing which, we say that they are impeachable: We charge them with corrupt agreements for the disposal of the money arising from the sale; to purchase for the servants of the Castle, seats in the assembly of the people; for which we say that they are impeachable: We charge them with committing these offences, not in one, nor in two, but in many instances; for which complication of offences we say that they are impeachable; guilty of a systematic endeavour to undermine the constitution, in violation of the laws of the land. We pledge ourselves to convict them; we dare them to go into an inquiry; we do not affect to treat them as other than *Public Malefactors*; we speak to them in a style of the most mortifying and humiliating defiance; we pronounce them to be *public Criminals*. Will they dare to deny the charge? I call upon and dare the ostensible member to rise in his place and say, on his honour, that he does not believe such corrupt agreements have taken place. I wait for a specific answer." *Major Hobart avoided a specific answer.* Six days after, Mr Grattan, alluding to these charges, observed, "Sir, I have been told it was said that I should have been stopped, should have been expelled the Commons, should have been delivered up to the bar of the Lords for the expressions delivered that day. I will repeat what I said that day." After reciting the charges *seriatim* in the same words, he thus concluded, "I repeat these charges now, and if any thing more severe was on a former occasion expressed, I beg to be reminded of it, and I will again repeat it. Why do you not expel me now? Why not send me to the bar of the Lords? Where is your adviser? Going out of the House I shall repeat my sentiments, that his Majesty's Ministers are guilty of impeachable offences; and advancing to the bar of the Lords, I shall repeat these sentiments: and if the Tower is to be my habitation, I will there meditate the impeachment of these Ministers, and return, not to capitulate, but to punish. Sir, I think I know myself well enough to say, that if called forth to suffer in a public cause, I will go further than my prosecutors both in virtue and in danger." pp. 296—298, *Note*.

We approach now to the most appalling, and most instructive part of our domestic history—to the proceedings which led to the rebellion of 1798—the measures adopted to suppress that rebellion, and the consequences by which they have been followed. In 1794, the discontent of that unhappy nation was extreme, and almost universal. Previous to 1782, it had been relentlessly domineered over by the English Parliament, and

since that time by the English Cabinet. The absolute domination and uncontrolled disposal of its interests had been transferred from a foreign Legislature to the Executive; and its own Parliament had become more than ever estranged from all participation in its sentiments, and all regard for its concerns. The excitement of the French revolution, and perhaps of its emissaries, conspired, with those permanent and concurring causes of dissatisfaction, to give an alarming aspect to the general discontents.

‘ The adherents of the Administration, and their opponents, were agreed upon the fact of the universal discontent, and upon the dangers that it threatened; but they differed widely upon the measures that should be adopted for the restoration of repose.

‘ The first were determined to use coercion. They seemed to think that popular excesses are almost solely the people’s own creation—that they are naturally prone to disaffection—that complaints of grievances are resorted to as a mere *pretext* to gratify this propensity; and, consequently, that a provident Government should vigorously resist every movement of discontent, as the fearful tokens of projected revolution. In conformity with these opinions, it appeared to them that Terror alone could tranquillize Ireland; and, therefore, that every method of impressing upon the public mind the power of the State, no matter how unpopular their nature, or how adverse to the established securities of the subject, should be adopted and applauded as measures of salutary restraint.

‘ The truth and expediency of these doctrines were as firmly denied by others, who maintained that conciliation alone could appease the popular ferment. — No well governed people will desire to exchange real and present blessings for the danger and uncertainty of remote and fantastic speculations: and if ever they are found to commit their lives and fortunes to such desperate experiments, it is the most conclusive evidence that they are badly governed, and that their sufferings have impelled them “to rise up in vengeance, to rend their chains upon the heads of their oppressors.” — Let Ireland be saved from the possibility of such a crisis. The majority of its people are in a state of odious exclusion, visiting them in its daily consequences with endless insults and privations, which, being minute and individual, are only the more intolerable. Would it not be wise, then, to listen to their claim of equal privileges, which, if granted, would give you the strongest security for their loyalty? There are other grievances—the notorious corruption of the Legislature—the enormity of the pension list—and many more;—of these the nation complains, and seems determined to be heard. — The people seem inclined to turbulence; but treat it as a disease, rather than avenge it as a crime. Between a State and its subjects there should be no silly punctilio; their errors can never justify yours: you may coerce—you may pass intemperate laws, and erect unheard of tribunals, to

punish what you should have averted—you may go on to decimate, but you will never tranquillize.’ I. pp. 300—305.

In this crisis, Mr C. made the first of those great professional speeches on which his fame has since mainly rested, in defence of Mr Hamilton Rowan, accused of publishing a seditious address to the revolted Irishmen. This speech, which we are rather inclined to think the best that he ever delivered, was received with the most rapturous applause; but the Jury found the defendant guilty—and he was sentenced to fine and imprisonment. The following particulars are too honourable to Mr C. to be suppressed.

‘ It should be mentioned here, that from the year 1789, frequent attempts were made by the adherents of the administration to detach Mr Curran from the party, which he had formally joined, at that period. Every motive of personal ambition was held out to allure him, and all the influence of private solicitations exerted, but in vain. About this time, when the general panic was daily thinning the ranks of the opposition, his most intimate and attached friend, the late Lord Kilwarden (then the Attorney General) frequently urged him to separate himself from a hopeless cause, and to accept the rewards and honours that were so open to him. Upon one occasion, when Mr Curran was confined by illness to his bed, that gentleman visited him, and renewing the subject, with tears in his eyes implored him to consult his interest and his safety. “ I tell you (said he) that you have attached yourself to a desperate faction, that will abandon you at last; with whom you have nothing to expect but danger and disappointment. With us, how different would be your condition!—I ask for no painful stipulations on your part, only say that you would accept of ~~it~~—*my* situation will probably soon be vacant for you, and after that, the road would be clear before you.” This proof of private affection caused Mr Curran to weep, but he was unshaken. He replied, “ that he knew, better than his friend could do, the men with whom he was associated; that they were *not* a desperate faction; that their cause was that of Ireland; and that, even though it should eventually be branded with the indelible stigma of failure, he should never regret that it was with such men, and such a cause, that he had linked his final destinies.” I. 319—321.

The next trial was that of the Rev. W. Jackson, for high treason; who, being convicted, swallowed poison when brought up for judgment, and fell down and *died* in the face of the court, before sentence could be pronounced! Though convicted on the testimony of one witness, there seems to have been little doubt of his guilt; and yet the author before us has recorded a trait of his conduct which seems worthy of innocence. While in prison, before his trial, he was frequently ~~indulged~~ with the visits of his friends.

' A short time before his trial, one of these remained with him to a very late hour of the night. When he was about to depart, Mr Jackson accompanied him as far as the place where the gaoler usually waited upon such occasions, until all his prisoner's visitors should have retired. They found the gaoler in a profound sleep, and the keys of the prison lying beside him. "Poor fellow!" said Mr Jackson, taking up the keys, "let us not disturb him; I have already been too troublesome to him in this way." He accordingly proceeded with his friend to the outer door of the prison, which he opened. Here the facility of escaping naturally struck him,—he became deeply agitated; but after a moment's pause, "*I could do it,*" ~~said he,~~ "but what would be the consequences to you, and to the poor fellow within, who has been so kind to me? No! let me rather meet my fate." He said no more; but, locking the prison door again, returned to his apartment.' I. pp. 324, 325. *Note.*

This case, however, is chiefly remarkable for having settled the point, that in Ireland a man may be convicted of treason on the testimony of a single witness. When the English statutes, requiring two, were adopted in that country, those declaratory clauses were omitted; and the question came therefore to be, whether, on the old common law, two witnesses had not always been necessary for such a conviction. Lord Coke had given a clear opinion in the affirmative; but Foster and Hawkins thought differently. There had been no trial for treason in Ireland for upwards of a century; and the point had never before occurred. It was determined, as we have already stated, in conformity with the more recent authorities; though nothing can be more revolting than such an anomaly in the constitutional law of two united kingdoms—and nothing more disgusting than the scenes to which this decision speedily gave rise in the least fortunate of the two. The principle, it is manifest, cannot possibly be right in both: and the English prisoner must either have too many privileges, or the Irish too few. Nor is it possible to listen to the suggestion, that, from the state of society in Ireland, it was necessary to give the Crown this additional security:—For the same disordered or depraved state of morality which renders treason probable, is still more likely to produce false accusations; and whoever will read the State Trials, either in England or Ireland, will find that Treason and Perjury have always been contemporary crimes, and that the dangers of the crown and of the subject have uniformly been reciprocal. But if the question were doubtful upon theory, the subsequent experience of Ireland, we think, must have settled it with all candid minds. In six trials which unhappily took place in three years after that of Jackson, the fate of the prisoners depended on the credibility of a single witness;—and, as was in-

deed to have been expected, and *will always be the case*, under such a rule of law, these witnesses 'were all of them men of blighted reputation. It was not merely that they had been accomplices in the crimes which they came to denounce; and that, finding the speculation dangerous and unprofitable, they endeavoured to retrieve their credit and circumstances, by setting up as "loyal apostates." Deeper far was, if not their legal offence, their moral depravity. Dreadful were the confessions of guilt, of dishonour, and irreligion, extorted from these wretches. If their direct examination produced a list of the prisoners' crimes, as regularly did their cross-examination elicit a darker catalogue of their own. In the progress of their career from participation to discovery, all the tender ties of life were abused—every sacred tie rent asunder. "The agent, by the semblance of fidelity, extracted the secret of his client and his friend, and betrayed him! The spy resorted to the habitation of his victim, and, while sharing his hospitality, and fondling his children, was meditating his ruin. Here was to be seen the wild atheist, who had gloried in his incredulity, enjoying a lucid interval of faith, to stake a legal value on his oath—there the dishonest dealer, the acknowledged perjurer, the future murderer." I. pp. 332–341.

Five of the unhappy victims, in the cases we have alluded to, perished by this polluted testimony. In the case of *Moncy* in 1798, the infamy of the only witness—on whose accusation *sixteen* other persons were at that moment in prison—was made so apparent to the Jury, that, even in the agitation of that distracted time, they were compelled to reject it, and acquitted the prisoner. The witness, a short time after, was arraigned and convicted of murder, and suffered accordingly.

In 1793, Mr Curran and his friends made a last appeal to Parliament in behalf of a more conciliatory system of proceeding. The reports of Parliamentary Committees had by this time ascertained the existence, not only of general discontent, but of formidable associations, (rendered secret by the restrictions on meeting and publishing that had been recently enacted), who professed a desire for Reform and Catholic Emancipation, but were supposed to contemplate a radical revolution in the government. The ministers contended, that in these circumstances the only way to preserve the peace of the country, was to show no toleration to the disaffected or any of their pretences, but to proceed against them with the utmost promptitude and severity;—and that to listen to their pretended petitions for reform or emancipation, would only be to show their own fear and weakness, and to encourage their adversaries to still more unreasonable demands. Mr C., on the other hand, argued, as we have done so often—'If reform be only a pretence, and separation be the real objects of the leaders of the conspiracy, confound the leaders by

destroying the pretext, and take the followers to yourselves. You say they are 100,000 ;—I firmly believe they are three times the number,—so much the better for you. If these seducers can attach so many followers to rebellion, by the hope of reform through blood, how much more readily will you engage them, not by the promise, but the possession, and without blood ! Reform (he continued) is a necessary change of mildness for coercion : the latter has been tried, and what is its success ? The Convention bill was passed to punish the meetings at Dungannon and those of the Catholics : but did that act, or those which followed, put down those meetings ? the contrary was the fact ; it most foolishly concealed them. When popular discontent is abroad, a wise government should put them into a ^{series} of glass ;—you hid them. The association at first was small—the earth seemed to drink it as a rivulet ;—but it only disappeared for a season ;—a thousand streams, through the secret windings of the earth, found their way to one source, and swelled its waters ; until, at last, too mighty to be contained, it burst out a great river.

Mr Grattan followed on the same side, in a speech remarkable for the pathos and prophetic eloquence with which it was delivered ; and, having thus offered their final counsels for peace and conciliation, they withdrew from an assembly, on which it was plain that their reasonings could make no impression, and which was not fated to a much longer endurance.

Their predictions were but too fatally accomplished. The system of angry defiance, jealousy, and intimidation, was acted upon with increased vigour ; and the consequence was, that in 1798, the country broke out into open rebellion, and, after a tremendous and sanguinary struggle, in which *seventy thousand unfortunate men* are calculated to have perished on the field, on the scaffold, or by torture, the country was left exhausted but not tranquillized—filled, not with penitence, but with rancour and deep-seated hostility—and in such a condition of wretchedness and disaffection, as, in spite of that dreadful lesson and bloody experiment, to have risen repeatedly in similar acts of insurrection—to have been ever since a great theatre of outrage and disorder, and in such a state as to render life and property continually insecure, and to require the perpetual coercion of a great regular army to withhold it from open rebellion, or to carry into effect the ordinary sentences of the law. This is the lesson to the Government : and one more impressive, we think, can scarcely be imagined. There is another also, and not less momentous, for the people—and that is as to the utter hopelessness of any thing being effected by the physical force of a multitude, even when provided with arms, against an organized government and a disciplined army. The Irish insurgents were 500,000 strong, almost all armed, and the great-

er part reasonably well drilled and trained to military evolutions. They had considerable stores of money, too, and ammunition; and had been concerting their movements for years before they took the field,—with the whole of the country which was to form the scene of their operations friendly to them, and hostile to their opponents. Yet they were totally routed, broken, and cut to pieces, in four or five months, by a regular army of 50,000 or 60,000 men, almost as little accustomed to actual warfare as themselves. Neither lesson, we trust, will be lost on the party to whom it is addressed; but the credulity of the unenlightened multitude, always the dupe of its wishes, and often the victim of its passions, will be far more pardonable than that of their rulers, whose business it is to know the signs of the times, and to learn wisdom, at least, from their own past miscarriages.

Two years ago, we should have thought it a duty to pass over these most melancholy transactions in silence; and to abstain, as we have always hitherto abstained, from everything that might recal sensations of unmingled, and, as it then appeared to us, of unprofitable anguish. But the great lessons to which we have just alluded, seem at this moment in too much danger of being forgotten, to justify us in omitting any opportunity of enforcing them: and the admirable tone and temper in which those unhappy scenes are here retraced, makes it almost as much a matter of justice to the author as to the public, to lay some part of his account of them before our readers.—Nothing can be more just, or better written, than the following introductory sentence.

‘ In advertg to the events of this disastrous era, it would be an easy task to recapitulate its horrors, or, according to the once popular method, to rail at the memories of its victims: but it is time for invective and resentment to cease; or, if such a feeling will irresistibly intrude, it is time at least to control and suppress it. Twenty years have now passed over the heads or the graves of the parties to that melancholy conflict; and their children may now see prospects of prosperity opening upon their country, not perhaps of the kind, or to the extent to which in her more ambitious days she looked, but assuredly of a more rational description than could have been attained by violence; and such as, when realized, as they promise soon to be, will compensate for past reverses, or at all events console. At such a moment, in approaching this fatal year, we may dismiss every sentiment of personal asperity, or posthumous reproach: without wishing to disturb the remorse of those upon either side who may be repenting, or to revive the anguish of the many that have suffered, we may now contemplate it as the period of an awful historical event; and allude to the mutual passions and mistakes of those who acted

or perished in it, with the forbearance that should not be refused to the unfortunate and the dead.' II. pp. 2, 3.

The general causes of dissatisfaction have been already explained; but undoubtedly they were stimulated into action by the excitements of the French revolution. The first splendours of that event, and the gigantic successes by which its progress was illustrated, gave a spirit of daring to the oppressed and discontented in every corner of Europe. 'The democratic principle,' as Mr Grattan finely expressed it, by a figure borrowed from Milton, 'was getting on and on, like a mist at the heels of the countryman—small, at first, and lowly, but soon ascending to the hills, and overcasting the whole field of the horizon.' In Ireland too, we are assured by the author before us, the progress of intelligence, for the preceding twenty-five years, had been altogether unprecedented, and had been almost entirely expended on political inquiries. To this was to be ascribed the rapidity with which the volunteer associations pervaded the country in 1780—the spirit with which the Opposition contended for reform in the emancipated Parliament—and the formation of various Whig clubs and political societies by the friends of constitutional monarchy. For a long while, the object of all those persons was merely a redress of grievances; and it was not till after the year 1792, that any more daring scheme seems to have been seriously contemplated. Soon after that period, however, a great variety of secret societies were formed, under the name of 'The Irish Union,' whose designs were undoubtedly of a more dangerous nature—and who, professing to have lost all hopes of constitutional redress, at last entered into a confederacy for revolutionizing Ireland, and establishing a Catholic Republic. These conspirators were speedily joined by a more ancient confederacy of the Catholics, which had existed ever since 1783, and perhaps earlier, under the name of the 'Defenders,' and had till this time been chiefly employed in protecting each other from the punishments and exactions of the law, or wreaking their lawless vengeance on those by whom it was sought to be enforced. Though the great body of the associates consisted of the labouring classes, there were not a few persons of good fortune in their ranks; a regular organization of the whole body had been adopted—arms very generally provided—and considerable contributions of money obtained. Old soldiers were sought after, with the greatest avidity, to superintend their drills—and 'under these they met, night after night, to be instructed in the use of arms; sometimes in obscure cellars, hired for the purpose; sometimes in houses, where every inhabitant was in the secret. It even sometimes happened that

‘ in the metropolis these nocturnal exercises took place, in the
 ‘ habitations of the more opulent and ardent of the conspirators.
 ‘ In the interior, their evolutions were performed upon a more
 ‘ extensive scale. There, every evening that the moon, the sig-
 ‘ nal of rendezvous, was to be seen in the heavens, the peasant,
 ‘ without reposing from the toils of the day, stole forth with his
 ‘ rude implement of war, to pass the night upon the nearest
 ‘ unfrequented heath, with thousands of his comrades, who were
 ‘ assembled at that place and hour, as for the celebration of
 ‘ some unrighteous mysteries.’ II. 16, 17.

They sought assistance from France in the year 1796; and, upon the instigation of Toussaint, the armanent under Hoche was arranged. In the course of the following year, Mr C. says there were 500,000 in arms for the cause. The following passage deserves well to be weighed and remembered.

‘ The old Irish government was a mechanical, not a moral system ; it was, what it has been so often likened to, a citadel in an enemy’s country ; its first and its last expedient was Force ; it forgot that those whom no force can subdue, nor dangers terrify, will kneel before an act of conciliation. But it obstinately refused to conciliate ; and the people at length, prepared by the sufferings and indignities of centuries, listened with sanguine or desperate credulity to the counsel which reminded them of their strength, and directed them to employ it in one furious effort, which, whether it failed or prospered, could not embitter their condition. — The Irish aristocracy, who imagined that because they were loyal, they might proceed to every violent extreme, were a band of political fanatics, and would have made proselytes by the sword. They knew nothing of the real nature of the allegiance which they were so zealous to establish, and which was never yet established by the sword. They were not aware that the allegiance of a nation to the State is a feeling compounded of a thousand others,—half interest, half sentiment,—of gratitude, of hope, of recollections, of the numberless minute and “ tender influences ” that reconcile the subject to his condition ; that it is seldom a direct and defined attachment to the sovereign, but a collection of many subordinate attachments, of which the sovereign has all the benefit ; that it is but the youngest of the group of private virtues, and, like them, must be reared in the bosom of domestic comfort ; that it is upon the moral allegiance of each rank to its immediate relations, of the servant to his master, of the artisan to his employer, of the tenant to his landlord, that must be founded the political allegiance of the whole to the State. — Those mistaken loyalists supposed that they were teaching allegiance by a haughty and vindictive enforcement of the laws against its violation. They did not see that they were exacting from the laws what no laws could perform ; that their positive provisions must be always impotent, where their spirit is not previously infused into the subject by manners and institutions, in Ireland these two were at perpetual variance. The Irish lawgiver

passed his statute, setting forth, in pompous phraseology, its wisdom and necessity, and denouncing the gibbet against the offender, and then returned to his district, to defeat its efficacy, by giving a practical continuance to the misery, the passions, the galling epithets, and the long train of customary insults and local provocations that were for ever instigating to crime. He did, what was stranger and more absurd than this—he had the folly to put the State in competition with a power above it. He trampled upon the religion of the people.’ II. 22–29.

Such were the true causes of the avidity with which the bulk of the Irish populace rushed into this lamentable conspiracy, and of the ill success which attended the efforts of the Government to arrest them. Not only, however, did they neglect those causes, but reviled, in the most abusive and contumelious terms, all those who warned them of their existence, and of the consequences which must follow from disregarding them. To those who knew the steady loyalty and personal dignity of the late Mr Ponsonby, it must convey a very striking image of the temper of the times, to find *his* patriotic warnings as to the necessity of conciliation thus answered by the then Solicitor-General.

What was it come to, that in the Irish House of Commons they should listen to one of their own members *degrading the character of an Irish gentleman* by language which was fitted but for hallooing a mob? Had he heard a man uttering out of those doors such language as that by which the honourable gentleman had violated the decorum of Parliament, he would have seized *the ruffian by the throat*, and dragged him to the dust! What were the House made of who could listen in patience to such abominable sentiments?—sentiments which, thank God, were acknowledged by no class of men in this country, *except the execrable and infamous nest of traitors* who were known by the name of United Irishmen, who sat brooding in Belfast over their discontents and treasons, and from whose publications he could trace, word for word, every expression the honourable gentleman had used.’ II. p. 35, Note.

In this spirit was the rebellion—we will not say provoked—but waited for and defied. In 1797, the Government did not believe in the likelihood of any general insurrection, and unquestionably were very ill prepared to resist it. In that year, when an attack was projected on Dublin, it is said (p. 38) that every militia soldier who was to have mounted guard that day in the city, was in the interest of the insurgents—and that a great proportion of the native forces throughout the country were of the same persuasion. In 1798, they were somewhat better informed as to the impending crisis. In March, they arrested a great number of persons, and issued a solemn proclamation announcing the existence of the conspiracy, and the likelihood of its speedy explosion. It was soon generally un-

derstood that the 23d of May was the day fixed for the rising; and—(but it is a relief to be able to give the sequel in the striking words of the author before us)—‘as it approached, the fearful tokens became too manifest to be mistaken. In the interior, the peasantry were already in motion. Night after night large masses of them were known to be proceeding by unfrequented paths to some central points. Over whole tracts of country the cabins were deserted, or contained only women and children, from whom the inquirers could extort no tidings of the owners. In the towns, to which, in the intervals of labour, the lower classes delighted to flock, a frightful diminution of numbers was observed; while the few that appeared there, betrayed, by the moody exultation of their looks, that they were not ignorant of the cause. Throughout the capital the military array and bustle in some streets—the silence and desertion of others—the names of the inhabitants registered on every door—the suspension of public amusements, and almost of private intercourse—the daily proclamations—prayers put up in the churches for the general safety—families flying to England—partings that might be eternal—every thing oppressed the imagination with the conviction, that a great public convulsion was at hand. The parliament and the courts of justice, with a laudable attachment to the forms of the constitution, continued their sittings; but the strange aspect, of senators and advocates transacting civil business in the garb of soldiers, reminded the spectator that the final dependence of the State was upon a power beyond the laws. The vigorous precautions of the administration, instead of inspiring confidence, kept alive the public terror and suspense. In every quarter of the kingdom, the populace were sent in droves to the prisons, till the prisons could contain no more. The vessels in the several bays adjoining the scenes of disturbance were next converted into gaols. The law was put aside: a non-commissioned officer became the arbiter of life and death. The military were dispersed through every house: military visits were paid to every house in search of arms, or other evidence of treason. The dead were intercepted on their passage to the grave, and their coffins examined, lest they might contain rebellious weapons. Many of the conspirators were informally executed. Many persons who were innocent were arrested and abused. Many, who might have been innocent, were suspected, and summarily put to death.

‘Upon the appointed day the explosion took place. The shock was dreadful. The imagination recoils from a detail of the scenes that followed. Every excess that could have been apprehended from a soldiery, whom General Abercrombie, in the language of manly reproof, had declared to be in a state of licentiousness that rendered it formidable to all but the enemy; every act of furious retaliation to be expected from a peasantry inflamed by revenge and despair, and, in consequence of the loss of their leaders, surrendered to the auspices of their own impetuous passions, distinguished and disgraced this fatal conflict. After a short and sanguinary struggle, the insurgents were crushed. The numbers of them who perished in the field, or on

the scaffold, or were exiled, are said to have amounted to 50,000 ;—the losses upon the side of the crown have been computed at 20,000 lives.' II. pp. 39-44.

We turn gladly, and at once, from this dreadful catastrophe. Never certainly was short-lived tranquillity—or rather permanent danger so dearly bought. The vengeance of the law followed the havoc of the sword—and here again we meet Mr C. in his strength and his glory. The first trial excited peculiar commiseration. It was that of two brothers of the name of Sheares—both members of the Irish bar—both very respectably connected, and in private life of most amiable characters. The Judge, before whom they were tried, had been the intimate friend of their family.—Their counsel and several of their Jury had often met them in the intercourse of private society.—The trial lasted till late in the morning.—When the verdict of guilty was at length returned, the unfortunate young men clasped each other in their arms,—there was a dead silence, and the Court was filled with tears.—One brother was married, and when brought up the same day for judgment, attempted to say something, but was choked by his emotions. The other rose with greater firmness—and, after stating that he was resigned and ready to die, spoke as follows.

' But, my lords, I have a favour to request of the court that does not relate to myself. I have a brother, whom I have ever loved dearer than myself ;—but it is not from any affection for him alone—that I am induced to make the request ;—he is a man, and therefore, I hope, prepared to die, if he stood as I do—though I do not stand unconnected :—but he stands more dearly connected. In short, my lords, to spare your feelings and my own, I do not pray that I should not die ; but that the husband, the father, the brother, and the son, all comprised in one person, holding these relations, dearer in life to him than any man I know ; for such a man I do not pray a pardon, for that is not in the power of the court ; but I pray a respite for such time as the court, in its humanity and discretion, shall think proper. You have heard, my lords, that his private affairs require arrangement. I have a further reason for asking it. If immediately both of us be taken off, an aged and revered mother, a dear sister, and the most affectionate wife that ever lived, and six children, will be left without protection or provision of any kind. When I address myself to your Lordships, it is with the knowledge you will have of all the sons of our aged mother being gone : two perished in the service of the king, one very recently. I only request, that, disposing of me with what swiftness either the public mind or justice requires, a respite may be given to my brother, that the family may acquire strength to bear it all. That is all I wish. I shall remember it to my last breath ; and I will offer up my prayers for you to that Being who has endued us all with sensibility to feel. This is I ask.'—II. pp. 115, 116.

We scarcely know anything more affecting than these simple and disordered sentences. It was not thought possible, however, to accede to the prayer they contained; and both brothers were executed the succeeding day! There seems to have been no doubt of their guilt; yet the whole parole proof against them, for there was some written evidence, was the testimony of one witness, who was proved to have derided the obligation of an oath, and to have dealt largely in treasonable language. An objection was taken to their indictment, on the ground that one of the Grand Jury was a naturalized alien—and that this was an office of trust, of which such persons are incapable: but the objection was overruled. Mr C.'s speech on this occasion, of which the *only* report is to be found in the work before us, seems to have been chiefly remarkable for its melancholy pathos, and the religious solemnity of his appeals to the consciences of the Jury. We pass over the rest of these melancholy trials; in which we are far from insinuating, that there was any reprehensible severity on the part of the Government. When matters had come that length, they had but one duty before them—and they seem to have discharged it (if we except one or two posthumous attainders) with mercy as well as fairness; for after a certain number of victims had been selected, an arrangement was made with the rest of the state prisoners, under which they were allowed to expatriate themselves for life. It would be improper, however, to leave the subject, without offering our tribute of respect and admiration to the singular courage, fidelity and humanity, with which Mr C. persisted, throughout these agonizing scenes, in doing his duty to the unfortunate prisoners, and watching over the administration of that law, from the spectacle of whose vengeance there were so many temptations to withdraw. This painful and heroic task he undertook—and never blenched from its execution, in spite of the toil and disgust, and the obloquy and personal hazard to which it continually exposed him. In that inflamed state of the public mind, it is easy to understand that the advocate was frequently confounded with the client; and that, besides the murderous vengeance of the profligate informers he had so often to denounce, he had to encounter the passions and prejudices of all those who chose to look on the defender of traitors as their associate. Instead of being cheered therefore, as formerly, by the applauses of his auditors, he was often obliged to submit to their angry interruptions, and was actually menaced more than once, in the open court, by the clashing arms and indignant menaces of the military spectators. He had excessive numbers of soldiers, too, billeted on him, and was in many other ways exposed to loss and vexation; but he

bore it all with the courage of his country, and the dignity due to his profession—and consoled himself for the vulgar calumnies of an infuriated faction, in the friendship and society of such men as Lords Moira, Charlemont and Kilwarden—Grattan, Ponsonby, and Flood.

The incorporating union of 1800 is said to have filled Mr C. with incurable despondency as to the fate of his country. We have great indulgence for this feeling—but we cannot sympathize in it. The Irish parliament was a nuisance that deserved to be abated—and the British legislature, with all its partialities, and its still more blameable neglects, may be presumed, we think, to be more accessible to reason, to justice, and to shame, than the body which it superseded. Mr C. was not in Parliament when that great measure was adopted. But, in the course of that year, he delivered a very able argument in the case of Napper Tandy, of which the only published report is to be found in the volumes before us. In 1802, he made his famous speech in Hevey's case, against Mr Sirr, the town-major of Dublin, which affords a strong picture of the revolting and atrocious barbarities which are necessarily perpetrated when the solemn tribunals are silenced, and inferior agents entrusted with arbitrary power. The speech, in this view of it, is one of the most striking and instructive in the published volume, which we noticed in our 13th volume. During the peace of Amiens, Mr C. made a short excursion to France, and was by no means delighted with what he saw there. In a letter to his son from Paris, in October 1802, he says, 'I am glad I have come here. I entertained many ideas of it, which I have entirely given up, or very much indeed altered. Never was there a scene that could furnish more to the weeping or the grinning philosopher; they well might agree that human affairs were a *sad joke*. I see it every where, and in every thing. The wheel has run a complete round; only changed some spokes and a few "fellows," very little for the better, but the axle certainly has not rusted; nor do I see any likelihood of its rusting. At present all is quiet, except the tongue,—thanks to those invaluable protectors of peace, the army!!' (II. 206, 207.)

In the year following, the rooted discontent of Ireland broke out in a second insurrection. From want of concert and patience, it assumed the form but of a brief and unpremeditated tumult; but it appeared, on investigation, and is proved by the original plan in Emmet's handwriting, appended to these volumes, that a simultaneous rising had been organized in the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, and Kildare, as well as in remoter districts—and that it was prevented only by the neglect or misun-

derstanding of the signals and instructions. As it was, comparatively few lives were lost; but among these was the lamented Lord Kilwarden, the most venerated of all the Judges of his country—the wisest, because the gentlest in her councils. His death formed no part of the plan of the insurgents, and was either an unpremeditated act of savage fury, or of private malignity and revenge.

This wild, wicked, and desperate project, was the work of an individual of distinguished abilities, gentle dispositions, and kindly affections; and nothing can show more strongly the effect that had been produced on the feelings of the nation at large, by the wrongs she had suffered, and the means that had been used to stifle her expression, than that they should have seduced a person of such a character into such a proceeding. This part of the public story is unfortunately but too closely connected with Mr C.'s private history, and forms the most striking and romantic portion of it. The individual to whom we have alluded, was Mr Robert Emmet; a young man of good family and high prospects, who had been a frequent visitor in Mr C.'s family, and had, without his knowledge, formed an attachment to his youngest daughter. He never gave, even to her, the remotest hint of the projects in which he was engaged; and it was only a short time before its failure that he ventured to speak to her of his passion. It was to this attachment, however, that his fate was owing; for he escaped after the miscarriage of the insurrection, and might have got out of the kingdom, had he not lingered near her abode, where he was at last discovered and apprehended. It was then that Mr C. first discovered the correspondence that had passed between him and his daughter; and thought it necessary to wait on the Attorney General with all the papers that he had recovered. His own innocence never was brought into question; but the fate of Emmet was instantly decided—and he suffered the last rigour of the law. There are two very striking letters introduced, both written in the short interval between his condemnation and execution—one to Mr Curran himself, the other to his son. The editor says very feelingly—‘There was a time when the publication of them would have excited pain: but that time is past. ‘The only persons to whom such a proceeding could have given a pang, the father and the child, are now beyond its reach; ‘and their survivor, who from a sense of duty permits them to ‘see the light, does so under a full persuasion, that all those ‘who, from personal knowledge, or from report, may sometimes ‘recal their memories with sentiments of tenderness or esteem, ‘will find nothing in the contents of those documents which

' can provoke the intrusion of a harsher feeling.' (II. pp. 230-231.) The first is chiefly apologetical; and we can only afford to give a part of it. After confessing that he did wrong in writing to his daughter subsequent to the insurrection, he says,—

" Looking upon her as one, whom, if I had lived, I hoped to have had my partner for life, I did hold the removing her anxiety above every other consideration. I would rather have had the affections of your daughter in the back settlements of America, than the first situation this country could afford without them. I know not whether this will be any extenuation of my offence—I know not whether it will be any extenuation of it to know, that if I had that situation in my power at this moment, I would relinquish it to devote my life to her happiness—I know not whether success would have blotted out the recollection of what I have done—but I know that a man, with the coldness of death on him, need not be made to feel any other coldness, and that he may be spared any addition to the misery he feels, not for himself, but for those to whom he has left nothing but sorrow." II. pp. 235, 236.

The other was finished just before he was summoned to the scaffold. We shall give the concluding part of it, and the short comment of the editor.

" If there was any one in the world in whose breast my death might be supposed not to stifle every spark of resentment, it might be you—I have deeply injured you—I have injured the happiness of a sister that you love, and who was formed to give happiness to every one about her, instead of having her own mind a prey to affliction. Oh! Richard, I have no excuse to offer, but that I meant the reverse; I intended as much happiness for Sarah as the most ardent love could have given her. I never did tell you how much I idolized her:—it was not with a wild or unfounded passion, but it was an attachment increasing every hour, from an admiration of the purity of her mind, and respect for her talents. I did dwell in secret upon the prospect of our union. I did hope that success, while it afforded the opportunity of our union, might be the means of confirming an attachment, which misfortune had called forth. I did not look to honours for myself—praise I would have asked from the lips of no man; but I would have wished to read in the glow of Sarah's countenance that her husband was respected. My love, Sarah! it was not thus that I thought to have requited your affection. I had hoped to be a prop round which your affections might have clung, and which would never have been shaken; but a rude blast has snapped it, and they have fallen over a grave.

" This is no time for affliction. I have had public motives to sustain my mind, and I have not suffered it to sink; but there have been moments in my imprisonment when my mind was so sunk by grief on her account, that death would have been a refuge. God bless you, my dearest Richard. I am obliged to leave off immediately.

" ROBERT EMMET."

‘ This letter was written at twelve o’clock on the day of Mr. Emmet’s execution ; and the firmness and regularity of the original handwriting contain a striking and affecting proof of the little influence which the approaching event exerted over his frame. The same enthusiasm which allured him to his destiny, enabled him to support its utmost rigour. He met his fate with unostentatious fortitude ; and although few could ever think of justifying his projects or regretting their failure ; yet his youth, his talents, the great respectability of his connexions, and the evident delusion of which he was the victim, have excited more general sympathy for his unfortunate end, and more forbearance towards his memory, than is usually extended to the errors or sufferings of political offenders.’ II. pp. 237–239.

The public life of Mr C. was now drawing to a close. He distinguished himself in 1804 in the Marquis of Headfort’s case, and in that of Judge Johnson in 1805 ; but, on the accession of the Whigs to office in 1806, he was appointed to the situation of Master of the Rolls, and never afterwards made any public appearance. He was not satisfied with this appointment ; and took no pains to conceal his dissatisfaction. His temper, perhaps, was by this time somewhat soured by ill health, and his notion of his own importance exaggerated by the flattery of which he had long been the daily object. Perhaps, too, the sudden withdrawing of those tasks and excitements, among which he had been so long accustomed to live, cooperating with the languor of declining age, may have affected his views of his own situation : but it seems that he was never very gay or good humoured after his promotion—and passed but a dull and peevish time of it during the remainder of his life. In 1810, he went, for the first time, to Scotland ; and we cannot deny our nationality the pleasure of his honest testimony. He writes thus to a friend soon after his arrival on our shore.

“ I am greatly delighted with this country ; you see no trace here of the devil working against the wisdom and beneficence of God, and torturing and degrading his creatures. It seems the romancing of travelling ; but I am satisfied of the fact, that the poorest man here has his children taught to read and write, and that in every house is found a bible, and in almost every house a clock ; and the fruits of this are manifest in the intelligence and manners of all ranks. In Scotland, what a work have the four and twenty letters to show for themselves !—the natural enemies of vice, and folly, and slavery ; the great sowers, but the still greater weeders, of the human soil. Nowhere can you see the cringing hypocrisy of dissembled detestation, so inseparable from oppression : and as little do you meet the hard, and dull, and right-lined angles of the southern visage ; you find the notion exact and the phrase direct, with the natural tone of the Scottish muse.

“ The first night, at Ballinrath, the landlord attended us at supper: he would do so, though we begged him not. We talked to him of the cultivation of potatoes. I said, I wondered at his taking them in place of his native food, oatmeal, so much more substantial. His answer struck me as very characteristic of the genius of Scotland—frugal, tender, and picturesque. ‘ Sir,’ said he, ‘ we are not so much i’ the wrong as you think; the tilth is easy, they are swift i’ the cooking, they take little fuel; and then it is pleasant to see the gudewife wi’ a’ her bairns about the pot, and each wi’ a potatoe in its hand.’ II. pp. 254–256.

There are various other interesting letters in these volumes, and in particular a long one to the Duke of Sussex, in favour of Catholic Emancipation; but we can no longer afford room for extracts, and must indeed hurry through our abstract of what remains to be noticed of his life. He canvassed the burgh of Newry unsuccessfully in 1812. His health failed very much in 1813; and the year after, he resigned his situation, and came over to London in his way to France. He never seems to have had much relish for English society. In one of his early letters, he complains of ‘ the proud awkward sulk’ of London company, and now he characterizes it with still greater severity. ‘ I question if it is much better in Paris. Here the parade is ‘ gross, and cold, and vulgar; there it is, no doubt, more flip-pant,’ and the attitude more graceful; but in either place is ‘ not society equally a tyrant and a slave? The judgment despises it, and the heart renounces it. We seek it because we ‘ are idle, we are idle because we are silly; the natural remedy ‘ is some social intercourse, of which a few drops would restore; ‘ but we swallow the whole phial, and are sicker of the remedy ‘ than we were of the disease.’ (II. pp. 337, 338.) And again, a little after,—‘ England is not a place for society; it is too ‘ cold, too vain,—without pride enough to be humble, drowned ‘ in dull fantastical formality, vulgarized by rank without talent, ‘ and talent foolishly recommending itself by weight rather than ‘ by fashion—a perpetual war between the disappointed pre-tension of talent and the stupid overweening of affected patronage; means without enjoyment, pursuits without an object, and society without conversation or intercourse: perhaps ‘ they manage this better in France—a few days, I think, will ‘ enable me to decide.’ (II. pp. 345, 346.) In France, however, he was not much better off—and returned, complaining of a constitutional dejection, ‘ for which he could find no remedy ‘ in water or in wine.’ He rejoices in the downfall of Bonaparte; and is of opinion that the Revolution had thrown that country a century back. In spring 1817, he began to sink ra-

pidly; and had a slight paralytic attack in one of his hands. He proposed to try another visit to France; and still complained of the depression of his spirits:—‘he had a mountain of lead’ (he said) on his heart.’ Early in October, he had a severe shock of apoplexy; and lingered till the 14th, when he expired in his 68th year.

There is a very able and eloquent chapter on the character of Mr Curran’s eloquence—encomiastic of course, but written with great temper, talent, and discrimination. Its charm and its defects, the learned author refers to the state of genuine passion and vehement emotion in which all his best performances were delivered; and speaks of its effects on his auditors of all descriptions, in terms which can leave no doubt of its substantial excellence. We cannot now enter into these rhetorical disquisitions—though they are full of interest and instruction to the lovers of oratory. It is more within our province to notice, that he is here said to have spoken extemporé at his first coming to the Bar; but when his rising reputation made him more chary of his fame, he tried for some time to write down, and commit to memory, his more important pleadings. The result, however, was not at all encouraging: and he soon laid aside his pen so entirely, as scarcely even to make any notes in preparation. He meditated his subjects, however, when strolling in his garden, or more frequently while idling over his violin; and often prepared, in this way, those splendid passages and groups of images with which he was afterwards to dazzle and enchant his admirers. The only notes he made were often of the metaphors he proposed to employ—and these of the utmost brevity. For the grand peroration, for example, in *H. Rowan’s case*, his notes were as follows.—‘*Character of Mr R.—Furnace—Rebellion smothered—Stalks—Redeeming Spirit.*’ From such slight hints he spoke fearlessly—and without cause for fear. With the help of such a scanty chart, he plunged boldly into the unbuoyed channel of his cause; and trusted himself to the torrent of his own eloquence, with no better guidance than such landmarks as these. It almost invariably happened, however, that the experiment succeeded; ‘that his own expectations were far exceeded; and that, when his mind came to be more intensely heated by his subject, and by that inspiring confidence which a public audience seldom fails to infuse into all who are sufficiently gifted to receive it, a multitude of new ideas, adding vigour or ornament, were given off; and it also happened, that, in the same prolific moments, and as almost their inevitable consequence, some crude and fantastic notions escaped; which, if they impeach their author’s taste, at least leave

‘ him the merit of a splendid fault, which none but men of genius can commit.’ (pp. 403-4.) The best explanation of his success, and the best apology for his defects as a speaker, is to be found, we believe, in the following candid passage.

‘ The Juries among whom he was thrown, and for whom he originally formed his style, were not fastidious critics; they were more usually men abounding in rude unpolished sympathies, and who were ready to surrender the treasure, of which they scarcely knew the value, to him that offered them the most alluring toys. Whatever might have been his own better taste, as an advocate he soon discovered, that the surest way to persuade was to conciliate by amusing them. With them he found that his imagination might revel unrestrained; that, when once the work of intoxication was begun, every wayward fancy and wild expression was as acceptable and effectual as the most refined wit; and that the favour which they would have refused to the unattractive reasoner, or to the too distant and formal orator, they had not the firmness to withhold, when solicited with the gay persuasive familiarity of a companion. These careless or licentious habits, encouraged by early applause and victory, were never thrown aside; and we can observe, in almost all his productions, no matter how august the audience, or how solemn the occasion, that his mind is perpetually relapsing into its primitive indulgences.’ pp. 412-13.

The learned author closes this very able and eloquent dissertation with some remarks upon what he says is now denominated the Irish school of eloquence; and seems inclined to deny that its profusion of imagery implies any deficiency, or even neglect of argument. As we had some share, we believe, in imposing this denomination, we may be pardoned for feeling some little anxiety that it should be rightly understood; and beg leave therefore to say, that we are as far as possible from holding, that the greatest richness of imagery necessarily excludes close or accurate reasoning; on the contrary, it is frequently its appropriate vehicle and natural exponent—as in Lord Bacon, Lord Chatham, and Jeremy Taylor. But the eloquence we wished to characterize, is that where the figures and ornaments of speech *do* interfere with its substantial object—where fancy is not ministrant but predominant—where the imagination is not merely awakened, but intoxicated—and either overlays and obscures the sense, or frolics and gambols around it, to the disturbance of its march, and the weakening of its array for the onset:—And of this kind, we still humbly think, was the eloquence of Mr C.—The author says, indeed, that it is a mistake to call it Irish, because Swift and Goldsmith had none of it—and Milton and Bacon and Chatham had;—and moreover, that Burke and Grattan and Curran had each a distinctive style of eloquence, and

ought not to be classed together. How old the style may be in Ireland, we cannot undertake to say—though we think there are traces of it in Ossian. We would observe too, that, though born in Ireland, neither Swift nor Goldsmith were trained in the Irish school, or worked for the Irish market; and we have already said, that it is totally to mistake our conception of the style in question, to ascribe any tincture of it to such writers as Milton, Bacon, or Taylor. There is fancy and figure enough certainly in their compositions; but there is no intoxication of the fancy, and no rioting and revelling among figures—no ungoverned and ungovernable impulse—no fond dalliance with metaphors—no mad and headlong pursuit of brilliant images and passionate expressions—no lingering among tropes and melodies—no giddy bandying of antitheses and allusions—no crav- ing, in short, for perpetual glitter, and panting after effect, till both speaker and hearer are lost in the splendid confusion, and the argument evaporates in the heat which was meant to enforce it. This is perhaps too strongly put; but there are large portions of Mr C.'s Speeches to which we think the substance of the description will apply. Take, for instance, a passage, very much praised in the work before us, in his argument in Judge Johnson's case,—an argument, it will be remembered, on a point of law, and addressed, not to a Jury, but to a Judge.

‘I am not ignorant that this extraordinary construction has received the sanction of another Court, nor of the surprise and dismay with which it smote upon *the general heart of the Bar*. I am aware that I may have the mortification of being told, in another country, of that unhappy decision; and I foresee in what confusion I shall hang down any head when I am told it. But I cherish, too, the consolatory hope, that I shall be able to tell them, that I had an old and learned friend, whom I would put above *all the sweepings of their Hall*’ (no great compliment, we should think), ‘who was of a different opinion—who had derived his ideas of civil liberty from the purest fountains of Athens and of Rome—who had fed the youthful vigour of his studious mind with the theoretic knowledge of their wisest philosophers and statesmen—and who had refined that theory into the quick and exquisite sensibility of moral instinct, by contemplating the practice of their most illustrious examples—by dwelling on the *sweet-souled piety of Cimon*—on the *anticipated christianity of Socrates*—on the *gallant and pathetic patriotism of Epaminondas*—on that pure austerity of Fabricius, whom to move from his integrity would have been more difficult than to have pushed the sun from his course! I would add, that if he had seemed to hesitate, it was but for a moment—that his *hesitation* was like the *passing cloud that floats across the morning sun*, and hides it from the view, and does so for a moment hide it, by involving the spectator without even approaching the face of the luminary. — And this soothing hope I draw from the dear-

est and *tenderest* recollections of my life—from the remembrance of those attic nights, and those refectons of the gods, which we have spent with those admired, and respected, and beloved companions, who have gone before us; over whose ashes the most precious tears of Ireland have been shed. [Here Lord Avonmore could not refrain from bursting into tears.] Yes, my good Lord, I see you do not forget them. I see their sacred forms passing in sad review before your memory. I see your *pained and softened fancy* recalling those happy meetings, where the innocent enjoyment of social mirth became expanded into the nobler warmth of social virtue, and the *horizon of the board* became enlarged into the *horizon of man*—where the swelling heart conceived and communicated the pure and generous purpose—where *my slenderer and younger taper* imbibed its borrowed light from the more matured and *redundant fountain of yours.*' L. 139—148.

Now, we must candidly confess, that we do not remember ever to have read any thing much more absurd than this—and that the puerility and folly of the classical intrusions is even less offensive, than the heap of incongruous metaphors by which the meaning is obscured. Does the learned author really mean to contend, that the metaphors here add either force or beauty to the sentiment; or that Bacon or Milton ever wrote any thing like this upon such a topic? In his happier moments, and more vehement adjurations, Mr C. is often beyond all question a great and commanding orator; and we have no doubt was, to those who had the happiness of hearing him, a much greater orator than the mere readers of his speeches have any means of conceiving:—But we really cannot help repeating our protest against a style of composition which could betray its great master, and that very frequently, into such passages as those we have just extracted. The mischief is not to the master—whose genius could efface all such stains, and whose splendid successes would sink his failures in oblivion—but to the pupils, and to the public, whose taste that very genius is thus instrumental in corrupting. If young lawyers are taught to consider *this* as the style which should be aimed at and encouraged, to render the Judges benevolent,—by comparing them to 'the sweet-souled Cimon,' and the 'gallant Epaminondas;' or to talk about their 'young and slender tapers,' and 'the clouds and morning sun,'—with what precious stuff will the Courts and the country be infested! It is not difficult to imitate the defects of such a style—and of all defects they are the most nauseous in imitation. Even in the hands of men of genius, the risk is, that the longer such a style is cultivated, the more extravagant it will grow,—just as those who deal in other means of intoxication, are tempted to strengthen the mixture as they proceed. The learned and candid author

before us, testifies this to have been the progress of Mr C. himself—and it is still more strikingly illustrated by the history of his models and imitators. Mr Burke had much less of this extravagance than Mr Grattan—Mr Grattan much less than Mr Curran—and Mr Curran much less than Mr Phillips.—It is really of some importance that the climax should be closed somewhere.

There is a concluding chapter, in which Mr C.'s skill in cross-examination, and his conversational brilliancy, are commemorated; as well as the general simplicity and affability of his manners, and his personal habits and peculiarities. He was not a profound lawyer, nor much of a general scholar, though reasonably well acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and an eager reader of novels—being often caught sobbing over the pathos of Richardson, or laughing at the humour of Cervantes, with an unrestrained vehemence which reminds us of that of Voltaire. He spoke very slow, both in public and private, and was remarkably scrupulous in his choice of words: He slept very little, and, like Johnson, was always averse to retire at night—lingering long after he arose to depart—and, in his own house, often following one of his guests to his chamber, and renewing the conversation for an hour. He was habitually abstinent and temperate; and, from his youth up, in spite of all his vivacity, the victim of a constitutional melancholy. His wit is said to have been ready and brilliant, and altogether without gall. But the credit of this testimony is somewhat weakened by a little selection of his *bons mots*, with which we are furnished in a note. The greater part, we own, appear to us to be rather vulgar and ordinary; as, when a man of the name of Halfpenny was desired by the Judge to sit down, Mr C. said, 'I thank your Lordship for having at last *nailed that rap to the counter*;' or, when observing upon the singular pace of a Judge who was lame, he said, 'Don't you see that one leg goes before like a tipstaff, to make room for the other?'—or, when vindicating his countrymen from the charge of being naturally vicious, he said, 'He had never yet heard of an Irishman being *born drunk*.' The following, however, is good—'I can't tell you, Curran,' observed an Irish nobleman, who had voted for the Union, 'how frightful our old House of Commons appears to me.' 'Ah! my lord,' replied the other, 'it is only natural for Murderers to be afraid of Ghosts;'—and this is at least grotesque. 'Being asked what an Irish gentleman, just arrived in England, could mean by perpetually putting out his tongue? Answer—"I suppose he's trying to catch the *English accent*." In his last illness, his physician observing in

the morning that he seemed to cough with more difficulty, he answered, 'that is rather surprising, as I have been practising all night.'

But these things are of little consequence. Mr Curran was something much better than a sayer of smart sayings. He was a lover of his country—and its fearless, its devoted, and indefatigable servant. To his energy and talents she was perhaps indebted for some mitigation of her sufferings in the days of her extremity—and to these, at all events, the public has been indebted, in a great degree, for the knowledge they now have of her wrongs, and for the feeling which that knowledge has excited, of the necessity of granting them redress. It is in this character that he must have most wished to be remembered, and in which he has most deserved it. As to any flaws or lapses in his private life, we agree, with the excellent author before us, that his death should consign them to oblivion; and that, as his claims to distinction were altogether of a public nature, nothing should be allowed to detract from them that is not of the same description: At the same time, that our readers may know all that we know, and that their uncharitable surmises may not go beyond the truth, we cannot do better than conclude with the following passage from this most exemplary biography, in which, as in all the rest, the author has observed the tenderness which was due to the relationship in which he stood to his subject, without violating, in the least degree, that manly fairness and sincerity, without which he would have been unworthy of public confidence.

* ' But the question will be asked, has this been a faithful picture?—Have no shades been designedly omitted?—Has delicacy or flattery concealed no defects, without which the resemblance cannot be true? To such inquiries it is answered, that the estimable qualities which have formed the preceding description, have not been invented or exaggerated; and if the person, who has assumed the duty of collecting them, has abstained from a rigorous detail of any infirmities of temper or conduct, it is because a feeling more sacred and more justifiable than delicacy or flattery has taught him, and should teach others, to regard them with tenderness and regret. In thus abstaining from a cruel and unprofitable analysis of failings, to which the most gifted are often the most prone, no deception is intended. It is due to that public to whom Mr Curran's merits have been here submitted as deserving their approbation, to admit with candour, that some particulars have been withheld which they would not have approved: But it is also due to his memory to declare, that in balancing the conflicting elements of his character, what was virtuous and amiable will be found to have largely preponderated. He was not perfect; but his imperfections have a peculiar claim upon our forbear-

ance, when we reflect that they sprung from the same source as his genius, and may be considered as almost the inevitable condition upon which that order of genius can be held. Their source was in his imagination. The same ardour and sensibility which rendered him so eloquent an advocate of others, impelled him to take too impassioned and irritating views of questions that personally related to himself. The mistakes of conduct into which this impetuosity of temperament betrayed him cannot be defended by this or by any other explanation of their origin; yet it is much to be able to say that they were almost exclusively confined to a single relation, and that those who in consequence suffered most, but who, from their intimate connexion with him, knew him best, saw so many redeeming qualities in his nature, that they uniformly considered any exclusion from his regard, not so much in the light of an injustice, as of a personal misfortune.

‘ There was a time when such considerations would have failed to appease his numerous accusers, who, under the vulgar pretext of moral indignation, were relentlessly taking vengeance on his public virtues by assiduous and exaggerated statements of private errors, which, had he been one of the enemies of his country, they would have been the first to screen or justify. But it is hoped, that he was not deceiving himself when he anticipated that the term of their hostility would expire as soon as he should be removed beyond its reach. “ The charity of the survivors (to use his own expressions) looks at the failings of the dead through an inverted glass; and slander calls off the pack from a chase in which, when there can be no pain, there can be no sport; nor will memory weigh their merits with a niggard steadiness of hand.” But even should this have been a delusive expectation—should the grave which now covers him prove an unrespected barrier against the assaults of political hatred, there will not be wanting many of more generous minds, who loved and admired him, to rally round his memory, from the grateful conviction that his titles to his country’s esteem stand in defiance of every imperfection of which his most implacable revilers can accuse him. As long as Ireland retains any sensibility to public worth, it will not be forgotten, that (whatever waywardness he may have shown towards some, and those a very few) she had, in every vicissitude, the unpurchased and most unmeasured benefit of his affections and his virtues. This is his claim and his protection—that having by his talents raised himself from an humble condition to a station of high trust and innumerable temptations, he held himself erect in servile times, and has left an example of Political Honour, upon which the most scrutinizing malice cannot detect a stain.’ II. pp. 475–479.

ART. II. *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters of Books and Men.* Collected from the Conversation of Mr Pope, and other eminent Persons of his time; By the Rev. JOSEPH SPENCE. Now first published from the Original Papers, with Notes, and a Life of the Author; By SAMUEL WELLER SINGER. Carpenter, London. Constable & Co., Edinburgh. 1820.

THERE is no species of composition, perhaps, so delightful as that which presents us with personal anecdotes of eminent men: And if its chief charm be in the gratification of our curiosity, it is a curiosity at least that has its origin in enthusiasm. We are anxious to know all that is possible to be learnt of those who have at any rate so honoured a place in our remembrance. It is not, merely, that every circumstance derives value from the person to whom it relates: but an apparently insignificant anecdote often throws an entirely new light on the history of the most admired works, or the most brilliant actions. Intellectual discoveries, or heroic deeds, though they shed a broad and lasting lustre round the memory of those that have achieved them, yet occupy but a small part of the life of any individual: And we are not unwilling to penetrate the dazzling glory, and to see how the remaining intervals are filled up;—to look into the minute details, to detect incidental foibles, and to be satisfied what qualities they have in common with ourselves, as well as distinct from us, entitled to our pity, or raised above our imitation. The *heads* of great men, in short, are not all that we want to get a sight of: we wish to add the limbs, the drapery, the background. What would we not give to any modern Cornelius who would enable us to catch a glimpse of Pope through a glass door, leaning thoughtful on his hand, while composing the Rape of the Lock, or the Epistle of Eloisa; or riding by in a chariot with Lord Bolingbroke, or whispering to Patty Blount, or doing the honours of his grotto to Lady Wortley Montague! How much, then, are we not bound to the writer who gives us a portrait of him, with any thing like tolerable fidelity and exactness, in all these circumstances!—We like to visit the birth-place or the burial-place of famous men, to mark down their birth-day, or the day on which they died. Cicero's villa, the tomb of Virgil, the house in which Shakespeare was brought up, are objects of romantic interest, and of refined curiosity to the lovers of genius; and a poet's lock of hair, a *fac-simile* of his handwriting, an ink-stand, or a fragment of an old chair belonging to him, are treasured up as relics of literary devotion. These things are thus valued, only because they bring

us into a sort of personal contact with such characters; vouch, as it were, for their reality, and convince us that they were living men, as well as mighty minds. Sir Joshua Reynolds relates, that when he was very young, he went to a sale of pictures, and that, shortly after, there was a cry of 'Mr Pope, Mr Pope!' in the room; when the company made way for him to pass, every one offering his hand in salutation; and that he himself contrived, from where he stood behind, to touch the skirt of his garment. Who, in reading this account, does not extend his hand in involuntary sympathy, and rejoice at this unequivocal testimony and cheerful tribute of applause to living merit,—at this flattering foretaste which the elegant poet received of immortality?

It has been made an objection to the biography of literary men, that the principal events of their lives are their works; and that there is little else to be known of them, either interesting to others, or perhaps creditable to themselves. We do not feel the full force of this objection. It is the very absence of grave transactions or striking vicissitudes that turns our attention more immediately upon themselves, and leaves us at leisure to explore their domestic habits, and descry their little peculiarities of temper. In the intimacy of retirement, we enjoy with them 'calm contemplation and poetic ease.' We see the careless smile play upon their expressive features: we hear the dictates of unstudied wisdom, or the sallies of sportive wit, full without disguise from their lips. We draw down genius from its air-built citadel in books and libraries; and make it our play-mate, and our companion. We see how poets and philosophers 'live, converse, and behave,' like other men. We reduce theory to practice; we translate words into things, and books into men. It is, in short, the *ideal* and abstracted existence of authors that renders their personal character and private history a subject of so much interest. The difficulty of forming almost any inference at all from what men *write* to what they *are*, constitutes the chief value of the problem which the literary biographer undertakes to solve. In passing from the public to the private life of kings, of statesmen and warriors, we have, for the most part, the same qualities and personal character brought into action, and displayed on a larger or a smaller scale,—and can, at all events, make a pretty tolerable guess from one to the other. But we have no means to discover whether the moral Addison was the same scrupulous character in his writings and in his daily habits, but in the anecdotes recorded of him. Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia* do not imply his verses to his dog Tray: there is

nothing to show that the writer of the epistle of Eloise to Abelard was a little, deformed person, or a Papist : nor could we be sure, without the testimony of contemporary writers, that Steele was really the same good-natured easy soul that Isaac Bickerstaff is represented to be. Some of the most popular writers among the ancients, as well as the moderns, (from Plutarch and Montaigne downwards), have accordingly been those who have taken this task of biography occasionally out of the hands of others, and made themselves not the least agreeable part of their subject. It has been observed, that we read the lives of Painters and artists with a peculiar relish. And this seems to be, because the traditions that are left of their ordinary habits and turn of mind present them in an entirely new point of view. We had before studied them only in their pictures, and the silent images of their art : but we now learn, for the first time, what to think of them as individuals. If we wait with some uneasiness to see how a celebrated Poet or prose writer will acquit himself of a few sentences of common English, it is not surprising if we are still more at a loss what a great painter will have to say for himself, or how he will put his thoughts into words. We attend to him as to some one attempting to speak a foreign language ; make allowances for a difference of dialect ; or are struck with the unexpected propriety and elegance of tone. It was a long time before people would believe that Sir Joshua Reynolds wrote his own Discourses.

One principal attraction of Boswell's Life of Johnson, is the contrast which, in some respects, it presents to the Doctor's own works. The recollection of the author is a foil to the picture of the man : We are suddenly relieved by the abruptness of his manners and the pithiness of his replies, from the circumlocution and didactic formality of his style. Instead of the pompous commonplaces which he was too much in the habit of piling together, and rounding into periods in his closet,—his behaviour and conversation in company might be described as a continued exercise of spleen, an indulgence of irritable humours, a masterly display of character. He made none but home thrusts, but desperate lounges, but palpable hits. No turgidity ; no flaccidness ; no bloated flesh :—all was muscular strength and agility. He threw aside the incumbrance of pedantry, and drapery of words. He became a thorough prize-fighter, or, what he himself would term, ' an intellectual gladiator : '—threw down no challenge that he was not able and willing to take up ; assumed no pretensions that he did not sturdily maintain ; descended from the stilts of his style into the arena of

common sense and observation, and scuffled with all comers for the mastery: Took all advantages, and gave any odds—came off triumphant when in the right, or made the best of a bad cause—instantly seized the weak side of his adversary's argument—wrested what was doubtful to his purpose—made it a drawn battle with the sturdiest of his rivals—or 'fluttered' his politer antagonists 'like an eagle in a dovecot!' It was this vigorous and voluntary exercise of his faculties, when freed from all restraint in the intercourse of private society, that has left such a rich harvest for his biographer; and it cannot be denied that it has been well and carefully got in.

The amiable and modest Author of the volume before us, has not been less fortunate in the interest of the principal figure, Pope; nor is the circle of his associates assuredly less brilliant and imposing than that which surrounded Dr Johnson: but he has not been equally bold or happy in the treatment of his subject. The *Anecdotes of Pope*, compared with Boswell's *Memoirs of Johnson*, want life and spirit, and connexion. They furnish curious particulars, but minute and disjointed:—they want picturesque grouping and dramatic effect. We have the opinions and sayings of eminent men: but they do not grow out of the occasion: we do not know at whose house such a thing happened, nor the effect it had on those who were present. The conversations seldom extend beyond an observation and a reply. We have good things served up in sandwiches; but we do not sit down, as in Boswell, to 'an ordinary of fine discourse.'—There is no eating and drinking going on. The different characters have labels with certain words on them put into their mouths, with authentic signatures: but that is all. We have nothing like Wilkes's plying Johnson with the best bits at Dilly's table, and overcoming his Tory prejudices by the good things he offered, and the good things he said: Nor does any Goldsmith drop in after tea with his peach-coloured coat, like one dropped from the clouds, bewildered with his finery and the success of a new work! One never has the idea, as Dunning said to Sir Joshua Reynolds of one of his literary parties, that, while these people were talking, all the rest of the world was quiet. Each person is limited to a sentence, at a time; and the sense, for want of the context, is often imperfect. There is a gap between each conclusion, and at the end of every paragraph we have a new labour to begin. They are not scenes, but soliloquies, with which we are presented: And in reading through the book, we do not seem travelling along a road, but crossing a series of stepping stones: consequently, we do not get on fast with it. It is made up of

shreds and patches, and not cut out of the entire piece; something like the little caps into which the tailor in *Don Quixote* cut his cloth, and held them up at his fingers' ends. In a word, the living scene does not pass before us;—we have notes and slips of paper handed out by one of the company, but we are not ourselves admitted to their presence, nor made witnesses of the fray. There is mention made of the manner in which Addison passed his time at home, at Button's, and at Wills's. This indeed was before Mr Spence's time; but Boswell would have followed him to all those places, and brought away from the survivors all that was said at them, in the order of time, place, and person. Spence was as well contented to make a few memorandums at second-hand.

Boswell was probably an inferior man to Spence;—but he was a far better collector of anecdotes, and the very prince, indeed, of retail wits and philosophers; so that, with all possible sense of the value of what he has done, we sometimes can hardly help wishing that he had lived in the time of Pope, instead of our own. For, to confess the truth, there is scarcely any period of our literature on which we delight so much to dwell, or to which we so often seek to return, as the one to which these pages are devoted. Whatever we may think of the greater lights of a former age, there was none in which literary men were so much to be envied, (if not admired)—or in which, perhaps, familiarity of approach would so little lessen our idea of their importance. It was the acmé of intellectual refinement and civilization; equally remote from Gothic barbarism and vulgar abuse. Poetry, from being a dream of fairy land, had taken shelter in the walks of real life. It had left the heights of fancy, to 'stoop to truth, and moralize its song.' Instead of dazzling the reader with ecstasies, or startling him with chimeras, it now sought merely to embellish familiar objects, to laugh at petty follies, and to lend the charms of verse and the colours of the imagination to the commonest events. The style both of poetry and prose was grown classical and courtly. It seemed as if the Muses and the Graces, leaving their august abodes, had deserted Mount Parnassus for Windsor Forest and Hampton Court—had thence slipped down to their favourite villa at Twickenham—and had turned aside again at Whitehall stairs, only stopping on this side Temple Bar,—with a train of wit, beauty, fashion, rank and learning, following them,—with lords of the bed-chamber for their gentlemen-ushers, and peeresses of the realm for their maids of honour. Pope was one of those who was admitted into the centre of this circle, and who received and gave new lustre to

it.¹ He was the poet-laureate of polished life. His most graceful verses were laid on the toilette of beauty; his most beautiful compositions were offered up on the altar of friendship. The list of his friends and favourites includes almost all that was distinguished in his day. To sound their praises, we need only name those who are recorded in these pages—'familiar in our mouths as household names,'—or whom Gay has summoned to welcome Pope's return to shore after his Grecian voyage, in a poem on his finishing the *Iliad*—Garth, Walsh, Atterbury, Steele, Swift, Addison, Arbuthnot, Prior, Parnell, Congreve, Jervas, Kneller, Bolingbroke, Granville, Oxford, Halifax, Murray, Berkeley, Warburton, Lady Wortley Montague, Queensberry's Dutchess, Belle Fermor, and 'youth's youngest daughter, sweet Le Pel.' And is there not a charm in all these names, that still rises like a steam of rich distilled perfumes over the places that they knew and loved—a sound that must for ever echo on the banks of Thames, while learning, genius, and eloquence, continue to be honoured,—that calls up a throng of lovely mortal faces, and of bright immortal heads, to hover round us as we loiter in the shades of Twickenham, or muse over the pages in which all their glories are enshrined? But we must put an end to these raptures, and submit to give our readers some account of the work before us. For this purpose, we will transcribe a few of the first paragraphs, which immediately relate to Pope.

'SECTION I. 1728–30.—Garth talked in a less libertine manner than he had been used to do, about the three last years of his life. But he was rather doubtful and fearful, than religious.* It was usual for ~~him to say~~ ^{him to say}, 'That if there was any such thing as religion, 'twas among the Roman Catholics,'—probably from the greater efficacy we give the sacraments. He died a Papist; as I was assured by Mr Blount, who carried the Father to him in his last hours. He did not take any care of himself in his last illness; and had talked, for three or four years, as one tired of life: in short, I believe he was willing to let it go.—*P.* (that is, *Pope*.)'

'Wycherley died a Romanist, and has owned that religion in my hearing.—It was generally thought by this gentleman's friends, that he lost his memory by old age: it was not by age, but by accident, as he himself told me often. He remembered as well at sixty years old, as he had done ever since forty, when a fever occasioned that loss to him.—*P.*'

* 'Garth sent to Addison (of whom he had a very high opinion) on his death-bed, to ask him whether the Christian religion was true!—*DR YOUNG from Addison himself, or Tickell,—which is much the same.*

‘ Prior was not a right good man. He used to bury himself, fit whole days and nights together, with a poor mean creature (his Chloe) and often drank hard. He turned from a strong Whig (which he had been when most with Lord Halifax) to a violent Tory: and did no care to converse with any Whigs after, any more than Rowe did with Tories.—*P.*’

‘ Sir John Suckling was an immoral man, as well as debauched. The story of the French cards † was told me by the late Duke of Buckingham: and he had it from old Lady Dorset herself. That lady took a very odd pride in boasting of her familiarities with Sir John Suckling. She is the Mistress and Goddess in his poems: and several of those pieces were given by herself to the printer. This the Duke of Buckingham used to give as one instance of the fondness she had to let the world know how well they were acquainted.—*P.*’

‘ Sir John Suckling was a man of great vivacity and spirit. He died about the beginning of the Civil War; and his death was occasioned by a very uncommon accident. He entered warmly into the King's interests; and was sent over to the Continent by him, with some letters of great consequence, to the Queen. He arrived late at Calais: and in the night his servant ran away with his portmanteau, in which was his money and papers. When he was told of this in the morning, he immediately inquired which way his servant had taken, ordered his horses to be got ready instantly, and in pulling on his boots, found one of them extremely uneasy to him: but as the horses were at the door, he leaped into the saddle, and forgot his pain. He pursued his servant so eagerly, that he overtook him two or three posts off; recovered his portmanteau; and soon after complained of a vast pain in one of his feet, and fainted away with it. When they came to pull off his boots to fling him into bed, they found one of them full of blood. It seems his servant (who knew his master's temper well, and was sure he would pursue him as soon as his villany should be discovered) had driven a nail-up into one of his boots, in hopes of disabling him from pursuing him. Sir John's impetuosity made him regard the pain only just at first: and his pursuit turned him from the thoughts of it for some time after. However, the wound was so bad and so much inflamed, that it flung him into a violent fever, which ended his life in a very few days. This incident, strange as it may seem, might be proved from some original letters in Lord Oxford's collection.—*P.*’

‘ It was a general opinion, that Ben Jonson and Shakespear lived in enmity against one another. Betterton has assured me often, that there was nothing in it: and that such a supposition was founded only on the two parties, which in their lifetime listed under one, and endeavoured to lessen the character of the other mutually.—Dryden used to think that the verses Jonson made on Shakespear's death,

† ‘ His getting certain marks, known only to himself, affixed to all the cards that came from the great makers in France.’

had something of satire at the bottom : for my part, I can't discover any thing like it in them.—*P.*

' Lord Rochester was of a very bad turn of mind, as well as debauched. [From the Duke of Buckingham and others that knew him.]—*P.*

The reader will here find, in the course of the first five pages, a pretty good specimen of what he may expect—the literary *tittle-tattle* of the age, and the traditional gossiping of the preceding half-century. The spirit of the remarks and anecdotes, it must be confessed, is rather censorious, and the mention that is made of a number of well known names not the most favourable to them. But a good deal of it is hearsay—and, like other scandals, probably not very accurate. It is rather remarkable, that we have three instances together of poets who were Roman Catholics at this period—Garth, Wycherley, and Pope himself. The reason assigned for Garth's predilection for this faith, *viz.* ' the greater efficacy which it gives to the sacraments,' does not appear to be very obvious or satisfactory. Popery is, in its essence, and by its very constitution, a religion of outward form and ceremony, full of sound and show, recommending itself by the charm of music, the solemnity of pictures, the pomp of dress, the magnificence of buildings, by the dread of power, and the allurements of pleasure. It strikes upon the senses studiously, and in every way ; it appeals to the imagination ; it enthral the passions ; it infects by sympathy ; has age, has authority, has numbers on its side ; and exacts implicit faith in its inscrutable mysteries and its gaudy symbols :—it is, in a word, the religion of fancy, as Protestantism is the religion of philosophy, and of faith chastised by a more sober reason. It is not astonishing, therefore, that at a period when the nation and the government had been so lately distracted by the contest between the old and the new religion, poets were found to waver between the two, or were often led away by that which flattered their love of the marvellous and the splendid. Any of these reasons, we think, is more likely, than ' the greater efficacy given to the sacraments,' in that communion, to explain why so many poets, without much religion, as Garth, Wycherley, Pope, Dryden, Crashaw, should be fascinated by the glittering bait of Popery, and lull their more serious feelings asleep in the torpor of its harlot-embraces.—A minute, but voluminous critic of our time, has laboured hard to show, that to this list should be added the name of Massinger. But the proofs adduced in support of this conjecture are extremely inconclusive. Among others, the writer insists on the profusion of crucifixes, glories, angelic visions, garlands of roses, and clouds of incense

scattered through the 'Virgin-Martyr' as evidence of the theological sentiments meant to be inculcated by this play; when the least reflection might have taught him, that they proved nothing but his author's poetical conception of the character and costume of his subject: A writer might, with the same sinister shrewdness, be suspected of Heathenism for talking of Flora and Ceres, in a poem on the Seasons; and what are produced as the exclusive badges of Catholic bigotry, are nothing but the adventitious ornaments and external emblems,—the gross and sensible language,—in a word, the *poetry* of Christianity in general. What indeed shows the frivolousness of the whole inference, is, that Deckar, who is asserted by our critic to have contributed some of the most passionate and fantastic of these devotional scenes, is not even accused of a leaning to Popery.

To return to our *Anecdotes*.—The next that occur are of three narrow escapes which Pope had for his life; the first, when he was a child, from a mad cow; and the two others, after he was grown up, once from a stupid coachman, and the second time from six run-away horses. What immediately follows is of more importance; and the latter part of it is highly creditable to the feelings of Pope. Indeed, the whole volume leaves a very favourable impression in this respect. 'Besides these, his perpetual application (after he set to study of himself) reduced him in four years' time to so bad a state of health, that after trying physicians for a good while in vain, he resolved to give way to his distemper; and sat down calmly, in full expectation of death in a short time. Under this thought, he wrote letters to take a last farewell of some of his more particular friends; and, among the rest, one to the Abbé Southcote. The Abbé was extremely concerned at his very ill state of health, and the resolution he said he had taken. He thought there might yet be hopes; and went immediately to Dr Radcliffe, with whom he was well acquainted: told him Mr Pope's case; got full directions from him, and carried them down to Mr Pope in Windsor Forest. The chief thing the Doctor ordered him, was to apply less, and to ride every day: the following his advice soon restored him to his health.* — It was about twenty years after this, that Mr Pope heard of an abbey's being like to be vacant in the most delightful part of France, near Avignon; and what some common friend was saying, would be the most desirable establishment in the world for Father Southcote. Mr Pope took no farther notice of the matter on the spot; but sent a letter the next morning to Sir Robert Walpole (with whom he had then some degree of friendship), and begged him to write to Cardinal Fleury to get the abbey for Southcote. The affair met with some delay (on account of our Court hav-

* 'This was when Mr Pope was about seventeen, and consequently about the year 1705.'

ing just then settled a pension on Father Courayer), but succeeded at last; and Southcote was made abbot.—*P.*'

This story is given from Pope himself, and little doubt can be entertained of the authenticity of the particulars; and it shows the scrupulous gratitude with which benefits and kindnesses dwelt upon his memory, till the obligation was discharged in the most delicate and effectual manner. Yet this is the man whose name has been familiarly coupled with every sort of vituperative epithet, and who has been often and successfully represented as a compound of spleen, envy, meanness, and ingratitude. Is it our self-love, our envy, or our cowardice, that is so prone to take the scandalous side in such questions? In spite of the admiration we feel for his talents,—in spite of the affection which his friends may have testified for his virtues, we are still strangely inclined to take our idea of an author's private character from the abuse of those who were entire strangers, or professed enemies to him, who envied him for his reputation, and dreaded him for his wit, as if dulness, malice, and ignorance, were the only competent witnesses to merit. Pope was a man whose general conduct through life was amiable, inoffensive, and generous. What then? The heroes of the *Dunciad* discovered that the initials and final letter of his name composed the syllable A. P. E.; and Lady Wortley Montague, who despised his person, would persuade us that his mind was answerable to it!

The following passages, though the substance of them has been already made public, throw some new light on the history of his early life and studies.

'*Mr Pope* said, that he was seven years unlearning what he had got (from about twenty to twenty-seven.) He should have travelled, had it not been for his ill health, (and on every occasion that offered had a desire to travel, to the very end of his life.) His first education was at the seminary at Twiford, near Winchester.—*P.*'

'I wrote things—I'm ashamed to say how soon. Part of an epic poem, when about twelve. (Deucalion was the hero of it.) The scene of it lay at Rhodes, and some of the neighbouring islands; and the poem opened under water, with a description of the Court of Neptune. That couplet on the circulation of the blood in the *Dunciad* was originally in this poem, word for word, as it is now.—*P.*'

'I was acquainted with Betterton from a boy.—*P.*'

'Wycherley was Mr Pope's first poet-friend, and Walsh his next.—*Mannick.*'

'Mr Pope was but a little while under his master at Twiford. He

* 'As man's meanders to the vital spring

Roll all their tides, then back their circles bring.'

Dunciad, b. iii. v. 56.

wrote extremely young; and, among other things, a satire on that gentleman, for some faults he had discovered in him.—*M.*

'He set out to learn Latin and Greek by himself about twelve: and, when he was fifteen, he resolved that he would go up to London and learn French and Italian. We in the family looked upon it as a wildish sort of resolution: † for as his health would not let him travel, we could not see any reason for it. He stuck to it; went thither; and mastered both those languages with a surprising despatch. Almost every thing of this kind was of his own acquiring. He had had masters indeed, but they were very indifferent ones; what he got was almost wholly owing to his own unassisted industry.—*M.*

'He was a child of a particularly sweet temper, and had a great deal of sweetness in his look when he was a boy. This is very evident in the picture drawn for him when about ten years old; in which his face is round, plump, pretty, and of a fresh complexion. I have often heard Mrs Pope say, that he was then exactly like that picture. I have often been told, that it was the perpetual application he fell into, about two years afterwards, that changed his form and ruined his constitution. The laurel branch in that picture was not inserted originally; but was added long after, by Jervas.—*M.*

It would be curious if this were correctly true; and would vary, in some respects, our usual idea of Pope, which implies that he owed some of the fineness of his mind to the original tenderness of his constitution; whereas it would appear, that he was worn down and twisted into that wrinkled, feeble form, by his too eager pursuit, and early love of learning.

'My brother was whipped and ill-used at Twiford school for his satire on his master, and taken from thence on that account. I never saw him laugh very heartily in all my life.—*Mrs Racket, speaking of Mr Pope.*' Spence himself adds, that 'he seldom went beyond a particular easy smile.'

We will throw together in this connexion a few more particulars of nearly the same date, which are scattered about the original work, without any attempt at order.

'Mr Pope's first education was under a priest, and I think his name was Banister. He set out with the design of teaching him Greek and Latin together. "I was then," says Pope, "about eight years old, had learnt to read of an old aunt, and to write by copying printed books. After having been under that priest about a year, I was sent to the seminary at Twiford, and then to a school by Hyde-Park Corner: and with the two latter masters lost what I

† What his sister, Mrs Racket, said—'For you know, to speak plain with you, my brother has a maddish way with him.' Little people mistook the excess of his genius for madness. 'Egad, that young fellow will either be a madman, or make a very great poet.' *Rag Smith, after being in Mr Pope's company when about four, en.*

had gained under the first.—About twelve years old, I went with my father into the Forest, and there learnt, for a few months, under a fourth priest. This was all the teaching I ever had; and God knows, it extended a very little way.

“When I had done with my priests, I took to reading by myself, for which I had a very great eagerness and enthusiasm, especially for poetry: and in a few years I had dipped into a great number of the English, French, Italian, Latin, and Greek poets. This I did without any other design, but that of pleasing myself: and got the languages, by hunting after the stories in the several poets I read; rather than read the books to get the languages. I followed everywhere as my fancy led me; and was like a boy gathering flowers in the fields and woods, just as they fall in his way.—These five or six years I still look upon as the happiest part of my life.

“In these rambles of mine through the poets, when I met with a passage or story, that pleased me more than ordinary, I used to endeavour to imitate it, or translate it into English; and this gave rise to my Imitations published so long after.—*P.*” [He named, among other books he then read, the Criticisms of Rapin and Bossu: and these might be what led him to write his Essay on Criticism. He used to mention Quintilian, too, as an old favourite author with him.—*Spence.*]

We have next the now well known account of the origin and progress of the Rape of the Lock. We are more surprised afterwards to learn, that

“Mr Addison was the person who chiefly encouraged Mr Pope in his design of translating the Iliad, which was begun that year (1712) and finished in 1718, when he was thirty. When very young, he tells us, he wrote “something towards a tragedy, and afterwards an entire one;” the latter founded on a story in the Legend of St Genieveve. Betterton advised him to turn his Epic poem into a tragedy, but on seeing more of the town, he took a strong resolution against writing for the stage, from seeing how much it subjected those who did, to the caprice of the players and the audience. Of his Epic poem, which was mentioned at p. 24, we have a farther notice at p. 197, section V., where we learn that the hero of it was “a second Deucalion, not the husband of Pyrrha. I had flung,” says Pope, quaintly enough, “all my learning into it, as indeed Milton has done too much in his *Paradise Lost*. The Bishop of Rochester, not many years ago, advised me to burn it: I saw his advice was well grounded, and followed it,—though not without some regret.”

The reader may now have a tolerable idea of the information he is likely to derive from this work, respecting the literary history of our poet. The worst of it is, that it is cut up into so many little compartments, and that the greater part of it is no longer new; for, having lain so long in manuscript, to which his more favoured Editors had access, most of the particulars had already traipsed and become familiar to the public ear, in

their prefaces and annotations. The anecdotes of Pope's conversation, as they relate to his individual opinions, are of course more specific and minute, and proportionably more original and curious; but they, too, are given in a dry, meagre, and cramped manner, in solitary sentences or laconic replies; and for want of the context and circumstances, the spirit of conversation evaporates, and the continuity of reasoning is lost. Still they have the great recommendation of being authentic; and we are thankful for whatever we can get from so interesting a source. In reading any such account of Pope's opinions, it is scarcely necessary to remark, that nothing can shake our opinion of him as an author. He is certainly one of the fixed stars in the firmament of English literature; and what he has *written* is so complete, so decisive, and so unrivalled in itself, as to be proof against any report of what he might say or think in other respects. But, fortunately, there is little in the account here given to disturb our settled idea of him. His critical or general opinions argue a sound, intelligent, subtle and active mind, somewhat too intent on niceties and forms (but that we should expect from him); and what appears lame or unsatisfactory, should be imputed either to the timidity of the reporter, or the habitual reserve of the speaker, in not bringing out and making the most of an idea. The *nucleus* of fine thought is there; and we will be bold to add, of sound taste,—though with some necessary allowances for a natural bias to his own peculiar style of composition. His feelings as to poetry, are certainly rather liberal than exclusive; and his scale of excellence has a larger range than we should have expected, though leaning to correctness and delicacy. It was natural that he should feel most pleasure from those beauties in the works of others, which were the greatest ornaments of his own. But his understanding was not blinded or made intolerant by his genius; and his occasional backwardness to allow their full praise to merits of a different character, was not affected, but sincere. It was a weakness, not a vice. There is, no doubt, what will be called a want of enthusiasm; but, perhaps, after all, if he had admired what others admire more warmly, he would himself have left us less to admire. At that rate, *it is better as it is*. It is of more importance that there should be one person found out of millions to write the *Rape of the Lock*, than that there should be one person more added to the thousands who admire, or say they admire, the *Paradise Lost*! To proceed with our task of quotation.

‘Waller, Spenser, and Dryden, were Mr Pope’s great favourites, in the order they are named, in his first reading till he was about twelve years old.’

The meaning of this passage is not very clear. It has been currently said, that Pope used to express his distaste for Spenser by making it a rule to ask people, 'Whether they had ever read the Faery Queen through!' How far this was from being the case, will appear from his own words as here recorded, p. 296.

'After reading a canto of Spenser two or three days ago to an old lady, between seventy and eighty years of age, she said that *I had been showing her a gallery of pictures*. I don't know how it is, ~~but~~ she said very right. There is something in Spenser that pleases one as strongly in one's old age, as it did in one's youth. I read the Faerie Queene, when I was about twelve, with infinite delight; and I think it gave me as much, when I read it over about a year or two ago.—P.'

The date of this memorandum is 1743-4, a year before Pope's death. What he says of Chaucer is equally orthodox, and to the purpose.

'I read Chaucer still with as much pleasure as almost any of our poets. He is a master of manners, of description, and the first tale-teller in the true enlivened natural way.—P.' p. 19.

These observations show a very different acquaintance with, and taste for, our earlier poets, from that evinced by Addison; who (it is here said, on the authority of Pope) in his Epistle to Sacheverel, 'gave the characters of our best poets only by hearsay. Thus, his character of Chaucer is diametrically opposite to the truth: he blames him for want of humour. The character he gives of Spenser is false too: and I have heard him say, that he never read Spenser till fifteen years after he wrote it.'—Pope.

The design of the Memoirs of Scriblerus, was to have ridiculed all the false tastes in learning, under the character of a man of capacity enough; that had dipped into every art and science, but injudiciously in each. It was begun by a club of some of the greatest wits of the age—Lord Oxford, the Bishop of Rochester, Mr Pope, Congreve, Arbuthnot, Swift, and others. Gay often held the pen: and Addison liked it very well, and was not disinclined to come into it. The deipnosophy consisted of disputes on ridiculous tenets of all sorts: and the adventure of the Shield was designed against Dr Woodward and the Antiquaries. It was Anthony Henley who wrote 'The Life of his music-master Tom Dursey;' a chapter by way of episode. It was from a part of these Memoirs that Dr Swift took his first hints for Gulliver. There were pigmies in Schreible's Travels; and the projects of Laputa. The design was carried on much farther than has appeared in print; and was stopped by some of the gentlemen being dispersed, or otherwise engaged, (about the year 1715).—P.

In the same page we have the following note or memorandum.—'That idea of the Picturesque, from the swan just gild-

'ed with the sun amidst the shade of a tree over the water'—*P.* (*on the Thames.*)—Which shows an eye for, and a knowledge of, the nature of the picturesque. A little after he adds,—'A tree is a nobler object than a prince in his coronation robes.' p. 11.

These comparisons, which are common in morality, are not, we confess, to our taste, and are generally suspicious. They show, that amidst trees and other such rural objects, the mind is thinking of princes in their coronation robes; and trying to elevate itself above them, as if they were the rude natural standard of sublimity. The very assertion, indeed, betrays its insincerity. A courtier at a levee does not say to himself, or remark to any one about him—'A prince in his coronation robes is a nobler object than a tree!'

'Education leads us from the admiration of beauty in natural objects, to the admiration of artificial or customary excellence. I don't doubt but that a thorough-bred lady might admire the stars, *because they twinkle like so many candles at a birth-night.*'—*P.*

This is finely thought; and very characteristic:—though the idea might be turned maliciously against himself, and made to account (not in the least satisfactory manner) for his own style of poetry, and the factitious but sparkling light his imagination lends to nature. The following are also very good, and, for the most part, perfectly true and profound.

'As *L'Esprit*, *La Rochefoucault*, and that sort of people, prove that all virtues are disguised vices; I would engage to prove all vices to be disguised virtues. Neither, indeed, is true: but this would be a more agreeable subject, and would overturn their whole scheme.'—*P.*

'Arts are taken from nature; and, after a thousand vain efforts for improvements, are best when they return to their first simplicity.

'That which is not *just* in buildings is disagreeable to the eye; as a greater upon a slighter, &c. This he called *the reasoning of the eye.*

'In laying out a garden, the first thing to be considered is the genius of the place. Thus at Riskin's, for example, Lord Bathurst should have raised two or three mounts: because his situation is all a plain, and nothing can please without variety.'—*P.*

'The mass of mankind are generally right in their judgment: at least they have a very good *mediocre* taste. As to higher things, it requires pains to distinguish justly: they are not fit for the crowd; and even to offer such to them, is giving caviare to the multitude.'—*P.*

'There is no one study that is not capable of delighting us after a little application to it. 'How true of even so dry a study as Antiquities?' Yes; I have experienced that myself. I once got deep into Grævius, and was taken greatly with it; so far, as to write a treatise in Latin, collected from the writers in Grævius, on the Old Buildings in Rome. It is now in Lord Oxford's hands, and has been so these fifteen years.'—*P.*

' At this day, as much company as I have kept, and as much as I love it, I love reading better. I would rather be employed in reading than in the most agreeable conversation.—P.'

' Mr Pope thought himself the better, in some respects, for not having had a regular education. He (as he observed in particular) read originally for the sense; whereas we are taught, for so many years, to read only for words.—P.'

' "The great secret how to write well, is to know thoroughly what one writes about, and not to be affected." Or, as he expressed the same thing afterwards in other words, "to write naturally, and from one's own knowledge."—P.'

' "The nobleman-look." Yes, I know what you mean very well: that look which a nobleman should have, rather than what they have generally now. The Duke of Buckingham (Sheffield) was a genteel man; and had a great deal the look you speak of. Wycherley was a very genteel man; and had the nobleman-look as much as the Duke of Buckingham.—P. [He instanced it too in Lord Peterborough, Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Hinchinbroke, the Duke of Bolton, and two or three more.]—Spence.

' When Cowley grew sick of the Court, he took a house first at Battersea, then at Barnes, and then at Chertsey; always farther and farther from town. In the latter part of his life, he showed a sort of aversion for women; and would leave the room when they came in: 'twas probably from a disappointment in love. He was much in love with his Leonora: who is mentioned at the end of that good ballad of his, on his different Mistresses. She was married to Dean Sprat's brother; and Cowley never was in love with any body after.—P.'

' The following epigram was made by Rowe, upon Phil. Frowd's uncle, when he was writing his tragedy of Cinna—

' Frowd for his precious soul cares not a pin-a;
' For he can now do nothing else but Cin-na.'

I thought (said some one) Rowe had been too grave to write such things?—He! why, he would laugh all day long! he would do nothing else but laugh.—P.'

' Bacon and Locke did not follow the common paths, but beat out new ones; and you see what good they have done: but much more is wanting.—P.'

' Yes, I really think Betterton the best actor I ever saw; but I ought to tell you at the same time, that in Betterton's days the older sort of people talked of Harte's being his superior, just as we do of Betterton's being superior to those now.—P.'

' The king (George I.) was heard to say in the drawing room, upon the falling of the South-Sea stock—"We had very good luck; for we sold out last week."—P.'

' Kings now (except the king of Sardinia) are the worst things upon earth. They are turned mere tradesmen; *cauponantes bellum*; *non belligerantes*.—P.'

The flattest things of Pope's in the volume, are what he appeared to have borrowed from Lord Bolingbroke; who had somehow obtained an extraordinary ascendancy over him, and

led his understanding blindfold, by a parade of words and flimsy pretensions to a higher sort of wisdom. The true way indeed to seem wise, and to dictate your opinions to others, is to pretend to understand what both they and you are entirely in the dark about. They cannot well detect the cheat, and in the mean time are staggered by the pompous and vapid assumption of mental superiority. Lord Bolingbroke is throughout overrated; he is called the finest writer of his age, and his opinion is appealed to as oracular on all subjects, on no other ground, as we imagine, than the one here stated. Burke lately since asked, 'Who read Bolingbroke now?' and his art in conversation appears to have consisted in talking upon subjects supposed to be beyond the reach of his hearers, and in deciding confidently upon *moot points* in philosophy. Thus, for instance—

'As to our senses, we are made in the best manner that we possibly could. If we were so formed as to see into the most minute configuration of a post, we should break our shins against it. We see for use, and not for curiosity. Was our sight so fine as to pierce into the internal make of things, we should distinguish all the fine ducts and the contrivances of each canal for the conveyance of the juices in every one of those leaves: but then we should lose this beautiful prospect: it would be only a heap and confusion to the eye.—Lord B.'

Now, this no more follows, than that it is impossible for the eye to be so constructed (as it now is) as to see a leaf and a mountain at the same time. If there were none but short-sighted people, it would be quite accurate, according to this way of reasoning, to conclude, that there *could* be no other. But for what grounds does the noble Lord assume that there *could* not be a race of beings with their organs so constituted as to take in both extremes of near and remote; to unite the power of the telescope and the microscope together? To say so, would be a most impious and unphilosophical limitation of the power of Providence within bounds which even the art of man has surpassed. It is true, we are not so made; and we do not know of any creature that is so made: but it is plainly quite absurd to conclude from this, that it is *impossible* we should have been so made. Again, even allowing the incompatibility of different advantages with a given conformation, how does this prove that the particular conformation we happen to possess is *the best* of all others? By changing it, we should lose something, and gain something; but how do we know that we might not gain much more than we lose? The proposition, in short, does not make for a system of optimism, but of indifference—for a balance of blessings, not an exclusive claim of superiority. There are other beings in the world differently constituted from us, all benevolently and wisely, and for their good, no doubt, each in

their kind and degree; some lower in the scale of existence than ourselves; and some higher.—That we are here, and for our good, is all that we are bound to believe, or permitted to know of our present state: but to maintain that our *present* condition, either moral or physical, is *the best possible*,—and that it could receive neither addition nor alteration that would not be for the worse, is to be ‘wise above what is written,’ and is one of those scholastic interpolations on the genuine text of common sense and true piety, in which there is neither religion nor philosophy, neither wisdom nor humility. In such writers as Lord Bolingbroke too, we must say that all this looks very much like an attempt to *patronize* Providence; and to persuade us that we need not despair, since they are able to reconcile all doubts and difficulties by their superior lights and condescending approbation of its rules and modes of proceeding. Of such idle maxims, and vain sophistry, is the greatest part of the Essay on Man composed; in which Pope did nothing more than translate into sounding verse Lord Bolingbroke’s hollow reasonings; who unhappily thought himself admitted, by some peculiar privilege, into the cabinet council of Nature; and set about balancing the laws of the Universe, as he might have done the interests of some petty state in Germany. But there are always men of this description who, by aspiring to a certain character in society, are sure enough to obtain it; and who, with the aid of a little plausible talent, personal address, fortune, title, or influence, may put forward any claims they please on public opinion, and have them acknowledged. A man of Lord Bolingbroke’s rank might set up for a philosopher, a wit, or a critic; just as he would set up his coach, or set up for Member of Parliament. His peerage is a guarantee for his philosophy—and his elegant manners for the fineness of his taste. If an argument is light, a landed estate is thrown into the scale as a make-weight: a showy figure, and a glittering equipage supply whatever might be wanting in force or beauty of style: and to judge of a noble author by his sentiments or expressions alone, would be mere rudeness and pedantry. We do not mean, however, to speak of Lord Bolingbroke as nobody: if so, words would be wasted on his character. He was a considerable man in his day; but at present we can do, and we do without him. He was an active statesman, an eloquent speaker, a fine writer; but he wanted to be more than all this—a deep philosopher, and a founder of a system of metaphysics—which he was not. If he had been contented to be thought what he was, he would probably have come down to us as one of the most accomplished men of his age: as it is, we look upon him as little better than a pretender. Let no one go about to deceive posterity:

for they will make him pay dear for the attempt ! There was Berkeley : No one talks of him in this book, or of his superior insight into the mysteries of human nature ; yet Bolingbroke on these questions was a clown and a mountebank to him. Pope indeed gives a shrewd guess at the real character of his Lordship's genius, where he says, in answer to a question asked him, ' Does Lord Bolingbroke understand Hebrew ? ' ' No, but he understands *that sort of learning*, and *what is wrote about it*.' p. 178 :—and afterwards he says, ' Lord Bolingbroke is *not deep* either in pictures, statues, or architecture.' p. 210.

Lord Peterborough is a character of whom much amusing anecdote is given in this volume, and who might serve as a contrast to Lord Bolingbroke. He was as free from affectation as Lord B. was full of it. Pope thus describes them.

' Lord Peterborough was not near so great a genius as Lord Bolingbroke.—They were quite unlike. Lord Peterborough, for instance, in the case just mentioned, would say pretty and lively things in his letters ; but they would be rather too gay and wandering ; whereas, was Lord Bolingbroke to write to the emperor or to the statesman, he would fix on that point which was the most material ; and would set it in the strongest and finest light, and manage it so as to make it the most servicable to his purpose.—P.'

Lord Peterborough, indeed, was one of the most eccentric and original characters that belong to recent history—restless, gallant, witty, friendly, enterprising and gay : he was the greatest traveller, the bravest soldier, the boldest negotiator, and the most sprightly talker of his age—and all this with the weakest health, and most ticklish constitution. Swift seems to have understood him better than Pope, who speaks thus of him—

' 'Tis amazing how Lord Peterborough keeps up his spirits, under so violent and painful an illness as he is afflicted with.' When I went down into Hampshire to see him, a few weeks ago, I did not get to him till the dusk of the evening : he was sitting on his couch, and entertaining all the company with as much sprightliness of conversation, as if he had been perfectly well ; and, when the candles were brought in, I was amazed to see that he looked more like a ghost than a living creature.—Dying as he was, he went from thence to Bristol, and it was there that it was declared that he had no chance for a recovery, but by going through the torture of a very uncommon surgical operation ; and that, even with it, there was a great many more chances against him than for him. However, he would go through it ; and the very day after set out from Bristol for Bath, in spite of all that St André and the physicians could say to him.—Pope.—It was some time after this that I saw him at Kensington. I was admitted into his *ruelle* (for he kept his bed), and every body thought he could not last above five or six days longer : and yet, his first speech to me was, " Sir, you have travelled, and know the places ; I am resolved to go abroad ; which of the two would you think best

for me to go, Lisbon or Naples?" That very day he would rise to sit at dinner with us; and in a little time after actually went to Lisbon.—*Spence.*

The following are some of the sayings recorded of him.

"A general is only a hangman in chief." They had been just speaking of General Cadogan and his father.

"I would willingly live to give that rascal (Burnet) the lie in half his history.—*Lord P.*" [He had marked both the volumes in several parts of the margin, and carried them with him to Lisbon.—*Pope.*]

"I took a trip once with Penn to his colony of Pennsylvania. The laws there are contained in a small volume; and are so extremely good, that there has been no alteration wanted in any one of them, ever since Sir William made them.—They have no lawyers. Every one is to tell his own case, or some friend for him; they have four persons, as Judges, on the bench; and after the case has been fully laid down, on all sides, all the four draw lots: and he on whom the lot falls decides the question. 'Tis a fine country; and the people are neither oppressed with poor's-rates, tythes, nor taxes.—*Lord P.*"

"Lord Peterborough, after a visit to the Archbishop (Fenelon), said, "He was cast in a particular mould, that was never used for any body else: he is a delicious creature! But I was forced to get away from him as fast as I possibly could; else he would have made me pious!"

This last anecdote is given on the authority of the Chevalier Ramsay, the author of the *Travels of Cyrus*, who figures in the present collection as a person of great loquacity. He relates some things characteristic of others, as well as of himself. Take, for example, the following.

The Archbishop (of Cambray) asked Mr Ramsay once, "What the English said of Locke." Ramsay told him that his acquaintance from England commended Locke extremely for a clear head, and a fine way of reasoning: they said he saw the *surfaces* of a vast number of things very plainly; but that he did not pierce deep into any of them: "In short, my Lord," says Ramsay, "I take him by their account, to be much like the Bishop of Meaux," (*Bossuet.*) The Archbishop stopped him short; told him that he was not sufficiently acquainted with the talents of the Bishop of Meaux; and then run out into a panegyric of that prelate, in all the particulars where his character would bear it. It was thus that he revenged himself on his enemies.—*Ramsay.*

Nothing, we think, can be more exquisite than this critical masquerading, where the Chevalier gives so satisfactory an account of Mr Locke's proficiency in the surfaces of the sciences, and the Archbishop so candidly defends his rival, the Bishop of Meaux, from being confounded with so superficial a reasoner! The dialogue is consummate; and it is French. Fenelon, indeed, sometimes strikes us as too intent upon representing all the cardinal virtues with effect. But the following little incident

shows him in a most agreeable light. It is a genuine instance of politeness, without any mixture of affected or ridiculous ostentation in it.

‘ The Archbishop was void of all formality, and full of the truest politeness; that of making every body easy about him.—One day there were two German noblemen at his table, who, when they were to drink to the Archbishop, to show their respect to him, rose out of their seats; and stood all the while they were drinking to him, according to the custom of their own country. Some young French officers, who were at the table at the same time, could scarcely contain themselves from bursting out into a laugh at such a novelty. The Archbishop gave them a gentle reprimand by his look; called for wine; and stood up and drank to the Germans in the same manner that they had done to him. The officers afterwards owned how much they were ashamed of themselves; and that they immediately felt how greatly the Archbishop’s humanity was preferable to that customary sort of politeness of which alone they had had any idea until that time.—*Ramsay.*’

We shall conclude our extracts with a few particulars of some of Pope’s contemporaries of less general notoriety. Among the first of these, we would place Dean Lockier, a man of sense, shrewdness, and spirit. Besides his intimacy with a number of celebrated characters, there is a promptitude and boldness in many of his remarks that will recommend him to most of our readers.

‘ I was about seventeen when I first came up to town, an odd-looking boy, with short rough hair, and that sort of awkwardness which one always brings up at first out of the country with one. However, in spite of my bashfulness and appearance, I used now and then to thrust myself into Wills’s, to have the pleasure of seeing the most celebrated wits of that time, who then resorted thither. The second time that ever I was there, Mr Dryden was speaking of his own things, as he frequently did, especially of such as had been lately published. “ If any thing of mine is good,” says he, “ ’tis Mac-Flecno; and I value myself the more upon it, because it is the first piece of ridicule written in Heroics.” On hearing this I plucked up my spirit so far as to say, in a voice but just loud enough to be heard, that “ Mac-Flecno was a very fine poem; but that I had not imagined it to be the first that ever was writ that way.” On this, Dryden turned short upon me, as surprised at my interposing; asked me how long I had been a dealer in poetry; and added, with a smile, “ Pray, Sir, what is it that you *did* imagine to have been writ so before?”—I named Boileau’s *Lutrin*, and Tassoni’s *Secchia Rapita*; which I had read, and knew Dryden had borrowed some strokes from each.—“ ’Tis true,” said Dryden, “ I had forgot them.”—A little after, Dryden went out; and in going, spoke to me again, and desired me to come and see him the next day. I was highly delighted with the invitation; went to see him accordingly; and was well acquainted with him after, as long as he lived.—*Dr Lockier.*’

“ Dryden allowed the Rehearsal to have a great many good strokes in it—“ though so severe,” added he, “ upon myself; but I can’t help saying, that Smith and Johnson are two of the coolest, most insignificant fellows I ever met with on the stage.” This, if it was not spoke out of resentment, betrayed great want of judgment; for Smith and Johnson are men of sense, and should certainly say but little to such stuff; only enough to make Bays show on.—*L.*’

“ Dryden was most touched with “ The Hind and the Panther Transversed.” I have heard him say—“ For two young fellows, that I have always been very civil to, to use an old man in misfortunes, in so cruel a manner!”—*And he wept as he said it!—L.*’

“ Sir George Etherige was as thorough a fop as I ever saw: He was exactly his own Sir Fopling Flutter. And yet he designed *Dorimant*, the genteel rake of wit, for his own picture.—*L.*’

“ Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was reckoned the most accomplished man of the age, in riding, dancing, and fencing. When he came into the presence chamber, it was impossible for you not to follow him with your eye as he went along, he moved so gracefully. He got the better of his vast estate; and died (between two common girls) at a little alehouse in Yorkshire.—It is incredible what pains he took with one of the actors, to teach him to speak some passages in Bayes’s part, in the Rehearsal, right. The vulgar notion of that play’s being hissed off the stage the first night is a mistake.—*L.*’

“ Upon the death of the queen (Anne), Ormond, Atterbury, and Lord Marshal held a private consultation together, in which Atterbury desired the latter to go out immediately, and proclaim the Pretender in form. Ormond, who was more afraid of consequences, desired to communicate it first to the council.—“ Damn it, Sir,” said Atterbury in a great heat (for he did not value swearing), “ you very well know that things have not been concerted enough for that yet, and that we have not a moment to lose.” Indeed, it was the only thing they could have done: such a bold step would have made people believe, that they were stronger than they really were; and might have taken strangely. The late King, I am fully persuaded, would not have stirred a foot, if there had been a strong opposition: indeed, the family did not expect the crown; at least, nobody in it but the old Princess Sophia.—That Princess was a woman of very good sense and excellent conversation. I was very well acquainted with her. She sat very loose in her religious principles; and used to take a particular pleasure in setting a Freethinker (whenever she could meet with such) and one of her chaplains a-disputing together (as some body else (Queen Caroline) does now).—*L.*’

There are introduced into the account of this reverend prelate several remarks and reasonings of his delivered at large, which show not only a manly strength and freedom of mind, but a habit of assigning the grounds for the conclusions he drew, which was not usual in that day. Fineness of tact, and justness

of perception, were what the most eminent men then aimed at, and excelled in, rather than closeness of logic or acuteness of analysis. They were contented to feel the air of truth, and sit under its shadow, without taking the trouble of digging to the roots. They did not murder a sentiment to dissect it. We find in them a cultivated, happy vein of common sense, shrewd and felicitous observations, judicious conclusions without pedantry and without extravagance—with occasional hints and suggestions of profounder views, but seldom followed up into their remote consequences, and scarcely ever traced back to their first principles. We have the results of their reflection and experience, not the original grounds of them; and we learn, not so much *how* to think, as *what they* thought. We are perhaps less misled by this naked statement of feelings; as they themselves might be more open to the floating influences and detached aspects of truth and nature, from not having their notions immoveably fixed upon systems and regular premises. But there is unquestionably much looseness and listlessness in their prevailing tone of thinking. The exercise of the understanding seems at that time to have been chiefly a matter of taste, and their most subtle opinions only a more refined sort of instinct. Dean Lockier is, however, a remarkable exception; and he appears like a hardy excrescence in our author's table-talk. He stands with a proper apparatus in his hands, to make an incision below the surface of his subject, to probe a feeling or amputate a prejudice; and, it must be confessed, he goes through the operation very skilfully and manfully, like an expert modern practitioner. Analytical and critical arguments would, we fear, prove no great novelty to *our* readers; and we therefore shall present them with a few more of this ingenious Divine's smarter and more sententious sayings.

'In all my travels I never met with any one Scotchman but what was a man of sense: I believe, indeed, every body of that country that has any, leaves it as fast as they can.—*L.*

'The English, abroad, can never get to look as if they were at home. The Irish and Scotch, after being some time in a place, get the air of the natives: but an Englishman, in any foreign court, looks about him as if he was going to steal a tankard.

'No one will ever shine in conversation, who thinks of saying fine things: to please, one must say many things indifferent, and many very bad.

'Large common-placing teaches one to forget; and spoils one for conversation, and even for writing.

'When we write in a foreign language, we should not think in English; if we do, our writings will be but translations at best. If one is to write in French, one must use one's-self to think in French; and

even then, for a good while, our Anglicisms will get uppermost, and betray us in writing, as our native accent does in speaking.—*L.*

‘ Though the Dean is the best of company, and one of the liveliest men in England of his age, he said, (when in no ill-humour), “ the best of life is but just tolerable: ’tis the most we can make of it.” He observed that it was very apt to be a misfortune to be used to the best company: and gave as a reason for his not marrying, that he had always been used to converse with women of the higher class, and that he might as well think of marrying a princess as one of them. “ A competence enables me, single as I am, to keep as good company as I have been used to; but with a wife of this kind, and a family, what should I have done?—Let your great endeavour be to get an independency.”—*L.*’

There are excellent accounts also of Wycherley, Garth, Gay, Addison, Kneller, Lady Wortley Montague, &c. But there is too much of Dr Cocchi; and the author is too fond of running away to Rome to collect materials for his *Polymetis*, and leaving Pope and his opinions to shift for themselves. The frequent breaks and transitions in this respect from poetry to *virtù*, and from learning to scandal, give it the effect of cross-readings, without the wit. As, however, our author was fond of getting out of this circle, so we are fond of staying in it, and cannot at present make one *detour* with him to the Cicceroni and academical *petit-mâtres* of Rome and Naples.* We shall give one or two of the most characteristic of each of the persons above mentioned, that we have marked in the margin as we read.

Wycherley was a very handsome man. His acquaintance with the famous Dutchess of Cleveland commenced oddly enough. One day, as he passed that Dutchess's coach in the ring, she leaned out of the window, and cried out loud enough to be heard distinctly by him, “ Sir, you're a rascal; you're a villain!” Wycherley from that instant entertained hopes. He did not fail waiting on her the next morning: and, with a very melancholy tone begged to know, how it was possible for him to have so much disoblighed her Grace? They were very good friends from that time: yet, after all, what did

* We have set aside a note for the following.

‘ When the English were good Catholics, they usually drank the Pope's health in a full glass after dinner: *au bon pere*: whence your bumper.’—*Dr Cocchi.*

‘ I must own, that, to my taste, Correggio is the best of all our painters. His pieces are less pictures than those of Raphael himself.’—*The same.*

‘ This is better connoisseurship than Pope's, who, “ in looking at the portrait of the Pope by Carlomaratti, at Lord Burlington's, called it the best portrait in the world. I really do think him as good a painter as any of them,” were his words.’

he get by her? He was to have travelled with the young Duke of Richmond: King Charles gave him now and then a hundred pounds, *not often!*—*P.*

'We were pretty well together to the last: only his memory was so totally bad, that he did not remember a kindness done to him, even from minute to minute.' [This particular sort of forgetfulness, we suspect, is not quite so uncommon as Pope seems to imagine.] 'He was peevish, too, latterly; so that sometimes we were out a little, and sometimes in. He never did any unjust thing to me in his whole life: and I went to see him on his death-bed.'—*P.*

'Wycherley was in a bookseller's shop at Bath, or Tunbridge, when Lady Drogheda came in and happened to inquire for the Plain Dealer. A friend of Wycherley's, who stood by him, pushed him toward her, and said, "There's the Plain Dealer, Madam, if you want him?" Wycherley made his excuses; and Lady Drogheda said, "that she loved plain-dealing best." He afterwards visited that lady, and in some time after married her. This proved a great blow to his fortunes. Just before the time of his courtship, he was designed for governor to the late Duke of Richmond; and was to have been allowed fifteen hundred pounds a year from the Government. His absence from court, in the progress of this amour, and his being yet more absent after his marriage, (for Lady Drogheda was very jealous of him), disgusted his friends there so much, that he lost all his interest with them. His lady died: he got but little by her: and his misfortunes were such, that he was thrown into the Fleet, and lay there seven years. It was then that Colonel Brett got his Plain Dealer to be acted; and contrived to get the king (James the Second) to be there. The colonel attended him thither. The king was mightily pleased with the play, asked who was the author of it, and, upon hearing it was one of Wycherley's, complained that he had not seen him for so many years, and inquired what was become of him. The colonel improved this opportunity so well, that the king gave orders his debts should be discharged out of the privy purse. Wycherley was so weak as to give an account only of five hundred pounds, and so was confined almost half a year; till his father was at last prevailed on to pay the rest, between two and three hundred pounds more.'—*Dennis.*

'Dryden was generally an extreme sober man. For the last ten years of his life, he was much acquainted with Addison, and drank with him more than he ever used to do: probably so far as to hasten his end.'—*Dennis.*

'None of our writers have a freer, easier way for comedy than Etherige and Vanbrugh. Now we have named all the best of them,' said Pope, after naming those two, Wycherley, Congreve, Fletcher, Jonson, and Shakespear.

'Garth, Vanbrugh and Congreve, were the three most honest-hearted, real good men, of the poetical members of the Kit-cat club.—*Mr Pope and old Jacob Tonson.*

*The character of Addison as a friend, or as a man, does not rise high in these Memoirs; but he appears to have been a more agreeable companion than is generally supposed. His reserve and incapacity for public speaking are confirmed; but his talents for conversation among his intimate acquaintance must have been nearly on a par with his talents for writing. This is handed down on too good authority to be doubted. Pope says of him,—‘Addison was perfect good company with intimates; and *had something more charming in his conversation than I ever knew in any other man*: but with any mixture of strangers, and sometimes only with one, he seemed to preserve his dignity much; with a stiff sort of silence.’ Lady Wortley Montague (certainly a competent witness) rates him no less highly. ‘It was my fate,’ she declares, ‘to be much with the wits:’ and then she furnishes a scale of several of them. ‘Addison was the best company in the world—I never knew any body that had so much wit as Congreve—Sir Richard Steele was a very good-natured man—and Dr Garth a very worthy one.’

‘Old Jacob Tonson did not like Mr Addison. He had a quarrel with him; and after his quitting the Secretaryship, used frequently to say of him: “One day or other, you’ll see that man a bishop! I’m sure he looks that way; and indeed, I ever thought him a priest in his heart.”—P.’

‘Addison usually studied all the morning; then met his party at Button’s; dined there; and stayed five or six hours; and sometimes far into the night. I was of the company for about a year, but found it too much for me: it hurt my health, and so I quitted it.—P.’

‘Addison passed each day alike; and much in the manner that Dryden did.—Dryden employed his mornings in writing; dined *en famille*; and then went to Wills’s; only he came home earlier at nights.—P.’

‘Gay was quite a natural man, wholly without art or design, and spoke just what he thought. He dangled for twenty years about a court, and at last was offered to be made Usher to the young Princesses!—Secretary Craggs made Gay a present of stock in the South-Sea year: and he was once worth twenty thousand pounds, but lost it all again. He got about four hundred pounds by the first *Beggars’ Opera*, and eleven or twelve hundred by the second.—He was negligent, and a bad manager. Latterly, the Duke of Queensberry took his money into his keeping, and let him have only what was necessary out of it; and as he lived with them, he could not have occasion for much.—He died worth upwards of three thousand pounds.—P.’

‘Prior kept every thing by him, even to all his school exercises. There is a manuscript collection of this kind in his servant Drift’s hands, which contains at least half as much as all his printed works. And there are nine or ten copies of verses among them, which I

thought much better than several things he himself published. In particular, I remember there was a dialogue of about two hundred verses between Apollo and Daphne, which pleased me as much as any thing of his I ever read.—There are, also, four dialogues in prose between persons, of characters very strongly opposed to one another, which I thought very good. One of them was between Charles the Fifth and his tutor Adrian the Sixth—to show the different turns of a person, who had studied human nature only in his closet, and of one who had rambled all over Europe. Another between Montaigne and Locke, on a most regular and a very loose way of thinking. A third, between Oliver Cromwell and his mad Porter; and the fourth between Sir Thomas More and the Vicar of Bray.

‘Prior left most of his effects to the poor woman he kept company with, his Chloë: *every body knows what a wretch she was.* I think she had been a little alehouse-keeper’s wife.—Pope.’

The anecdotes of Sir Godfrey Kneller, are among the most amusing in the book—some new, and others old. His character seems, however, to have been taken up in too serious a light. His vanity was no doubt gross and extravagant; but there was a strong tincture of eccentricity and whim in it; and he often exaggerated its manifestations as much to amuse and startle others, as to flatter his self-love. He belonged to a very common class of characters, which has not been very commonly understood—persons who are accessory to the ridicule thrown upon themselves, and “play off their own follies in society as they might caricature an imaginary character upon the stage—who are at once ‘the butt and the wit, the jester and the jest.’” To this Kneller’s foreign accent and foreign notions might contribute not a little; for a foreigner, finding himself laughed at for involuntary blunders, if he is waggishly inclined, will be apt to commit voluntary absurdities to lighten the joke, and to give others something to gape at and be tickled with, while he himself may be a sharer in the mirth that is going on. Not only the egregious instances of vanity that are recorded of this artist are to be received *cum grano salis*—even his gluttony and avarice might admit, to a certain degree, of a similar explanation—that is, were overacted to humour the thing, and were a sort of dramatic burlesques of his real infirmities. His good opinion of himself met on one occasion with the following very ludicrous rebuff. ‘Mr Pope was with Sir Godfrey Kneller one day, when his nephew, a Guinea-trader, came in. “Nephew,” (said Sir Godfrey) “you have the honour of seeing the two greatest men in the world.”—“I don’t know how great you may be,” (said the Guinea-man); “but I don’t like your looks: I have often bought a man much better than both of you together, all muscles and bones, for ten guineas !—Dr Warburton.”’

The Duke of Marlborough is repeatedly mentioned; and his character is drawn with great minuteness and force of colouring. His ruling passion, avarice, appears to have had nothing jocular or assumed in it: it was a melancholy reality, an incurable madness. Take the following little specimen.

'In his last decline at Bath, he was playing with Dean Jones at piquet, for sixpence a game: they played a good while, and the Duke left off when winner of one game. Some time after, he desired the Dean to pay him his sixpence: the Dean said he had no silver. The Duke asked him for it over and over; and at last desired that he would change a guinea to pay it him, because he should want it to pay the chair that carried him home. The Dean, after so much pressing, did at last get change; paid the Duke his sixpence; observed him a little after leave the room, and declares, that (after all the bustle that had been made for his sixpence) the Duke actually walked home, to save the little expense a chair would have put him to.—P.'

Mr Spence himself gives rather a lively account of Lady Wortley Montague, whom he met at Rome in 1740.

'I always desired, he says, to be acquainted with Lady Mary, and could never bring it about, though we were so often together in London: soon after we came to this place, her Ladyship came here, and in five days I was well acquainted with her. She was married young, and she told me, with that freedom much travelling gives, that she was never in so great a hurry of thought, as the month before she was married: she scarce slept any one night that month. You know she was one of the most celebrated beauties of her day, and had a vast number of offers; and the thing that kept her awake was who to fix upon. She was determined as to two points from the first, that is, to be married to somebody, and not to be married to the man her father advised her to have. The last night of the month she determined; and in the morning left the husband of her father's choice buying the wedding-ring, and scuttled away to be married to Mr Wortley.'

We must conclude with some particulars of Mr Pope's death, which are mostly new, and all very interesting.

'Here am I, like Socrates, distributing my morality among my friends, just as I am dying.—P.' [This was said on his sending about some of his Ethic Epistles as presents, about three weeks before we lost him.] I replied, 'I really had that thought several times, when I was last at Twickenham with you; and was apt, now and then, to look upon myself like Phaedo.'—'That might be, (said he); but you must not expect me now to say any thing like Socrates.'

'One of the things that I have always most wondered at is, that there should be any such thing as human vanity.—If I had any, I had enough to mortify it, a few days ago: for I lost my mind for a whole day.—P.' [This was said on the 10th of May; and the day

he spoke of was the Sunday before, May the 6th. A day or two after, he complained of that odd phenomenon (as he called it) of seeing every thing in the room as through a curtain. On the 14th, he complained of seeing false colours on objects.]—*Spence.*

'The 15th, on Mr Lyttleton's coming in to see him, he said, "Here am I, dying of a hundred good symptoms!"—[This was just after Dr T. had been telling him, that he was glad to find that he breathed so much easier; that his pulse was very good; and several other encouraging things.]—*Spence.*

'He said to me, "What's that?" pointing into the air with a very steady regard; and then looked down on me, and said, with a smile of great pleasure, and with the greatest softness, "'Twas a vision!"—*Spence.*

'I had got the Regent's edition of Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe* in my hand, to read while he was dozing. "They are very innocent loves, like those of Adam and Eve in Milton," (said he): "I wonder how a man of so infected a mind as the Regent could have any taste for such a book."—[It was on this same day that he requested to be brought to the table where we were sitting at dinner: his appearance was such, that we all thought him dying. Mrs Anne Arbutnot involuntarily exclaimed, "Lord have mercy upon us! This is quite an Egyptian feast."—]—*Spence.*

'A short time before his death, Mr Pope said, "I am so certain of the soul's being immortal, that I seem to feel it within me as it were by intuition."—When Mr Hooke asked him, whether he would not die as his father and mother had done; and whether he should not send for a priest?—he said, "I do not suppose that is essential; but it will look right;—and I heartily thank you for putting me in mind of it."

'In the morning, after the priest had given him the last sacraments, he said, "There is nothing meritorious but ~~Virtue~~ Virtue and Friendship; and indeed friendship itself is but a part of virtue."

'Mr Pope died on the 30th of May (1744), in the evening; but they did not know the exact time:—for his departure was so easy, that it was imperceptible even to the standers by.—

'So fails, so languishes, grows dim, and dies
All that this world is proud of: From their spheres
The stars of human glory are cast down;
Perish the roses and the flowers of Kings,
Princes and Emperours, and the crowns and palms
Of all the mighty, withered and consumed!—

So, too, the life of a poet passes like a summer's dream, and leaves behind it nothing but the shadow of a name!

ART. III. *Observations on the Injurious Consequences of the Restrictions upon Foreign Commerce.* By a Member of the late Parliament. pp. 87. London, 1820.

IN spite of all that has been said and written to the contrary, we have not the shadow of a doubt that *high wages* are by far the most effectual means that can be devised for promoting industry, and attaching the bulk of the people to the institutions under which they live. The desire to accumulate property, and to rise in the world, is deeply seated in the human breast, and is in fact the source of all the improvements which have ever been made. In countries where the wages of labour are high, a workman, by availing himself of the means within his reach, may not only gain a considerable command over the necessaries and comforts of life, but has it in his power to attain to a state of comparative affluence and independence. In such countries the rights of property will be respected; and for this plain reason, that every individual *feels* that he derives a direct advantage from their institution, and that without them he could not peaceably enjoy the fruits of his industry. The example of the United States shows the truth of this reasoning. Our Transatlantic brethren have no national religion—they have no societies for the suppression of vice, or the building of churches; nor is their administration supported and strengthened by the colossal establishments of the Old World. But, on the other hand, every citizen of the United States is impressed with the conviction, that honest exertion is sufficient to make him rich, and that intelligence and good conduct may raise him to the highest honours of the State. The real, solid, and palpable advantages which he enjoys, make him turn a deaf ear to the harangues of itinerant demagogues, and the dreams of visionary enthusiasts. Cobbet in Long Island was quite as little attended to as the Laureate in Westmoreland: Nor has the utmost efforts of a press a thousand times as licentious as that of England, and the freest circulation of the theological writings of Paine and Palmer, and myriads more of their *caste*, been able to give a moment's disturbance to the smallest village in America. We must not, therefore, deceive ourselves, by supposing that the irritation which exists in this country has been occasioned either by the intemperance of the press, or the efforts of a few seditious demagogues. It originates in causes which cannot be so easily controlled; nor would it be materially affected by the suppression of every newspaper in the kingdom.

Wherever the wages of labour are so low as merely to afford

a pittance to support a miserable existence, we must not expect that the institutions of society will be either greatly venerated or respected. Nothing, indeed, but the terrors of criminal justice, can ever afford a sufficient guarantee for the obedience of a population pressing against the limits of subsistence, and whose wages cannot provide for their comfortable support. It is idle to expect industry where it does not meet with a suitable reward. And where men are not industrious, and are at the same time pinched by want, we are certain to meet with idleness, dissipation, and crime.

But whatever may be the general effect of low wages, or, which is the same thing, of a comparatively limited command over the necessities and luxuries of life, on the peace of society, it is plain it must be most perceptible during the period when a transition is making from a higher to a lower rate. A population who have never known better days—who have always been sunk in the abyss of poverty—and who are entire strangers to those comforts and enjoyments which sooth the toils of their brethren in happier circumstances—may not be discontented, though it is impossible that they should be either active, enterprising, or industrious. But when a wealthy and flourishing population is suddenly reduced to a state of indigence, they will not manifest such apathy. Great discontent and dissatisfaction have ever accompanied an increased difficulty of living; and it is perhaps not greatly to be lamented, that it should be so: For nothing could prevent a people, who submitted without a struggle to such privations, from sinking below the level of the lower animals.

Now, this is precisely the condition of the manufacturing classes in Great Britain. They have been suddenly reduced from affluence and prosperity to the extreme of poverty and misery. In one of the debates in the late Session of Parliament, * it was stated, that the wages of weavers in Glasgow and its vicinity, which, when highest, had averaged about 25s. or 27s. a week, had been reduced in 1816 to 10s.; and in 1819 to the wretched pittance of 5s. 6d. or 6s. They have not since been materially augmented: And the consequence has been, that after exhausting the funds of those friendly societies which had been organized in happier times, and selling their furniture and clothes, the weavers have literally sunk into a state of starvation. The same is the case with the manufacturing classes in Renfrewshire, and throughout England. In Lancashire the weavers are divided

* Mr Bennet's Motion for an Inquiry into the State of the Manufacturing Districts, 9th December 1819.

into different classes; and wages vary from 6s. to 12s. a week for 15 hours' labour a day. They are nearly destitute of fuel and clothes; their bedding consists only of sacks filled with straw and chips; and their food is at once deficient in quantity, and of the coarsest and least nutritive kind.—But the condition of the children is chiefly calculated to excite sympathy and compassion. The necessities of their parents has occasioned their being employed in factories from the tenderest years; and at this moment a very large proportion of the half starved children of the manufacturing districts, are shut up for 12 or 16 hours a day, to the irreparable injury of their health and morals, for a recompense of not more than 2s. or 3s. a week. The distresses of the cloth weavers of Yorkshire, are, if possible, still more severe than those of the cotton weavers of Lancashire: And the combined operation of taxation and the poor's rates, has reduced the smaller proprietors and farmers nearly to the same hopeless condition as the manufacturers. †

Perhaps, however, the silk weavers of Coventry and other places, and the frame-work knitters, of Nottingham, have sunk the lowest in the scale of degradation. Last May, a petition was presented to the House of Commons by Mr Moore, from the *Mayor and Corporation of Coventry*, stating that the poor's rates on the landed property in the district contiguous to the town, amounted to 45s. per acre, and to 19s. per pound on the rents of the houses within the town. But, notwithstanding this enormous assessment, the weavers were in a state of the greatest distress. Many thousands were absolute paupers, and depended entirely for support on the rates. Of those in employment, such as had frames of their own, and who worked 16 hours a day, were only in the receipt of 10s. a week; the second class, whose frames were furnished by the master manufacturers, earned in all about 5s. 6d.; and the third, or inferior class of workmen, only from 2s. 9d. to 1s. 6d. a week, or from 5½d. to 3d. a day! The petition prayed, that the House would interfere to regulate the rate of wages; but this they wisely declined,—though it is difficult to perceive, unless some considerable assistance be administered, how these unfortunate persons can possibly escape falling a sacrifice to famine.

† The quantity of broad and narrow cloths milled in Yorkshire in the year 1819-20, was 2,672,102 yards less than the quantity milled in the previous year; which was itself nearly one million of yards short of the quantity milled in 1817. The total decline in the two last years has amounted to nearly ONE FOURTH part of the entire manufacture.

We have been at some pains to make the proper inquiries, and we have learned, that the statements in an address published last August, by the frame-work knitters of Nottingham, and of which the following is an extract, are not in the slightest degree exaggerated. 'After working from 14 to 16 hours a day, we only earn from 4s. to 7s. a week, to maintain our wives and families upon; and we farther state, that, although we have substituted bread and water, or potatoes and salt, for that more wholesome food an Englishman's table used to abound with, we have repeatedly retired, after a heavy day's labour, and been under the necessity of putting our children supperless to bed, to stifle the cries of hunger. We can most solemnly declare, that *for the last eighteen months we have scarcely known what it was to be free from the pains of hunger.*'

The population of the manufacturing districts cannot be estimated at less than *two and a half, or three* millions; and certainly it could not previously have been supposed, that so very numerous a body should have been cast down from their former comfortable condition, to that pitch of misery and wretchedness we have just described, without occasioning much more violent commotions than have actually taken place. The folly and the guilt of those who have had recourse to violence and depredation, cannot indeed be palliated; and must be repressed by suitable punishment.* But the root of the distemper is not in the depraved character of the people, but in the miseries of their condition. The severe pressure of positive want and famine, and not the circulation of a few miserable pamphlets, has been the cause of all the discontent and disaffection of which we have heard so much. Give the weavers bread, or the means of acquiring it, and the traitorous schemes of the Radicals will vanish like 'the baseless fabric of a vision.' The distresses, and not the evil inclinations of the people, induced them, like drowning men, to catch at a straw, and to believe that the Venerable Major's radical pill would purge away all their misery. * Had the lower classes been always familiar with workhouses, rags, and wretchedness, such privations might be submitted to in silent despair. But the greater number of them have seen better days; and the change is consequently most hard to be borne.

* This is the opinion of the Manchester Magistrates themselves. In a communication to Lord Sidmouth, dated 1st July 1819, they state, that the manufacturing classes are involved in *deep distress*; and 'when the people,' they observe, 'are *oppressed with hunger*, we do not wonder at their giving ear to any doctrines which they are told will redress their grievances.'

If, therefore, Government be really desirous of restoring prosperity and tranquillity to the country, and of saving the great bulk of the people of Britain from all risk of being permanently reduced to the same hopeless and desperate condition as their brethren in Ireland, they must lose no time in adopting a different system from that on which they have hitherto acted. It is not by laws of additional severity, nor by adding to the already enormous amount of the standing army, that the peace of society can be effectually restored. Harsh and coercive measures, by alienating the affections, and degrading the character of the people, may annihilate even the *possibility of future improvement*; but it is not in the nature of things, that they should mitigate or remove the real evils of which the people have at this moment so very great reason to complain.

But the mischief will not stop here.—Should the present system be persevered in, it will do more than perpetuate the discontents, and degrade the condition of the labourer. Neither the country gentlemen nor the fundholders must flatter themselves with the vain and delusive idea, that they shall be able to perpetuate their existence, and to continue quietly to enjoy their fortunes, in a country in which the greater portion of the inhabitants are poor and miserable, and where a *compulsory* provision for the support of the poor has been long organized. If the wealthier classes would save their fortunes from destruction, they must lend all the assistance in their power to those who are urging the necessity of abandoning that factitious and unnatural system which has caused so much misery. Nor is there a moment's time to be lost. The evils under which we now suffer will soon become incurable; and, ere long, the utmost efforts of the Government and the people will be unable to stop the torrent of pauperism, and the efflux of capital. During the last fifteen years, the assessments for the support of the Poor have increased from FOUR to TEN or TWELVE millions: But the cry for relief is notwithstanding louder and more pressing, at this, than at any former period. Far, indeed, from there being any ground whatever for considering this frightful progression as having approached its termination, it cannot fail to have been prodigiously accelerated. Paupers and Poor-laws act and react, produce and reproduce each other, in a geometrical progression. If this system be not effectually counteracted, or, which is the same thing, if the Poor be not enabled to provide for themselves, it will in a very few years infect all classes with the plague of universal poverty, and sink both high and low below the level of what was

originally lowest. Ministers, the other day, took it into their heads to suspend the Habeas Corpus act, because a cobbler of the name of Spence had the temerity to affirm, that the land was 'the people's farm.' But the measures which they have supported and proposed will, much more than the eloquence of the renowned son of St Crispin, contribute to carry this levelling doctrine into effect. The paupers and tenants of work-houses, already share with the landlords of England, to the extent of nearly a half of the net rental of that kingdom: And, if matters are permitted to go on for the next seven years, as they have done for the last seven, none will be found hardy enough to deny the perfect accuracy of Spence's position; and Ministers will then be able to boast, that they have established a perfect *agrarian* system,—destroyed the inequality of fortunes, —and converted this once flourishing kingdom into one mighty workhouse!

This statement is not liable to the charge of exaggeration; though, if it were, the long continued and general distress to which the labouring classes in every part of the kingdom have been, and still are exposed, ought to be a sufficient reason to induce the Government and the other classes, instantly to come forward to assist them. The only difference of opinion that can possibly exist on the subject, must be confined to the question, of the *manner* in which this relief should be afforded. But we do not think that, even on this head, there is much room for controversy. Except as a *temporary resource*, and we think it might be very advisable to afford some assistance in this way, no scheme for the relief of the Poor deserves one moment's consideration, if it has not for its object to render them independent of relief. Although *ten* or *twenty* millions were gratuitously distributed among the distressed workmen, it is clear, that if they are forced to spend it as revenue, and are not enabled to invest it in any department of industry in which it will *reproduce* itself, their necessities must very soon be as great or greater than ever. Neither can the real wages of labour be increased, by any effort on the part of the State, to provide employment for the whole, or a part, of the unemployed workmen. On the contrary, such an attempt, however advantageous it might at first sight appear, could not fail to be most pernicious, and ultimately to increase the very evil it was designed to remedy. We may depend upon it, whatever capital is employed by the State, would have been employed in some other manner, had it been left in the possession of the individuals from whose funds it must of necessity have been de-

rived. The only effect of the interference of Government in the employment of labour, is to give a factitious distribution to capital; and, consequently, to invest it in a less profitable manner, than if it had been left to be disposed of by its natural owners.

But although Government cannot possibly increase the demand for labour, by interfering with the natural distribution of capital, we must not, therefore, give ourselves up to despair. There are other methods by which Ministers may accomplish this great object. It is universally admitted, that a falling off in the foreign demand for British manufactured produce, is the immediate cause of the present want of employment, and, consequently, of the low wages of the manufacturers. If the foreign market could not be extended, it is not easy to divine how we could escape from the abyss of poverty and misery into which we are fallen:—But, fortunately, we have this completely in our power. Whatever obstructions the illiberal jealousy of foreign States may have thrown in the way of our intercourse with them, and certainly we have no wish to under-rate their importance, there can be no manner of doubt that we have suffered infinitely more from the officious and improper interference of our own Government. In regulating our intercourse with foreign countries, our rulers appear to have entirely forgotten, that *there can be no selling without an equal buying*; and by endeavouring to prevent the importation of comparatively cheap foreign commodities, for it is such only that either can or will be imported, they have effectually prevented the *exportation* of those which would have been exchanged for them. The time is now come when we must either abandon this exclusive and unnatural system, or submit to be deprived of that widely extended commerce which has hitherto afforded the means of subsistence to so large a proportion of our population, and been the main source of all our wealth and prosperity. The artificial protection which had at first been granted to a few branches of industry, has been urged as a valid reason by those engaged in other branches, why they should be placed in the same favoured situation. In this way, the restrictive and prohibitive system has at length interfered with the freedom of commerce in almost every department. We could fill half a dozen of pages with the mere names of commodities whose importation is entirely prohibited; and as many more with the names of those, on which duties amounting in effect to a prohibition, and intended to act as such, have been imposed. ‘When-
ever,’ said one of our most accomplished and intelligent men-

chants, ' the assistance of Government is called for by any class
 ' of traders or manufacturers, it is usual to make the most splen-
 ' did display of the importance of that particular branch to the
 ' nation at large. The West and East India interests, the ship-
 ' owners, the manufacturers, the American merchants, &c. &c.
 ' have all made these representations; but it should be recol-
 ' lected, that it is contrary to sound policy to advance one be-
 ' yond its natural means, and still more so when that *must* be
 ' done at the expense of the others. *If every law of regulation,*
 ' *either of our internal or external trade, were repealed, with the*
 ' *exception of those necessary for the collecting of the revenue, it*
 ' *would be an undoubted benefit to commerce, as well as to the*
 ' *community at large. An avowed system of leaving things to*
 ' *their own course, and of not listening to the interested solici-*
 ' *tations of one class or another for relief, whenever the impru-*
 ' *dence of speculation has occasioned losses, would, sooner than*
 ' *any artificial remedy, reproduce that equilibrium of demand*
 ' *and supply which the ardour of gain will frequently derange,*
 ' *but which the same cause, when let alone, will as infallibly*
 ' *restore.* ' *

If any thing besides the distress and misery of which it has already been so productive, were wanting, to induce us to abandon our prohibitory system, and to consent gradually to recur to the sound principle of a free trade, it would be found in the effect which it has had on the policy of other nations. Instead of ascribing the commercial superiority of Great Britain to its true causes—to the comparative freedom of our constitution—the absence of all oppressive feudal privileges, and our perfect security of property, our foreign rivals have re-echoed the sentiments of ministers, and contend that it has resulted entirely from the protection granted to our merchants and manufacturers, and urge our example to stimulate their respective governments to secure them against the effects of British competition. Nor have these applications been without effect. In 1817, the American legislature passed an act, copied to the very letter from our famous Navigation Law, with the avowed intention of its operating as a retaliatory measure against this country; and they have just passed another act prohibiting, under heavy penalties, all intercourse between the United States and the British West India Islands, because, as one of their orators expressed it, ' Great Britain would not allow a cock-boat, or any vessel belonging to

* Inquiry into the Causes and Consequences of the Orders in Council, by Alexander Baring Esq., M. P. p. 135.

an American subject, to enter her colonies.' Such are the natural fruits of restrictive regulations! It is seldom that a year passes without some complaint from the West India planters about the depression of trade, and the want of a demand for their produce; and yet, by a singular exertion of legislative wisdom, we prohibit American vessels from entering their ports! This would have been all vastly well, had the Americans chosen to pocket the affront. Had they, as our practical statesmen believed would be the case, employed British ships to export the flour, timber, &c. of the United States to Jamaica, and to bring back our sugars, rums, &c. in return, *our shipping interest* would have been materially benefited. But these wise persons unluckily forgot that the Americans had a *shipping interest* as well as ourselves; and we cannot be surprised at their endeavouring to defeat a measure so obviously founded on the worst principles of a grasping and avaricious policy.

It would have been well, had the retaliatory measures of the Americans stopped here. But the Orders in Council and the Non-intercourse Act, having for several years nearly put a total stop to the intercourse between this country and the United States, a *manufacturing interest* grew up in the latter. Had the Americans acted wisely, they would have left this *new interest* to depend on its own resources. But, in humble imitation of 'the wisdom of their ancestors,' they immediately set about fostering and dandling the rickety bantling; and, to save it from the effect of foreign competition, increased the duties on imported cotton and woollen goods from 12½ to 25 per cent. This increase of duty, or, which is the same thing, this addition of 12½ per cent. to the price of all the cotton and woollen cloths made use of by the American people, not having been found sufficient to protect those rash and improvident speculators who had engaged in a branch of industry which they must have been certain could only exist by means of a monopoly, Congress have favourably entertained a proposal for making so very large an addition to the present duties as will go far to render them prohibitory! Now, we feel perfectly assured, that nothing but the example of Great Britain could ever have induced the American Legislature to listen for one moment to so monstrous a proposal. The boundless extent of fertile and unappropriated land in that country, must, for ages to come, render the raising of raw produce the most profitable species of industry in which her citizens can possibly engage. And any attempt to encourage the premature growth of manufactures, by forcing the investment of a very large proportion of the capital of the country in a less productive employment, must occasion a

proportionable diminution of the power to accumulate stock, and of the wealth and riches of the community. But the American *practical statesmen*, (for we have no absolute monopoly of the breed), without attempting to answer the objections of *speculative reasoners* and *theorists*, content themselves with referring to our example. "See," say they, "to what a pitch of power and of commercial grandeur England has attained; and will she, they triumphantly ask, import any one commodity from abroad, if it can be raised at home, at four or five times the price it might be bought for from foreigners? Why then should not America profit by this example? and, like England, secure the home market to her manufacturers, by prohibiting the introduction of every species of manufactured goods, that may chance to come in competition with her own?" It is thus that the example of this country is quoted against itself. And, most unquestionably, as has been justly remarked by the merchants of London, in their petition to the House of Commons, "If the reasoning upon which our restrictions have been defended is worth any thing, it will equally apply in behalf of the regulations of foreign States against us."

As we owe infinitely more than any other country to commerce, we may be sure that this is, on our part, a very unequal contest.—Nothing indeed but an immediate recurrence to a more liberal system can save us from absolute ruin. A prohibition against the importation of the manufactured produce of other countries, supposing it could be made effective, would, in a country like the United States, only cause a faulty distribution of the national capital, and a less rapid progress in the accumulation of wealth.—But, in an overpeopled country like England, where soils of the fourth or fifth degree of fertility are already under cultivation, and where a very large proportion of the population have long been engaged in manufacturing for foreign markets, any considerable falling-off in the demand for their produce, must be attended with the most disastrous consequences. It is obviously impossible, however, that foreigners can continue to purchase the commodities of any country that will not consent to accept of theirs in exchange. The extraordinary zeal of our practical statesmen to exclude every thing which is not of domestic origin, from our markets, would almost induce us to suppose, that they are desirous the manufacturers of England should furnish cottons, woollens, and hardware gratis to all the world! But the merchants of Great Britain, like those of other countries, will, notwithstanding the opposition of their rulers, be actuated in their intercourse with foreigners exclusively by self-interested motives. They will not export a single bale of goods, if they are pre-

vented from importing an equal or greater value in its stead. And, hence, to whatever extent we prohibit the importation of external commodities, we must in effect hinder, *to precisely the same extent, the exportation of our own manufactures.* But this is very far from being the whole of the mischief occasioned by this pernicious system. No *commercial nation* ever refuses to import the cheap produce of another, without occasioning a much more serious injury to its own subjects, than to those of the nation against whom the prohibition was intended to operate. By refusing to import the cheap corn of America, we may perhaps give an inconsiderable check to the cultivation of land in that republic; but we cannot accomplish this, without compelling our artisans to pay a greatly enhanced price for their bread, and without, at the same time, preventing the extension of those manufactures, the produce of which would have been taken in exchange for the corn. It is thus that the exclusive system saps the very foundations of national prosperity. If persisted in, it will assuredly give universality to that pauperism and wretchedness which it has already rendered so very general. Were it carried to its full and proper extent—to that extent to which it has of late made so rapid an approach—it would put an end to all foreign commerce, and even to that carried on between different divisions of the Empire; for, it would not be more absurd to prevent the manufacturers of Glasgow exchanging their muslins for the cattle of Argyleshire, than it is to prevent their exchanging them for the corn of America, or the wines of France.

The state of our intercourse with Norway, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, and Denmark, affords a still more striking proof of the pernicious effects of our present monopolizing system. Previous to 1810, we maintained a very extensive and advantageous traffic with those countries. In 1809, no fewer than 428,000 tons of shipping were employed in conveying timber from the Baltic, and in exporting British manufactured and colonial produce in return; while, at the same time, more than one half of the iron produced in Sweden, found a ready market in this country. The small progress the Northern nations had made in manufacturing industry, and the demand which a country, circumstanced like Great Britain, must always have for the valuable raw produce with which they abound, would, but for the interference of Government, have occasioned a very great extension of this mutually beneficial intercourse. Instead, however, of meeting with encouragement and protection, or, which would have been much better, instead of being let alone, we have done every thing in our power to destroy it altogether.

The *shipping* interest represented to the Board of Trade, that as Sweden and Norway were not quite so distant as Canada, if prohibitory duties were imposed on timber imported from the Baltic, and permission given to import Canadian timber duty free, a greater amount of tonnage, and a greater number of sailors, would be necessary to carry it to this country! The Right Honourable and enlightened persons to whom this representation was addressed, were extremely well pleased with the suggestion: And the Canada merchants having given the scheme their support, Ministers forthwith brought in a bill, repealing the duties payable on British American timber, and doubling those on Baltic timber! But, notwithstanding this enormous increase of duty, the trade with the North was still carried on, though to a comparatively limited extent, till 1813, when an addition of 25 per cent. being made to the duties laid on in 1810, it entirely ceased: And ever since that time, the people of Britain have been obliged to pay about *twice* the price for timber of the very worst quality; and which is not expected to last above 20 years, that previously sufficed to procure the finest and most durable timber in the world!

But Ministers could not, had they been so disposed, stop here. Having gratified the Canada merchants and the shipping interest, by doubling the price of timber, they could not venture to refuse a monopoly of the iron trade to the proprietors of mines in this country. And hence, in order to attract an undue proportion of the national capital to the hazardous and unproductive trade of mining, prohibitory duties were imposed on Swedish and other foreign iron, and this important branch of our external commerce totally suppressed!

This conduct, we must say, is much more akin to absolute insanity, than to mere official drivelling. For the sake of employing a few thousand additional tons of shipping, and of clearing a few hundred acres of a colony, which is of no value whatever to this country, and which, in the course of twenty or thirty years, will be either independent, or a province of the United States, we have deprived ourselves of the revenue afforded by the low duty on Baltic timber,—obliged our builders and manufacturers to pay double prices for inferior fir and iron,—almost entirely annihilated a trade second only in importance to that with the United States,—and occasioned irreparable injury and disgust to our national friends and customers! Neither Norway nor Sweden had any other commodities except wood and iron to give in exchange for our produce; and as we refused to take either of these, they have been absolutely unable to import a single cargo of our goods; so that we have in fact voluntarily shut ourselves out of

a market where we annually disposed of from 800,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.* worth of commodities! Russia and Prussia, from being possessed of a greater variety of resources, are still able to maintain a considerable intercourse with us; though, in those years in which we do not import corn, our exports to them do not exceed a *third* of what they amounted to previous to 1810.

The experience we have now had of the effects of this perverse and ruinous policy, ought surely to be sufficient to induce us to renounce it for ever. As the act of 1810, by which the duties on Baltic timber were doubled, *expires this year*, an opportunity will be afforded, in the present Session of Parliament, of considering the expediency of its continuance. It is impossible, we think, in the actual situation of the country, and taking into view the effects of which it has already been productive, that Ministers can have the hardihood to propose its renewal. However, the public in general, and those more especially interested in the Baltic trade, should be upon their guard; and should urge on Parliament the necessity of replacing the intercourse with the Northern nations, as well in iron as in wood, on the same footing as before the duties were raised. Such a measure would be productive of the very greatest advantages in a mercantile point of view; while, as has been well observed by the author of the pamphlet before us, by relieving the Swedes, Norwegians, &c. from the suffering to which our change of system has exposed them, 'it would be received abroad as a token of liberal, fair acting on our part, and would do much to remove those sentiments of hostility which now so generally exist against us.'

It is, however, to the state of our intercourse with France that the public attention ought to be chiefly directed. At this distance of time, it is of no importance to inquire which of the two countries was the first to fetter and restrict the trade with its most civilized and opulent neighbour. Both parties, we believe, were in this respect equally blameable; and whichever may have been the first to commence this *felo de se* crusade on the comforts and enjoyments of its own subjects, its measures have been but too well seconded by the other. The wretched effects of such blind and infatuated policy have at length become manifest. Instead of being, what they have been most absurdly and wickedly designated, natural enemies, Britain and France, from their near vicinity, and the extreme variety, as well in their raw as in their manufactured products, are especially fitted to maintain an extensive and mutually advantageous intercourse. *It is to France, much more than to either South or North America,*

or the East Indies, that we should look for new channels of commerce. We ought to show that we have emancipated ourselves from the disgraceful prejudices by which our ancestors were actuated, when they declared the trade with France a *nuisance*, (Prohibition Act, 1st Will. & Mary); and that the experience of a century has satisfied us, that a rich, populous, and highly cultivated country, must afford a much better market for our products, than one that is comparatively poor and miserable.

We do not, however, contend, that any preference ought to be given to the trade with France over that with Portugal, or any other country. *Laissez-nous faire*, is our maxim. Certainly, however, if any partiality were to be shown, we should have very little hesitation indeed in preferring THIRTY millions of rich customers to THREE millions of poor ones. But, although we do not reap a single advantage from our trade with Portugal, which might not be reaped in a *tenfold* greater proportion from a liberal intercourse with France, we desire no obstacles to be thrown in the way of our intercourse with this 'dear and near ally.' So far from this, we should be extremely well pleased were those now existing entirely done away, and the duties on port-wine reduced to one half their present amount. All that we want is, that the same favour should be shown to the trade with France, and that our manufacturers and merchants should no longer be excluded from the most extensive market in the world; merely because a Mr Methuen, who negotiated a treaty with Portugal in 1703, seems to have been of opinion, that this was the best method by which commerce could be promoted! Why should a consumer of claret be obliged to pay 143*l.* 18*s.* per ton of duty, when a consumer of port is enabled to purchase the same quantity on payment of a duty of 95*l.* 11*s.*? And why should as large a duty be levied from the *vins ordinaires*, as from those of the first quality? All this appears to us to be pitifully absurd and ridiculous. Government might surely find enough to do without interfering to regulate the drinks of its subjects. The same moderate *ad valorem* duties ought to be imposed on all wines without distinction; and the consumers left to determine for themselves whether port and sherry be really preferable to claret and champagne.*

* For the information of our readers, we subjoin a statement of the duties payable, per ton, on the different species of foreign wine imported into this country.

	Per Ton.
Duty on French wines imported in a British vessel	£ 143 18
Ditto on French wines imported in a Foreign vessel	143 4

In a former article on this subject (No. 63. Art. III.), we supposed that, were the trade to France thrown open, and silks, wines, cambrics, &c. admitted, on payment of reasonable duties, the British silk manufacture would not be able to stand the competition, and that the capital invested in it would have to be gradually transferred to some more lucrative employment. We are now, however, inclined to think, that even this trifling inconvenience would not be experienced. The greater part of the silk manufactured in France is of foreign growth; but while the French manufacturer only pays an equal duty of about 2s. 6d. per pound on both raw and thrown silk, the English manufacturer has to pay 5s. 6d. per pound of duty on the former, and 15s. on the latter! No wonder, when such an immense advantage is given to the French, that they should be able to beat us out of the foreign market, and even to smuggle a considerable quantity into this country. But, Mr Ellice, Member for Coventry, one of the principal seats of the silk manufacture, distinctly and explicitly stated, in his speech on Mr Bennet's motion for an Inquiry into the State of the Manufacturing Districts, that if Ministers would take off the tax on the raw material, *he would consent, on the part of his constituents, to open the ports for a free trade with France in articles of silk manufacture.* 'I do not,' said the honourable gentleman, 'speak unadvisedly; and I am certain, that in that case this country would at least furnish as much as she would receive.'

It is in vain, therefore, to attempt to set up a clamour about the injury that would be done to the *silk interest*, by throwing open the trade with France. But, supposing that the silk trade could not be carried on under a liberal system, that would not in the least affect our opinion of the propriety of recurring to the sound principle of unrestricted intercourse. A branch of industry which can only support itself in the absence of all competition, had much better be abandoned. Neither the French

Duty on	p. Ton.
Portugal and Spanish wines imported in a British vessel	L. 95 11 0
Ditto on Portugal and Spanish wines imported in a Foreign vessel	98 16 0
Duty on Madeira wine in a British vessel	96 13 0
Ditto on Madeira wine in a Foreign vessel	99 16 6
Duty on wine imported from the Cape of Good Hope, is exactly one third of the duty on Portugal and Spanish wines	
Foreign vessel	32 18 8
British vessel	31 17 0
Duty on German and Hungary wines in a British vessel	118 3 6
in a Foreign vessel	122 10 0

nor the Spaniards would send us their silks, wines, brandies, &c. gratis: And the capital and industry which is now employed in the production of such commodities as would, under a different system, be imported from abroad, would then be devoted to the production of the articles which foreigners would not fail to require as an equivalent. It is obvious, therefore, that the abolition of all restrictions and prohibitions whatever, would prodigiously augment the productive energies of the country. As long as we cooperate with nature, we cannot be undersold by foreigners. And if, instead of absurdly endeavouring to raise at home what might be more cheaply imported from abroad, we were to employ our capital and industry exclusively in those branches in which our insular situation, our inexhaustible supplies of coal, and our improved machinery, give us a natural and real advantage, we should be secured against those injurious revulsions and changes in the ordinary channels of trade, which, in a fully peopled and highly manufacturing country, never fail to occasion the most wide-spread misery and distress. ‘Lorsque nous condamnons nos terres à nous donner ce qu’elles produisent avec désavantage, aux dépens de ce qu’elles produisent plus volontiers; lorsque nous achetons fort cher, ce que nous payerions à fort bon marché, si nous le tirions des lieux où il est produit avec avantage, nous devenons nous mêmes victimes de notre propre polie. Le comble de l’habileté est de tirer le parti le plus avantageux des forces de la nature; et le comble de la témence est de lutter contre elles; car c’est employer nos peines à détruire une partie des forces qu’elle voudroit nous prêter.’†

‘Commerce,’ to use the words of another able writer, ‘is an exchange of equivalents—a bartering between nations of one commodity for another. It is self-evident, therefore, that if we were to adopt the principle of free intercourse, and to import a considerable quantity of raw or manufactured produce, we should have to export a considerable quantity of something else in order to pay for it. In whatever degree our unrestricted external trade might lead us to receive commodities from other countries, in the same degree it would render those countries customers for our commodities—would promote our manufactures and extend our trade. As air expands, in proportion as the surrounding pressure is removed, so commerce flourishes as legislative interference is withdrawn. Whatever natural facilities we may possess, for carrying on the several branches of industry; and whatever may be our

† Say, *Traité d'Economie Politique*. Ed. 4me, p. 177

acquired advantages of skill, capital, and machinery; free intercourse is necessary to give them their most efficient operation, and to allow them scope for their full development. When any given portion of capital can, in England, fabricate a greater quantity of woollens or of cottons than in France, and can in France produce a greater supply of corn or wine than in England; then the absence of all regulation is all that is necessary to establish between the two countries an active and mutually beneficial commerce. *

It will no doubt be contended, that to throw open our ports to the importation of French commodities, without having previously stipulated that they should at the same time relinquish their restrictions and prohibitions, instead of extending the market for our manufactures, would only drain us of our bullion. But our practical Statesmen need not give themselves much uneasiness on this head. We have neither gold nor silver mines; and whatever additional quantities of bullion might be exported to France, must previously have been obtained by an equally increased exportation of some species of our produce to the countries possessed of the precious metals. It is mere error and delusion to suppose it possible to drain any State of its bullion. Gold and silver are never exported *to destroy*, but always *to find their level*. Nor, although the utmost freedom was given to import all sorts of French products, would a single ounce of bullion be sent to that kingdom, unless its real price was higher there than here, and, consequently, unless its exportation was advantageous.

Nothing, therefore, but our own absurd regulations—our being prohibited from purchasing from the French those commodities which we do not raise at home, and with which they could supply us cheaper than any other people, prevents us from maintaining a vastly greater and more advantageous intercourse with that country than with any other in the world. It is completely in our power to open a new and boundless market for our surplus products. We may, if we choose, immediately *double or triple the number of the foreign consumers of British manufactures*. Nor is it at all necessary, in order to bring about this most desirable result, that we should attempt to negotiate a commercial treaty with France. It is extremely probable, indeed, that such an attempt would, at the present moment, prove unsuccessful; and it is therefore fortunate that it is of very secondary importance. All that is required to lay the foundation of a commerce which would give an immediate stimulus to the lan-

guishing industry of the country, and of which it is impossible to estimate the future extent, is to consent to act, as a nation, on the same principles which regulate the conduct of every prudent individual—or, which is the same thing, to *buy in the cheapest market*. This is all the *sacrifice* that we are called on to make. The French, we may depend upon it, will not refuse to sell; and as there can be no *selling without an equal buying*—no exportation without a proportional importation—by acting on a liberal system ourselves, we shall not only reap a very great immediate advantage, but shall inevitably compel them to abandon their restrictions.

In supposing that the French would not refuse to *sell*, we pay them, it must be confessed, a compliment which, if applied to this country, would be altogether undeserved. *We* not only refuse to admit French commodities, but we prevent our merchants from exporting those for which there is a very great demand in France! Were it not for the enormous duty of about 70 per cent. with which exported coal is burdened, that article would find a ready market in France. But Ministers having resolved that we should neither drink the wines and brandies, nor clothe ourselves with the silks and cambrics, of our ingenious neighbours, appear to have thought it only reasonable that they, in their turn, should be prevented from warming themselves with our fuel.—We are totally unable to divine any other *reason* for this absurd prohibition. What should we think of the policy of the South Americans, were they to prohibit the exportation of bullion? Yet we believe there is just as good reason to apprehend the exhaustion of the mines of Mexico and Peru, as of those of Durham and Cumberland.

This illiberal policy is disadvantageous in many other respects besides being fatal to our commerce. Our open and avowed jealousy of the commercial prosperity of other countries, and the power to which we have attained, excites at once their ill-will and their envy; and disposes them as well to manifest an unaccommodating spirit on occasion of any petty quarrel, as to adopt retaliatory measures on our trade. This has been especially the case with France. But, if things were left to their natural course, the connexion between the two countries would be so intimate—the one would constitute so near, so advantageous, and so extensive a market for the produce of the other—that they could not remain long at war without occasioning the most extensively ruinous distress—distress which no government would be willing to inflict on its subjects, and to which, though it were willing, it is probable no people would be dis-

posed to submit. By doing away all restrictions on the trade with France, the two nations would acquire one *common interest*. And we should thus not only cause a prodigiously increased demand for our products, and a proportionable augmentation of the comforts of all classes, but, in a great measure, secure ourselves against the risk of future hostilities. *Les peuples ne s'entre-haïssent jamais*; and we trust the period is now arrived when a selfish and repulsive system of policy will no longer be permitted to

‘ Make enemies of nations who had else,
Like kindred drops, been mingled into one.’

The late glorious revolution in Spain, will not only give additional strength to the cause of freedom in this and every other country; but if we avail ourselves of the opportunity which it presents, it may also be rendered of the very greatest service to our commerce. During the period when Ferdinand was employed in the appropriate task of embroidering petticoats for the Virgin, the Cortes did every thing in their power to promote a free intercourse with this country. No sooner, however, had the Cortes been put down, and the Usurper restored, than our cotton goods were strictly excluded from the Peninsula; and a duty of from 26 to 43 per cent. imposed on the two finer qualities of our woollens, and of 130 per cent. on the inferior qualities. This put an entire stop to the operations of the fair trader:—But there is every reason to hope that the Cortes will again return to their former policy; and that a generous and liberal conduct on our part, will be sufficient to give a vastly greater extent to the commerce with Spain.

But it is not in Europe and America only that the abandonment of the exclusive system would give fresh vigour to commerce.—It has been nearly as destructive to our intercourse with the Eastern nations, as to that with France and the Baltic. The disadvantages under which our commerce with China is at present carried on, have, it is said, impressed even the practical statesmen of the Board of Trade with a conviction of the necessity of making some partial relaxation in the East India Company's monopoly.—But this can be of no material service. If Government are really desirous that the surplus produce of this country should find a vent in the immense market of China, it is indispensably requisite that the freest scope should be given to competition, and that every exclusive privilege, granted to any particular class of traders, should be done away. It is certain, indeed, that if the monopoly is not entirely abolished, we shall very soon be deprived of the share we at present possess of the China trade.—Notwithstanding every advantage derived from

long acquaintance with the Indian seas, and the character and manners of the people, the drawback occasioned by the exclusive system has been so great, that the Americans, whose flag first appeared at Canton so late as 1784, have already completely stript us of all share in the *foreign tea trade*; and, but for the monopoly which the Company have acquired of the home market, they would not be able to send out a single ship. It is not, therefore, a partial opening to the trade with China which can be of any service. All the skill and capital of our merchants would, under a system of perfectly free intercourse, be barely sufficient to enable them to enter into a successful competition with the Americans. It is quite visionary to suppose that we shall be able to regain the ground we have lost, if we continue to fetter and shackle the spirit of private adventure. As a proof of the advantages resulting from the freedom of industry, it is enough to mention, that, under all the absurd and teasing regulations about size of ships, places of sale, &c. imposed by the late act for partially opening the trade to Hindostan and the Eastern Archipelago, the private traders have already fairly beat the Company out of the market, and have prodigiously extended our intercourse with these rich and populous regions. Nor is it possible to estimate the addition that would be made to this traffic, were the *nuisance* of monopoly completely put down—restraints and shackles of every kind thrown aside—and the vast continent of Asia opened as a field for the unrestricted competition of our merchants.

There are a number of other regulations in our exclusive system equally pernicious and absurd with those to which we have thus directed the attention of our readers; but we cannot spare time at present to specify them. We have already stated enough to show the absolute necessity of abandoning it altogether. When the former sources of our wealth and channels of our commerce have been either dried up or shut against us, and, in consequence, a *seventh* part of the entire population of the Empire plunged in the abyss of poverty, and reduced to the condition of paupers,—it becomes the imperative duty of Ministers to endeavour to open new markets for our manufactures, and to stimulate the natural demand for labour. It has been our object to endeavour to point out how this may be effected; and to show that, by *giving freedom to commerce*, those commodities which are now pent up in our warehouses, would meet with an advantageous and ready market. Instead of having too large a supply of manufactured produce, it would be found, were we to consent to relinquish our restrictions and prohibitions, and gradually to recur to the only sound principle on

which commercial prosperity can ever be bottomed—that of a perfect freedom of trade—that we might add indefinitely to its amount. The market of the world never has been, and never can be, glutted. The distresses of the manufacturers, as far as they originate in the want of a market, (and this is undoubtedly their principal source), are entirely a consequence of our own perverse policy—of our refusing to admit the cheap corn of Poland and America—the timber and iron of the Baltic—the wines, brandies, and cambrics of France—the silks of Spain—the sugars of Brazil, and so forth. Let our rulers renounce this selfish monopolizing system; let them cease to counteract the benevolent wisdom of Providence, which, by giving a diversity of soils, climates and products to different nations, has provided for their mutual intercourse and commerce; and it may be boldly affirmed, that whatever evils we may in future suffer from our oppressive taxation, and these will be neither few nor small, we shall at least be relieved from those which arise from a deficiency of demand for our commodities.

We have not chosen to incumber this discussion with any inquiry as to the probable effects which a reduction of the present exorbitant duties on French wines, brandies, &c. might have on the Revenue: And this because, in the *first* place, it is proved, by universal experience, that a low duty levied from a large quantity, is always more productive than a high duty levied from a comparatively small quantity; and, in the *second* place, because, although it were otherwise, the loss of two or three hundred thousand pounds, or even of one million, the whole of the present duty on wine, could not be considered as forming any valid objection to a measure, which would infallibly be productive of such very great advantages, and which is indeed absolutely necessary to save the commerce of the country from ruin.

ART. IV. *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Times to the Present: Comprising the Lives of Eminent Composers and Musical Writers. The whole accompanied with Notes and Observations, Critical and Illustrative.* By THOMAS BURNY, Mus. Doc. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1075. Published by Sir R. Phillips. London, 1819.

2. *The Lives of Haydn and Mozart. In a Series of Letters. Translated from the French of L. H. C. BOMBERT.* 8vo. pp. 498. Murray, London, 1817.

3. *Remarks on the Present State of Musical Instruction.* By J. RELFE. Hatchard, London, 1819. pp. 84.

4. *The Thorough Bass Primer.* By J. F. BURROWES. 2d Edit. London, 1820.

AMONG all the tribes of inventors, Painters and Musicians are certainly the least scrupulous in breaking the Eighth Commandment;—and it must be admitted, that they are less culpable than poets or historians. The painter who steals an idea from another man's picture, is, nevertheless, constrained to render it by the powers of his own pencil; and an idea in music must necessarily be expressed by the same series of sounds, the musician also has his apology, when he pilfers from (or, as he would call it, 'imitates the style of') another composer. But he need never *imitate* at the expense of candour; and should always satisfy his conscience by a reference to his original. Poets, too, in all ages, have been very much addicted to these petty larcenies. It is said, that Homer is the only poet who stole nothing—which probably only means, that we cannot now detect his offences. Chaucer is very ready, on most occasions, to refer to his original; and yet he makes no acknowledgment of his Knight's Tale being a mere abridgment of the *Theseida* of Boccace; a poem very little known * even in Italy. And Dr Percy, in his *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* (Vol. III. p. 50.), thinks, that the old ballad of the 'Marriage of Sir Gawaine,' suggested the idea of his *Wife of Bath's Tale*. But Mr Tyrwhitt † has shown very clearly, that he founded it on a story of a much older date: indeed, we should rather suspect that Sir Gawaine is a pillage from Chaucer. Spencer, Milton, Shakespeare, and all who come after them, have borrowed without scruple—and, for the most part, without saying any thing about the matter. There is no denying that they have generally improved upon their originals; and their works have thriven wonderfully well under such a practice—which is more than can be always said in the case of stolen goods;—but still the system is not to be defended; and we should hold ourselves very negligent of our duty, were we to pass over a flagrant case of this description, without severe castigation.

It should seem, however, from the principal work before us, that the Historians of the Arts are sometimes disposed to use the same license with those whose deeds they relate.

* The only copy of the original edition ever known in England, was in the possession of Dr Askew.

† Pages 93. and 107.

When we had opened Dr Busby's History of Music, and read as far as the fifth page of the Preface, we came to the following words.—' Though with two authors before me, respectable as those just mentioned (*viz.* Sir John Hawkins and Dr Burney), it was natural, if not indispensable, to make *some* use of the materials afforded by the ample latitude of their matter, and the general justness of their criticism, I have, I hope, been *sparing* in the appropriation of their ideas, *scrupulous in the adoption of their language*, and *duly careful not to descend to servile imitation*. But while every invasion of the property of Hawkins and of Burney, whether in their conceptions, or their expressions, is denied, it will not perhaps be improper or unnecessary to conciliate the reader's candour towards my occasional dissensions from their sentiments. The best apology, however, for differing from such precursors, will be deduced from the meditation which dictated, and the independence which emboldened, criticisms equally free and well considered.' Pref. pp. v, vi. Now, we had not proceeded further than the third or fourth chapter in the work, when an indistinct recollection came over us, that we had seen ideas very much the same, expressed in language very much the same, in a work not more rare or recondite, than a certain History of Music written by Dr Burney. Accordingly, we searched—and *Lo ! 'twas there !*

As Dr Burney's work extends to four thick quarto volumes, and, as we trust, Dr Busby's is not in very extensive circulation, we shall, for the accommodation of our readers, present them with a sample, or rather key to his plagiarisms; while the extract we have already given from the preface is yet warm in their remembrance. Our limits will not allow us to give any thing like an account of the whole borrowings; for this would constrain us to transcribe nearly the *whole* of the Doctor's two volumes, with a corresponding quantity from Burney, and the other authors with whom he has made free;—But we shall bring sufficient evidence to prove, that, of all poachers upon other men's books, this is the most shameless. Chapters 1st, 2d, and 3d, of Busby are taken from sections 2d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th of Burney, the arrangement being varied. Compare Busby I. 44, 51, and Burney I. 109, 113, 122. Nearly the whole of page 49th is in pp. 117 & 118 of Burney; and page 50th is gleaned from 119, 120, and 121. The 52d page, with a very long note, are taken verbatim from pp. 124 & 125 of Burney, and so on to the end of the chapter. Occasionally we come to a passage which, at first sight, does not appear in Burney; but a little patient research soon discovers it. Thus, for example, the long note in page 59 had no corresponding part at page 143, from which the whole of the passage preceding the note is taken; but upon *trying back*, we found it in page 121—and had the

satisfaction to observe, that it had lost nothing by being transplanted.

Of Chap. IV., from page 62 to 67 inclusive, is literally taken, word for word, from Burney, p. 166 to 169, and then from detached passages on to page 175;—both beginning with ‘The Golden Legend,’ and ending with ‘baffled all their endeavours to stir it.’ The next ten pages are to be found in the remainder of this section in Burney, ending at the 186th page. At page 76, Dr Busby favours us with nearly four pages of commentary from his translation of Lucretius, which he says is his own. We have not had an opportunity of ascertaining the precise part of the book from which it is taken; but, as far as our memory serves us, we think we have seen the same ideas in Dr Beattie’s excellent Essay on Poetry and Music. There are certain passages, however, which convince us that on this occasion the Doctor has not copied *verbatim*; as no one will suspect Beattie of such trash as ‘*the voluminous, peeling masses of plain harmony,*’ and ‘*the puissant majesty of the high wrought figure,*’—‘*sounds modulated into appreciable intervals,*’—and ‘*science modulating her diagram of harmony,*’ p. 78. In fact, it is impossible not to detect Dr Busby’s pilferings: he tacks them together in such a clumsy and unworkmanlike style, that his composition generally reminds us of a patchwork of gaudy-coloured shreds, sewed together with grey worsted thread. The remainder of Chap. IV., ending p. 83, is taken from p. 148 to 152—thus going backwards in Burney’s work. Chap. V., p. 84 to 87, will be found at p. 191 to 194; from 87 to 101, is verbatim from p. 205 to 215, and again from 216 to 218. The rest of the chapter, which ends at p. 108, is composed of gleanings from pp. 225, 226, 228, 231, and 233. Chap. VI., as far as page 113, will be found in Burney, p. 278 *et seq.* At page 113, we are favoured with a translation of an epigram of Callimachus, enumerating the names and attributes of the Nine Muses in so many lines. This is taken from Burney, p. 293. But had Dr Busby ever seen the original, which is in the *Anthologia*, he would have discovered that the Greek epigram is in ten lines.

Pages 120, 121, and so on in regular order to 131, are in Burney at pages 318 to 320; 324 to 325; 328; 336 to 338; 346; 348; 352 and 353. Chapters VII. & VIII. are to be seen in Burney from p. 354 to 365; from p. 366 to 401; from p. 409 to 420. The major part of Chapter IX. from page 139 to 186, is in Burney from p. 450 to 455. The remainder of the chapter we cannot find in Burney, but we will lay a wager with any Busby champion, that it will be found in Sir

John Hawkins's work. We have not the book by us at present, but shall take an early opportunity of searching it. Chap. X. is contained between p. 453 and p. 461, and also from p. 487 to 495. Chap. XI. on the Music of the Romans, is taken purely from the section in Dr Burney's History, which treats of the same subject:—and with this we arrive at the middle of Dr Busby's, and the end of Dr Burney's first volumes. It is quite unnecessary to give our readers the trouble of pursuing this tiresome enumeration of corresponding pages. If they will take our words for it, they will find that the same system of plunder is pursued throughout the Doctor's two volumes.

Chapter XV. is devoted to Haydn and Mozart; and is nothing more than an abridgement of the 'Lives of Haydn and Mozart;' as may be seen by comparing it with pages 23 to 308 of that work. Chapter XVI. 'On the Establishment of the Italian Opera in England, previous to the middle of the last century,' is every syllable contained in Burney, Vol. IV. page 198. *et seq.* Chap. XVII. is a continuation of the same subject, and is taken from the same source. Of the remaining three chapters, which conclude the volume, a considerable part is not in Burney; because they treat of composers and performers after the period at which his work closes: But we have no hesitation in believing, that Dr Busby has just as much share in their composition, as we have shown him to have in that of the preceding part of his 'History of Music.'

Any thing like criticism on Dr Busby's Abridgment, is, of course, out of the question; as it does not come within our province to review books which were written 40 years ago: But as he has, once or twice in the course of his masquerade, shown his ears from under the lion's skin of Burney, we think it right to apprise our readers of the exposure, that none of them who may stumble on the sight, may be in danger of attributing these appendages to any but their rightful owner. We are glad, however, to have done with Dr Busby; * and we now proceed to the main object of this article.

* Since writing this article, we have examined Sir John Hawkins's 'History of Music;' and we find, exactly as we had predicted, that the part of Dr Busby's first volume, from p. 186, which we could not discover in Burney, is taken from Sir J. Hawkins's work, Vol. II.—Moreover, the whole of his 14th chapter, Vol. II., containing an account of the life of Handel, is taken from Sir J. H. Vol. V. p. 262 *et seq.*, and again 358 *et seq.* Some parts also are to be found in a small work written by Dr Burney, entitled, a 'Sketch of the Life

We have long wished to say something on the History of Music; and, in the course of our lucubrations on *Poetry*, have frequently been tempted to make some remarks on the Sister Art. But digressions are in general inconvenient, and apt to become tiresome. We therefore determined, upon the first fair opportunity, to devote a little of our time to a subject which is certainly well deserving of attention. The early part of the History of Music is not the most interesting;—but if we are to give a connected view of the subject, the infancy of the art must not be passed over entirely without notice. We shall, however, be as sparing as possible,—and as tender of the reader's patience as we should be of our own. For the historical facts we have been chiefly indebted to Dr Burney:—And although we sometimes have the misfortune to differ from that learned author, we are yet sufficiently grateful to him for the assistance he has given us, in those parts of the subject which are the most obscure—from the difficulty of obtaining information, and the scarcity of materials connected with their history. We have also had an opportunity of seeing some scarce and curious tracts upon the subject of Music; of which we have not scrupled to make use—being careful always to acknowledge the sources of our information.

Among the ancients, it does not appear that any, except the Greeks and Romans, used symbols to express musical intervals or sounds. The old Greek scale consisted of four notes, (as the modern one is composed of eight); and five of these *tetrachords*, forming a double octave, completed their system of sounds. The characters by which they were denoted, were the letters of their alphabet; and as they did not resort to the simple contrivance of expressing the octave to any sound, by the same symbol, they were forced to use a different sign for every note; and as their alphabet did not afford a sufficient number of characters for this purpose, they multiplied it by inverting, doubling, or accenting the letters. Hence it has been conjectured by critics, that *Accents* were originally musical notes, set over the words, to regulate the inflexions of the voice.* This prodigious number of symbols, necessarily made the study of music an operation of no ordinary difficulty—and it was usual, in the course of education,

of Handel, with an Account of his Commemoration.—Lond. 1785. Our readers will remember, that, in our examination of the book, we omitted to notice Chap. 14th.—We waited only till we had found the original.

* For a more particular discussion of this point, see West's *Pindar*, vol. II.

prescribed to the accomplished youth of the time, to set apart three years, from 13 to 16, for the study of music only. When a piece of Greek poetry was set to music, and accompanied by the lyre, it was not unusual to place *two* rows of notes over the words—one serving for the voice, and the other for the accompaniment. Now, in most cases, these symbols were totally different; and hence we naturally infer that they were intended to express different sounds—and that therefore the Greeks were acquainted with *harmony*. But persons, learned in those matters, have denied this. When two different symbols are placed over the same word, it is intended, they say, that the *same* sound which the voice utters in singing that word, is to be played by the lyre—or they are unisons to each other. And they quote the learned Alypius, and the still more learned Meibomius, and many others, to prove that there are *at least* two characters to express every sound. Now, to persons of plain understanding, it seems very unlikely, that the Greeks should have so foolishly multiplied the difficulties of their notation: Was it not obvious, that if the lyre was to play the *same* notes which the voice sang, the *same* musical characters would serve for both? It is acknowledged, that the Greeks were hard put to it, to find a sufficient number of symbols for their notes: and is it probable that they would give themselves the trouble to invent duplicates and even triplicates for the *same* sound? After all;—this seeming contradiction is brought forward only by those writers who are unwilling to allow the Greeks the merit of having been acquainted with the harmony of sounds. Now it appears to us, with all deference to these authorities, that it is highly probable that the Greeks were in the habit of using concords—and this very circumstance of the double row of musical characters proves that their music was in different parts. Harmony, indeed, is not an adventitious quality in sonorous bodies, but is in some sense inherent in every sound, however produced. Every sound is as much made up of three component parts, as a ray of light is composed of seven primary colours.* In many sonorous bodies, these sounds may

* There are some very ingenious remarks on the analogy between *light* and *air*, in the Philosophical Works of the Rev. W. Jones, Vol. X. p. 75. The learned author compares musical sounds to prismatic colours—and conceives that as colours are produced by inflections and refractions of rays, so musical sounds are caused by similar refractions of the air. There is no reason why air should not consist of heterogeneous particles as well as light; and the difference in the refrangibility of these particles will excite a difference in the sounds, according to the manner in which they are set in motion by the vi-

be made distinctly audible—as in the toll of a great bell,—where, amid the vibrations of the primary or fundamental note, its 12th and 17th are distinctly heard—*i. e.* the note with its 3d and 5th composing the full harmony, are generated by the vibrations of what appears to inattentive ears to be only a simple sound. These accompaniments or *harmonies*, as they are called, may be heard also by striking any of the low notes of an open piano-forté—or, what shows the experiment with more effect, by sounding the lowest string of a violincello:—in this case, it is advisable to untune the other strings, so that they may not accord with the string to be sounded, and, by causing them to vibrate, hinder the real harmonies from being heard. † Now it seems highly improbable that this natural existence of according sounds should have escaped the penetration of the Greeks—and if they did discover it, it is absurd to imagine that they would not adopt it in their music. By far the most rational explanation appears to be, that their music has shared the fate of their other perishable possessions, which were swallowed up in the dark ages of barbarism: At all events it is a consolation to think, that, whether invented, or only revived by the moderns, it has been carried, as well as its sister art, to as great perfection as it probably ever attained during the best times of ancient Greece.

But though we are of opinion that the Greeks possessed a knowledge of the scientific part of music, we are inclined to think that they had the good taste to prefer the light and unadorned beauties of a simple melody, to music groaning under the weight of *full* accompaniments,—which, according to the vitiated taste of modern times, are the great criteria of excellence. The opinion of Rousseau, who was *against* the counterpoint of the Greeks (Dict. de Musique, Art. *Harmonie*), that ‘Perhaps all our harmony, of which we are so vain, is only a Gothic and barbarous invention, which we should never have thought of, if we had been more alive to the real beauties of the art, and to music that is truly natural and affecting’—is not so much a paradox, as

brations of different sonorous bodies. The whole of Mr Jones’s remarks on this subject are original and entertaining, and well worth the perusal of such persons as care about such subjects.

† Perhaps the instrument known by the name of the *Æolian Harp*, exhibits the effects of natural harmony in the most perfect and at the same time most pleasing way. The strings are all tuned in unison; and as the wind plays upon them, the combinations of natural concords which are perpetually varying as the intensity of the wind changes, produce a variety and sweetness of harmony, which, heard in the stillness of evening, may almost be mistaken for an unearthly music.

many people may suppose. We have always thought that the gratification excited by a simple air, well sung, is far higher than any pleasure arising from the most learned concerto, performed with all the noise and vehemence which the combined force of the most accomplished musicians in the world is capable of producing. The skilful adjustment of the different parts—the happy arrangement of concords and discords, producing by contrast the most striking effects—the appropriate combination of instruments, according to the species of the music, the passion to be excited, or the feeling to be expressed;—all this undoubtedly will afford to the man of musical science, a treat of a very high relish:—but it is only the man of skill who can duly appreciate it—it is only he, who can *hear* all those combinations, and without being bewildered and distracted, that can attend to their relative bearings one upon the other. Upon the generality of listeners, very much of this is thrown away:—They feel much as a modern assembly would do if an orator were to address them in Greek; they would be sensible that his periods flow very smoothly, and in language that appears poetical and sonorous—but they would understand mighty little of his argument. And so it is in a concert;—to the most part of the audience there is too much learning—the music probably sounds very smooth and very agreeable—there is nothing harsh or grating to the ear;—but it is Greek to them;—they do not enter into its merits; and after compelling themselves to listen for a reasonable time, they, with one consent, begin to waver and yawn. But, in the midst of this universal languor, let all the instruments, but one, be hushed—let that one play a simple, well known melody—it is instantly recognised—the slumbering hearers start again into life—they shout—they applaud—they *understand* what they hear.

Why are the Italians the most musical people in the world? Because theirs is a music of melody, rather than of harmony. From the peculiar structure of their language (of which we shall speak more at large hereafter), their music is more *vocal* than *instrumental*; they pay little regard to laboured accompaniments; the instruments are for the most part in *unison* with the voice; and the full orchestra is only used in the symphonies, or to fill up the intervals between the songs. Now, from the specimens that have come down to us, of the vocal music of the Greeks, it appears that their accompaniments were very often of this nature—(it is on the two rows of notes being in some instances the same, and in others totally different from each other, that we chiefly rest our opinion of the Greeks having possessed harmony, when they chose to use it)—*namely*,

ly, the singer accompanying his voice, either by unisons, or octaves: In such cases, no sound was admitted which could interrupt the measure of the verse, or break the unity and simplicity of the melody. Their music might be of a nature as refined as their poetry—as exquisitely finished as their sculpture—as dignified as their architecture—without such a thing as a chord or a discord entering into its composition.—But we must quit this question of ancient music, on which we have little but conjectures to offer, and which will probably ever remain a matter of conjecture, or a subject of curious speculation, *—in order to consider that ancient music, of which we do know something certain.

It is to Pythagoras that music first owes its title to the appellation of a *Science*: We do not allude to the ridiculous story which is mentioned by Stillingfleet † and others, of his finding out the principles of harmony by accidentally hearing the music produced by four hammers in a blacksmith's shop;—but to his discovery of musical ratios in the invention of the Harmonical Canon, or Monochord. If we consider the air as the vehicle of sound,—the agitation in the parts, of a sonorous body will cause a motion or undulation in the particles of air which are in immediate contact with it. These undulations spreading, as it were, in concentric circles, round the body in every direction, strike upon the ear, and produce the sensation of sound. This explanation of the manner in which sound is generated, is best illustrated by observing what takes place in another fluid, when its particles are put in motion. When a stone is dropped into a pool of water, every one has observed the peculiar motion which it communicates:—the surface is thrown into waves, which form in concentric circles, rapidly succeeding one another round the point of percussion; these circles spread in every direction, becoming, as they extend, fainter and more faint, till at last they are no longer distinguishable from the smooth surface on which they are encroach-

* Some light has been thrown upon the Instruments of the Ancients, by the discovery of an old musical instrument which was dug up out of the ashes of Herculaneum:—It is conjectured to be the *Sacbut*; the Italians have formed their *Tromboni* upon it:—but it is said that no modern instrument, made after the same model, has been brought to equal it in tone and power:—the lower part is bronze, and the upper part and mouth-piece of solid gold. It was presented by the King of Naples to his late Majesty.

† See his '*Principles and Power of Harmony*,' p. 8.—a work of great ingenuity and skill.

ing. If they strike against any obstacle in their course, such as a bank, they return, in a contrary direction, to the common centre: and when this part of the phenomenon occurs in the case of sound, it produces what is called an *Echo*.

Pythagoras, viewing the matter thus, was of opinion, that the sound was grave or acute according to the number of pulsations or concentric circles formed in a given time,—that number depending upon the rapidity of the vibrations, which again were regulated by the form and texture of the sonorous body. He next found, that taking two musical strings of equal thickness and tension, the longer produced the graver sound; and that, when the lengths were as two to one, the note given out by the long string was an octave below that produced by the other. This led him to suppose, that the one string vibrated twice, while the other vibrated once; and hence, that, in general, the number of vibrations was inversely as the lengths of the strings. Upon this principle he constructed his Monochord—which is simply a string divided according to the proportions which belong to the different intervals,—as $\frac{1}{2}$, which produces the octave; $\frac{2}{3}$ ds for the fifth; $\frac{3}{4}$ ths for the fourth; and so on.* —It is not known by what farther reasonings or experiments the philosopher was led to these conclusions; but they certainly were not established on mathematical principles, till Galilæo demonstrated their truth, by comparing the vibrations of a musical string with the oscillations of a Pendulum through very small arcs.† A musical string being fixed at both ends, is, as it were, a double pendulum. Now, in a pendulum, the time of vibration is as the square root of the length. Hence we must diminish the pendulum in the ratio of 1 : 4, if we wish to double the number of its oscillations: But as a musical string acts like two pendulums, each half the length of the whole string, it is only necessary to diminish it in the ratio of 1 : 2, in order to make it vibrate twice as fast. The analogy between a musical string and a pendulum; explains also a thing which puzzled the ancients very much to account for—that, however loud or faint the sound may be, it is always at the same *pitch*: the reason is, that whatever be the length of the arc, the vibrations of the same string or pendulum are isochronous; and therefore, as the sound dies away, the arcs of vibration become less; and, consequently, the vibratory motion becomes slower, and the pulsations upon the

* For an account of the Divisions of the Monochord, and the Temperament of the Scale, we refer our readers to a paper on the subject by Cavallo, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1788.

† See Phil. Trans. 1714.

ear are less distinctly heard. When two strings, whose lengths are as 1 : 2, vibrate together, it is obvious, that as the one vibrates twice while the other vibrates once, they will be together at the beginning of every alternate vibration, and their sounds will then *accord*: When the strings are in this proportion, their coincidences are more frequent than when their lengths are in any other ratio; and hence it is that the octave is the most perfect concord. If their lengths are as 2 : 3, which is the ratio of the fifth, every third vibration of the one coincides with every second of the other—the coincidences are not so frequent as in the octaves—and therefore the concord is not so perfect. If their lengths are such, that they never begin to describe the arcs of vibration together, but perpetually cross each other in their oscillations, then their sounds are jarring and unconsentaneous; and thus produce a *discord*.—After this long digression upon the Theory of Sounds, we return to the History of Music.

The rites and ceremonies of the Christian church originated in the East, where Christianity was first established; and, from this period, our information on the progress of Music becomes more certain. The first regular choir for singing hymns and the service of the Church, was established at Antioch, in the time of Constantine. † At this place, an order of Monks was founded, who were obliged by their rules to keep up a continual chanting—a sort of perpetual fire of Psalmody, § which the Monkish writers call *Laus Perennis*. These ceremonies gave rise to a mode of singing which was afterwards established at Milan, and known by the name of the *Ambrosian Chant*, after St Ambrose, who brought it from Antioch; and this method of chanting the Psalms continued with little alteration for upwards of two centuries, when it was reformed by another father of the Church and of its music, St Gregory—in the year 600. He introduced a very considerable innovation, by increasing the four modes which were derived from the Greek music, and called *Authentic*, by the addition of four others which he called *Plagal*—(α πλάγιος, obliquus, collateral or adjunct.) || He ba-

† Euseb. Lib. II. c. 17.

§ Psalmody Island, in the Diocese of Nismes, is so named from a monastery founded there, with similar observances, by a Syrian monk, from Antioch, towards the close of the fourth century.

|| The *Authentic* mode is that part of the scale, contained between the Tonic and the Dominant; and the *Plagal* is the part below, between the Tonic and the Subdominant. In a strict Fugue, the extreme notes of the *Authentic* are answered respectively by the extreme notes of the *Plagal*—or *vice versâ*.

nished the *Canto Figurato*, or chants composed of notes of two kinds, viz. one note double the length of the other ;—these had been borrowed from the Greeks, whose notes, regulated by the syllables of their verse, were only of those two sorts. Gregory thought this a heathenish practice, and quite an abomination ; and permitted notes, of one length only, to be used ;—and hence the name of *Canto Fermo*, which was given to the chant introduced by him, from its grave and measured character.

It has been thought surprising that so few traces should be found, in the *Canto Fermo*, of the music of the ancient Greeks and Romans, which has been so extravagantly praised by all writers upon the subject : But we must recollect, that the persecution which the first proselytes to Christianity suffered at the hands of the Romans, compelled them to meet secretly and by night—and to celebrate their rites in caves and hiding-places. Even the princes who at first gave the sanction of their protection to the new religion, stood too much in awe of the extensive power of the Roman empire, to set themselves openly against it, by countenancing a religion which it thought proper to oppose. Besides this, another cause operated to the exclusion of the Greek and Roman music. From the inveterate horror with which the first Fathers of the Church regarded the dissolute manners and idolatrous rites of the Pagans, they strictly forbade the adoption of any ceremonies connected, however remotely, with Paganism ; and hence it was that they excluded, not only all imitations of the secular music, but also of that which, being used in the Pagan temples of worship, might have afforded better models on which to graft the chant of their own Church. The melody of the *Canto Fermo* was of the most simple kind. The uniform length of their notes, which, whether they are of the square or lozenge shape, always denote intervals of the same duration, prevented the variety of expression in the music, which the sense of the words frequently demanded : No accidental was allowed, excepting B flat, consequently there was a very great poverty in their modulation ; * and their cadences were only such as were made by the flat seventh rising a whole tone before the final close. To this monotony in the *Canto Fermo*, owing to the ridiculous restrictions imposed upon it by Gregory, we must attribute the long infancy and child-

* The only major keys in the *Canto Fermo*, were C, and its dominant and subdominant ; and the only minor keys were A, and its dominant and subdominant :—and of those six, four are deficient in their scale—as, by the exclusion of accidents, there is no sensible note, or seventh, to G, A, D, or E.

hood of music; and indeed it was not till the establishment of the Stage, requiring a music of its own, that the science was emancipated from the confinement of the cloister. At this period music was established in England. Austin, the monk, whom Gregory sent from Rome to convert the Saxons, is said to have been their first instructor in the mysteries of Ecclesiastical music. In 668, singers were sent into Kent by Pope Vitalian; and in 680, Pope Agatho despatched no less a person than the Precentor of St Peter's, to teach the monks of Wexmouth, and to establish singing schools in the kingdom of Northumberland. About this time, also, organs began to be very generally used in Italy and Germany, and also in the English convents; and we apprehend that it was very much owing to the introduction of this instrument, that the scientific part of music began now to be cultivated.

Guido Aretinus, a Benedictine monk, who lived about the year 1020, is the reputed inventor of Counterpoint. He added some notes to the scale; and to these sounds he gave the names *Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La*; because these were the first syllables of each hemistich, in a hymn to St John the Baptist, which, in the music, happened to form a series of six notes regularly ascending. † The note which he added below, was expressed by Gamma, according to the Greek notation; and hence the scale was called a Gamut.

Franco, of Cologne, who lived also in the eleventh century, was the next person after Guido, who benefited music by his discoveries:—He invented the *Time-table*; and gave hints which afterwards led to the introduction of *Bars*: He also invented the *dot*, which, placed after a note, increases its duration by one-half; and this was perhaps the greatest improvement which he introduced. Till this period, the only notes known, were the Maxima, or Large—the Long—the Breve—and the Semibreve; when Walter Odington, a Monk of Evesham, who flourished in the reign of Henry the Third, had the boldness to add another note—the *Minim*. He wrote a very elaborate

† The verse which gave rise to these whimsical names, is—
Ut queant laxis Resonare fibris
Mira gestorum Famuli tuorum
Solve poluti Labii reatum

Sancti Johannis.—

The Italians have substituted *Do*, instead of *Ut*, as being more open for the voice; and about 150 years ago, the French added the syllable *Si*, to express the seventh of the key;—and thus the scale remains to this day.

treatise on the art of Composition, in which he treats of *florid counterpoint* at greater length than any of his predecessors. In the same tract, he gives very admirable instructions for making Organ pipes, and excellent receipts for casting Bells. † About this time, also, appeared the treatises of Marchetto, and of John de Muris (who is said by some to have been an Englishman), in which the use of Discords is recommended, as excellent to correct the cloying which attends a harmony of concords only. Explanations of the *Resolution* of Discords are also given.

The progress which had now been made in the scientific part, tended very much to advance and embellish the practical parts of music. A species of composition called *Motets*, of a livelier nature than the sombre and monotonous Canto Fermo, was invented; and attempts were made to introduce it into the service of the Church. But the rigid zeal of the holy fathers manfully opposed an innovation which savoured so much of secular profanity. They had beheld, with very jealous eyes, the addition of the semibreve and minim; but when motets were suggested, they could no longer contain their indignation. They petitioned Pope John XXII. that he would adopt some measures to check the spirit of libertinism which was so dangerously manifesting itself; and, in compliance with their urgent entreaty, his Holiness issued a decree, in which he severely animadverts upon the abuses which had crept into the Sacred Music of the Church; and setting forth, that some profane persons had been daring enough to introduce wanton modulations, and to butcher the melody by indecorous divisions; * and that others, with no less hardihood, had been so captivated by these vagaries, and by the new notes and novel measures of the disciples of the modern school, that they liked better to have their ears tickled with the semibreves and minims, and such frivolous inventions, than to hear the orthodox and established ecclesiastical chant:—he strictly forbids the use of such innovations, under the penalty of his apostolical malediction. With the same praiseworthy detestation of improvement, Odo, archbishop of Rheims, admonished the nuns of the monastery of Villars, to avoid such indecent

† See a biographical account of this learned monk, in Moreri.

* In the original Bull, the words are ‘*Melodias hoquetis intersecant.*’ His Holiness alludes, we presume, to the *Neumæ*, or *Bars*, which were used about this time, and were first employed in church music as breaks or pauses, to allow the singers to take breath: and for this interruption in the monotonous drawl of the chant, the performers were censured as *hiccuping* in their song.

music, which was no better than a scurrilous and jocose song, and quite unfit to make a part of the devotional exercises of so pious a sisterhood.

We cannot therefore wonder that the progress which music made was so slow, when the churchmen, who were then the principal cultivators of that or any other art, were restricted by the arbitrary bigotry, and timorous scruples of their superiors.— But the time was now at hand, when the various causes, which had been gradually effecting a change in the languages of the South of Europe, began in like manner to produce a revolution in its music. The improvements in the languages of the South, which, since the destruction of the Roman Empire, which occasioned an incorporation of the Latin with the corrupt dialects of the Northern invaders, had such important effects on the poetry and music of those countries, that they deserve some attention.

Some time before the birth of the Italian language, there had been established in Gaul, the Romanesque or Romance, so called from having had its basis in the Roman tongue. After the southern provinces were subdued by the Visigoths and Burgundians, and the northern by the Franks and Normans, there was not in that country any further irruption from the North—while Italy continued, for some ages after, a prey to invaders from all countries,—Germans, Hungarians, Saracens;—and thus, while each district retained its own peculiar dialect, no general language could be consolidated,—and hence it was behind Gaul in the formation of its language. The poetry and music of Provence were the boast and model of all Europe for several centuries after the time of Charlemagne. But this supremacy survived only till about the time of the crusades, when the Italian poetry and literature having acquired a strength which made it known to the rest of Europe, superseded that of the Troubadours,—which continued, for a short period longer, to linger in Catalonia and Arragon, and then expired for ever. It had, however, wrought an important change in the character of the music of that period; and its effects on this were of a more lasting nature than on the poetry—as, being transmitted by the minstrels who came into the north of Europe, the improvements were pursued in the music of the fabulous songs and romances, which succeeded the Provençal, in the northern provinces of France.

Although the French were in the habit of writing their language earlier than the Italians, they were much longer in bringing it to perfection. In Italy, the use of the Latin was preserved in the courts of law, and very generally in polite conversation, but universally in composition, such as sermons, discourses

and familiar letters, down to a very late period. The Italian was not used in poetry till the twelfth century. Indeed it must have been late in that century; for Dante, who flourished towards the end of the thirteenth, declares that the language was not 150 years old. Their first attempts in verse were short pieces of Lyrical Poetry, whose origin may be satisfactorily traced to the poetry of Provence; the Kings of Sicily succeeded the Spaniards in the sovereignty of Provence; and from the intercourse thus formed with the Troubadours, arose the poetry which the Italian language imbibed during its progress at the courts of the Sicilian monarchs, and which was afterwards transmitted into Tuscany, and other parts of Italy. Before the usurpation of Tuscany by the family of Medici, the form of Government at Florence had been Democratic. The numerous opportunities thus afforded to the citizens of speaking in public, and the consequent encouragement given to popular oratory, and to a free communication of opinion, may account for the care bestowed upon the language of that particular province, and the polish it so early received.

Little is known of the secular music of Italy, at this early period. A few specimens of the *Canzoni*, or songs of the Tuscan *Giocolari*, have been preserved in the Florentine collections of MSS., and also of the *Madriali*, *—*alla Madre*,—hymns to the Virgin: We are told also that the populace went about the streets singing the verses of Dante, so delighted were they with *genuine* poetry, the first they had ever heard. But the character of their music was not yet established; and although, in the time of Petrarch, poetry had acquired nearly its highest perfection, the progress of music had by no means been corresponding. Indeed, in its advance towards perfection, music appears to differ from all the fine arts. In painting, in poetry, in sculpture, there has been but one step from childhood to maturity—from invention to perfection;—from the roughness of the unhewn block to the high finish and masterly polish of the statue. Take away Milton, and we find all the greatest geniuses, born in the infancy, and still alive in the maturity of their respective arts:—Since the days of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Dante—of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and their gigantic contemporaries, there have been no such *constellations* of unrivalled genius. Men of high fame have indeed appeared in after-times; but it has been only at intervals—and they have come sparingly. Milton, Tasso, Guido, Rembrandt, are

* Whence our *Madrigals*, which certainly do not abound with religious sentiments.

great names; but yet, even with all the advantages of their predecessors' experience, they fall short of those 'great forefathers of mighty proof.' In music, on the other hand, particularly instrumental, there is just so much science mixed with the art; as to place it beyond the power of individual genius to bring to perfection. Its march must in a certain degree be progressive,—it must pass through youth and manhood—and in its scientific character there are no limits to its perfection. Once carried beyond its rudest state, it may receive a sudden advancement from the genius of a Corelli; but it is capable of still further progress from the invention of a Haydn, and may be carried yet nearer to perfection by the originality of a Beethoven. Hence it is, that, though Italy and other countries abound in composers and theorists, we find no one, till as late as the 17th century, whose genius was sufficient to stamp music with a new character. Zarlino, in the sixteenth, was a composer and a theorist of great authority; but he went very little out of the beaten path. Palestrina, who lived somewhat later, did more for the art, and was esteemed an excellent musician, as the register of his burial sufficiently attests—'In St Peter's Church, near the altar of St Simon and St Jude, was interred, in consequence of his extraordinary abilities, Pierluigi da Palestrina, the great musical composer, and Maestro di Capella, in this church. His funeral was attended by all the musicians of Rome; and "Libera me Domine," as composed by himself, in five parts, was sung by three choirs.' Early in the seventeenth century, music began to relax a little in its character; and occasionally little conceits and *capriccios* were introduced. Thus Merula composed a piece of music to the words 'Quis vel Qui; nominativo Qui, Quæ, Quod,' &c. in which the stammering and hesitation of the boys, and the corrections inflicted by the master, are imitated in a very ludicrous manner. But we pass over all other composers of this period, and come at once to the first very remarkable era in instrumental music,—the time of Arcangelo Corelli.

This great man, whose works and whose practical skill, gave a reputation to Instrumental music, which it had never before enjoyed,—was born at Fusignano, in 1653. He was not formed to astonish the world by any display of very early talents; he was scarcely known before the publication of his first *Twelve Sonatas*, at Rome, in 1683: Nor was it till some years afterwards, that he acquired the name of a great performer.—He was of a singularly modest and retiring nature, and was with difficulty prevailed upon to take the principal violin, and the arduous task of leading the band, at Rome. The work, by

which he obtained the greatest reputation, was his solos for the violin, published in 1700. Before Corelli appeared, instrumental music could boast of little beauty, either of melody or expression. Until the establishment of the Opera, indeed, it received little assistance from any source except the music of the Church—the sober and monotonous character of which, was not likely to infuse much variety into that of the secular music. The change which it underwent through the genius and originality of Corelli, was therefore great. He introduced the *Concerto*, and was the first who organized a regular band of performers, to which he paid such minute attention, that Alessandro Scarlatti, whose admirable *cantatas* have furnished ideas to a vast many of his successors, then a young man, declared, that if any thing could add to the merit of Corelli's compositions, it was the excellent management and wonderful accuracy of his band. The striking feature of Corelli's music, is its simplicity and tenderness. There is no bombast or pedantry—nothing that is far-fetched or incomprehensible; and, above all, it possesses the greatest of all possible merits—that of being wholly original. At the same time, there is a certain sameness, a *mannerism*, which rather betrays a want of resource. He appears to have carefully avoided copying from any of his predecessors,—and thus loses in variety, what he gains in originality. His example brought instrumental performers, particularly on the violin, into great vogue everywhere; and the advancement of this practical branch of the art, had, we apprehend, a considerable influence upon the music of the Theatre, which soon after became of so much importance.

Of those who followed the steps of Corelli, we can only afford a slight notice of Tartini, whose work upon *Temperament*, written about the middle of the last century, although founded upon wrong mathematical principles, is nevertheless very ingenious and original. He is a voluminous composer—his concertos alone exceeding 200 in number. He was esteemed the greatest master of his instrument of his day—except perhaps his contemporary, Veracini—a man as remarkable for his conceit and self-sufficiency, as Tartini was for modesty and timidity.*

* Veracini being at Lucca during *La Festa della Croce*, entered his name for a solo concerto, according to custom. When the day arrived, he went to the place of performance, which was one of the great churches, with the intention of taking the place of first violin. He found it, however, preoccupied by Laurenti, the usual leader of the band. In great indignation at being refused the lead, he turned

The first attempt that was made to represent a drama, consisting wholly of music, was at Florence, about the end of the sixteenth century. The drama was *Dafne*, written by Rinuccini, set to music by Caccini and Peri, and performed at the house of Signor Corsi, a great patron of the arts, in the year 1597; and from this time we may date the invention of *Recitative*. The first opera that was publicly exhibited, was the *Euridice*, also at Florence, in 1600,—written and set by the three above-mentioned persons. In this century, the opera appears to have made no great progress—at least none written about that time have retained any great celebrity. The most magnificent representation, during the seventeenth century, was that of the opera of *Berenice*, set by Freschi, and performed at Padua in the year 1680 with a splendour of decoration, which excels even the gaudy pageant of our modern theatres. One chorus alone, consisted of one hundred virgins, one hundred soldiers, one hundred cuirassiers, forty cornets on horseback, six trumpeters ditto, six drummers, six ensigns, six sackbuts, six flutes, six octave flutes, six harpers, six cymbalists, twelve huntsmen, twelve grooms, eighteen coachmen, six pages, two lions, and two elephants! We have no mummery now-a-days which can at all compare with this.—There were then no fewer than seven theatres for the performance of operas, in Venice alone. The most celebrated composers in Italy, of this period, were Luighi, Cesti, and Stradella—although the principal works of the latter, consist of cantatas, madrigals, &c. rather than of operas or oratorios. A story is told of Stradella's music, which our readers may believe or not as they please;—we relate it as we have received it. Stradella having seduced the wife of a noble Venetian, fled from Venice with the lady, to escape the vengeance of the enraged husband, who, having heard that they had taken up their abode at Rome, despatched two ruffians thither to assassinate Stradella. The bravos hearing, soon after their arrival, that he was to conduct one of

his back upon the performers and would not play a single note, till being called upon for his concerto, he requested permission to play a solo, accompanied only by a single violincello. His performance was so exquisite, as to draw bursts of applause from the audience. He was interrupted by *e vivas*, and other tokens of approbation, a thing never before heard within the walls of a church. Veracini was delighted;—and whenever he was about to make a close, he turned round to Laurenti, saying in the fulness of his satisfaction, '*Così si suona per fare il primo violino, Messer Laurenti!*' Veracini had two famous violins, one of which he called *St Peter*, and the other *St Paul*.

his own oratorios at one of the churches, chose to lie in wait for him in the portico, and there to despatch him, after the conclusion of the piece. They got to the church while the oratorio was performing; and such an effect had the beauty of the melody upon their savage minds, that they relented, and vowed they could not find in their hearts to put an end to such a melodious spirit:—they even waited till Stradella came out of the church; told him how much obliged to him they were for their evening's amusement; and, disclosing the purpose for which they had come, recommended him to make his escape speedily from Rome. The persevering vengeance of the Venetian followed them, however, from place to place;—and about two years afterwards, Stradella and the lady were found dead in bed, one morning, having been both stabbed to the heart.

In the beginning of the last century, the Italian opera acquired a great accession of strength from the works of Vinci, Hasse, Galuppi, Porpora, and Pergolesi. To Vinci may be ascribed the greatest improvement which the opera had yet received—that of separating the vocal part, in a great measure, from the instrumental. Before this time, the voice parts were drowned by the instrumental; a fashion in composition patronized by the Germans, from Keiser downwards. Vinci saw the absurdity of this; and reformed it, by distinguishing between the melody, and the accompaniments—simplifying both, but especially the latter, which he kept as much as possible in unison. It is a reproach to the taste of the audiences at Rome and Naples, that they did not recognise the merit of Pergolesi's music, till the admiration of the rest of Europe recalled their attention to it; and compelled them to acknowledge their want of judgment. The great excellence to which the opera was now approaching was principally owing to the new lights which the subject had received from Vinci and Pergolesi, in the melody—and from Porpora in the recitative;—and yet, strange to say, the *Olivia*, Pergolesi's finest opera, was not heard with the applause it deserved, till after his death, in 1737. He died at the early age of thirty-three; and it was during the last years of his life, when worn out with sickness, that he composed his celebrated *Santa Lucia*.

Now filled Italy, there are many who thought the vocal music of perfection,—to be surpassed only by the *Matrimonio Segreto*, as to our readers, we have seen composers, and in criticism

upon their works. But the difference between the vocal music of Italy, and that of every other country, is so striking, that we are tempted to say a few words upon what appears to us to be the cause of this distinction.

Harmony, having its principle in nature, must be common to all nations. It is the *melody*, then, which will mark the character of a national music;—and whatever affects the melody, must also affect the national character of the music. 'Si l'on demandoit laquelle de toutes les langues doit avoir une meilleure *Grammaire*, je repondrois que c'est celle du peuple, qui raisonne le mieux: et si l'on demandoit laquelle de tous les peuples doit avoir une meilleure *Musique*, je dirois que c'est celui dont la langue y est le plus propre.' This answer of Rousseau is, to a certain extent, just—that the melody of a nation will depend in a great measure upon its language; but it will not not depend upon the *perfection* of that language. Its grammatical structure, its symmetry or conciseness, will not make it a more or less perfect vehicle for sounds, nor create in the people who speak it a greater or a less sensibility for melody. This will depend solely upon the formation of its *words*. It requires no difficulty to conceive, that some languages may be better adapted to melody—may, in short, be more musical than others. A language composed of words which are soft, flowing, melodious—with no harsh and discordant combination of syllables to grate upon the ear—and possessing at the same time a regular and frequent accentuation, is plainly the language of song. And if there is in Europe a country which can claim such a language, it is Italy. The frequent occurrence of vowels, and the consequent elisions thus produced, cause the words to blend together, and make the sentences soft and flowing. The vowels, too, which are most commonly used, are such as form the most sonorous words: for both diphthongs and nasal vowels are excluded,—the regularity of accentuation begets a distinct and easy articulation, which makes the sound of the different syllables plain and perceptible, without effort or abruptness,—all uniting to produce liquid and melodious sentences.

On the other hand, a language containing every mixture of sounds—its syllables loaded with consonants and gutturals, which use nothing but harsh and discordant tones, is every way unharmonious—cannot be fit for melody. The harshness frequent consonants will create a harshness in the music,—not glide smoothly along—but will resemble the uneasy rolling of an irregular body over a rough pavement. Melody being wanting in such music, the deficiency will be but supplied by the addition of unnatural and extraneous beauties;

and, how correct soever the harmony of the parts may be, it must still be dependent upon the melody for variety of expression. In vain will the composer try to compensate the monotony of the melody, by the richness of his accompaniments—the learning of the composition—the difficulty of the execution—the multitude and fulness of the parts—the frequency of his modulations; all these will avail him nothing if the *melody* is deficient. What his composition wants in music will only be made up in noise.

As vocal music existed long before instrumental, it must have owed its origin to the different ways of expressing sense by sounds. This is exemplified in the music of the Greeks; the rhythm of which is simply the measure formed by the variety of combinations of long and short syllables, which their language was peculiarly qualified to afford; and the more flowing and poetical those combinations, the more pleasing and melodious would be the music adapted to them. If the prosody of a language is bad—if it is irregular and without exactness—if the long and short syllables bear proportion one to another in the verse;—it will be difficult, or almost impossible, to form in its combinations which shall have agreeable effects upon the ear, or to dispose its sounds so as to produce what is called rhythm, or poetry:—and the case is the same as to those qualities of sound which constitute its melody or music.

Now all these circumstances unite in giving charms to Italian music. Its simple and pure melody—its exquisite modulations—its correct and appropriate accompaniments—all tend to excite feelings which no other music is capable of producing. We have already noticed the excellent effects produced in the vocal music of Italy, by the style of the accompaniments: And it is this simplicity—this *unity* which is preserved, and which is ten thousand times more essential in Music than unity of action is in Tragedy—that distinguishes the music of Italy from that of France. In the latter, the nakedness of the melody is hid as much as possible, by the fulness of the other parts: the poverty of the one is concealed under the richness of the other—and the attention is distracted from what ought to be its principal object, by noises which are quite foreign to the main design. But in Italy, by a skilful disposition of the parts, every thing unites to give energy to the subject and to increase its expression:—by making the accompaniment subservient to the grand design, it embellishes and gives fulness to it, without hiding or obscuring it. Their accompaniments in *raison*, soften and mellow the sounds of the melody,

and at the same time assist the memory in retaining the ideas impressed by the melody:—they render the music sufficiently powerful and sweet, without making it appear overloaded or cloying.* This method of accompaniment, in general, is impracticable in French music;—chiefly because of the very different character which marks their vocal and instrumental music. The vagueness, and want of expression too, in their measure, prevents any combination of parts which may produce effects in concert; so that their accompaniments, instead of blending with the melody, take off the attention by being at variance with it, and weaken the effect of the vocal part, which is in fact the source of all the beauties of the accompaniment. The following anecdote, related by Rousseau, particularly applies to these remarks—‘ J’ai vu,’ says he, ‘ à Vénise un Arménien, homme d’esprit, qui n’avoit jamais entendu de musique; et devant lequel on exécuta dans un même concert un monologue François, qui commence par ce vers—

“ Temple sacré, séjour tranquille; ”

‘ Et un air de Galuppi, qui commence par celui-ci—

“ Voi che languite senza speranza; ”

‘ L’un et l’autre furent chantés *médiocrement* pour le François, et *mal* pour l’Italien, par un homme accoutumé seulement à la musique Française, et alors très-enthousiastique de celle de M. Ramcau. Je remarquai dans l’Arménien durant tout le chant François, plus de surprise que de plaisir: mais tout le monde observa dès les premières mesures de l’air Italien, que son visage et ses yeux s’adoucissoient: il étoit enchanté,—il prêtoit son ame aux impressions de la musique;—et quoiqu’il entendit peu de la langue, les simple sons lui causoient un ravissement sensible. Dès ce moment on ne put plus lui faire écouter aucun air François.’

In fact, the French music has very little that is agreeable in itself:—it owes any merit it may possess to arbitrary ornaments or conventional beauties, which, after all, have charms only for those who have been accustomed all their lives to hear them, and no other: and hence it is, that their music is scarcely to be endured, even by themselves, when executed by moderate performers; and it requires the exertions of their first-rate musicians to make it tolerable to the ears of foreigners. Italian music, on the contrary, is always delightful, even under the disadvantages of a moderate voice and a moderate taste;—for the beauties are in the melody, and not in the skill of the singer—It forms and corrects the taste,—and its chief excellences depend only upon itself. ‘ Nous exécutons la musique Italienne,’ disent ‘ nos musiciens,’ Rousseau observes, after relating the anecdote

we have just cited, 'avec leur fierté accoutumée, et les Italiens ne peuvent exécuter la notre; *Donc, notre musique vaut mieux que la leur*; Ils ne voient pas, qu'ils devoient tirer une conséquence toute contraire, et dire, *Donc, les Italiens ont une mé-lodie, et nous n'en avons point.*'

From this digression, which has been longer than we anticipated, we return to our musicians of the latter end of the last century. We shall say a few words as to the music of our own country, before entering upon that of Germany.

Among musical countries, England makes, we fear, but a sorry figure;—so small is the number of her *indigenous* composers, compared with the hosts from Italy or Germany, that she can scarcely boast of having a music of her own. She may exult in the Metrical Psalmodes of Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins,—or in such divine compositions of 'Maister William Bird,' and 'Maister Giles Farnaby,' or the '*Carman's Whistle*,'* and '*Jhon cum kis me now*,' which are preserved in that rare and curious collection, called *Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book*,—or she may glory in the laboured pieces of that rare professor, 'Maister John Bull, Doctor of Musicke,' whose compositions are so difficult of execution, that they were impracticable even to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, although a first-rate performer upon the virginals,—and, after all, the music may not be one whit better than what Thomas Mace quaintly designates as '*whining, yelling, toling, screeking, short-square-even ayres.*' But a species of dramatic composition was now getting into favour in England, which was the means of bringing music into fashion, and calling forth the powers of the few original and good composers this island has to boast of. During the reigns of James, and Charles the I., a favourite amusement at court, and also at the houses of the nobility, was the representation of short musical interludes, called *Masques*. These were performed with the most splendid decorations, and the parts usually acted by the nobles themselves. Henrietta, Charles's Queen, was particularly partial to these entertainments, and frequently took the principal character herself. Ben Jonson was in general the writer of these *Masques*; and Harry Lawes, who is more likely to be immortalized by Milton's Sonnet than his own airs, was the composer of the music. In

* We have had the pleasure to hear the '*Carman's Whistle*.' It is composed by Bird, and was the favourite tune of Queen Elizabeth. It has more air than the other execrable compositions in her Majesty's *Virginal Book*; and more resembles a French Quadrille, than any modern tune we can compare it to.

1634, the *Mask of Comus*, which was set by him, was acted at Ludlow Castle. The compositions of Lawes, particularly the songs in *Comus*, are highly spoken of by the writers of that period as 'excellent melodies and delightful to hear.' Perhaps we have degenerated from the *good old times*; but any music of Lawes which we have ever heard, seemed to have as little air or melody, as the tunes played by pokers and tongs to make bees hive. But there is one composer who lived soon after this time, and was in his prime in the beginning of Charles II.'s reign,—whose music has never, in our opinion, been equalled by that of any Englishman before or since—we allude to Matthew Locke. Every one who has heard his songs in *Macbeth*, or in the *Tempest*, must have felt their wild beauty and originality;—it is unaccountable that he has had so few imitators;—perhaps his works were not fully appreciated by musical persons of his own time;—for there is no taste so variable as that for music. What delights us now, may perhaps be execrable to the ears of the *connoscenti* of 2020;—but still we cannot but think it a proof of the superior excellence of Locke's composition, that it is almost the only *genuine* English music which is now-a-days thought worth listening to. Purcell and Arne have, undoubtedly, produced very beautiful music—particularly that in *Comus*, which Arne re-set in 1738—the melodies of Lawes being, by that time, discovered to be intolerable; but, generally speaking, they, as well as Arnold, copied from the Italian school; so that their compositions have not that originality and raciness which characterize those of Locke.

The long residence of Handel in England, was perhaps the most conducive to correcting and forming the musical taste of that country. His operas were the first that had been eminently successful; and tended, more than any thing else, to introduce a taste for that species of composition, which afterwards led to the establishment of the Italian Opera in London. This growing affection for music of foreign growth, was much ridiculed and abused by the periodical writers of that day;—particularly in the *Spectator*, where Addison laughs at the absurd custom of introducing Italian actors into the opera, who sung their parts in their own language; while the inferior characters, which were filled by Englishmen, performed theirs in their native tongue.* Handel showed his surprising genius for music

* No. 18. A ludicrous description of the decorations and machinery used then, for the first time, in the Opera, such as introducing singing birds, real cascades, &c. is given in No. 5. But in all his hostility to the Italian Opera, we must take into account, that

at a very early age; and, like all other wonderful children, there are of course many anecdotes of his precocity. He received his first instructions from the organist at Halle, his native city, and finished his musical education at Hamburg—forming himself upon the best Italian and German models. He was only fourteen when he played the second harpsichord at the Hamburg opera; and the same year he produced an opera, which had a run of thirty successive nights. After passing a few years in Italy, he returned to Germany, and settled at Hanover, where he was much encouraged by the Elector. The connexion between the Courts of England and Hanover, tempted him, in 1710, to accept an invitation from some amateurs in London, who had known him at Hanover. His first visit was only for a year; but he got leave from the Elector to repeat it, shortly after his return. The tempting offers made him in London induced him to settle there, in spite of his engagement to the Elector—who chose to resent this neglect when he became King of England. Handel however contrived, by a little artifice, to get again into favour.—A Royal party of pleasure upon the Thames had been announced, and directions given at Court to have a barge of musicians in attendance. Handel got notice of this; and composed for the occasion those celebrated pieces, which, from the circumstance, have been called his *Water Music*. He conducted the performance himself; disguised, so as not to be detected. The King, who really had a German ear for music, was very much delighted, and begged to know who the composer was. A German baron, who was a friend to Handel, and in the secret, told him that it was written by a countryman and faithful servant of his Majesty; but who, fearing he had incurred the displeasure of so gracious a patron, dared not, in a more open manner, contribute to the amusement of his sovereign. Upon which the King declared, that if Handel was the culprit, he had his entire forgiveness; and, moreover, substantiated his gracious pardon by the donation of 200*l.* a year. Handel's chief excellence is in his sacred music. Yet, of all his Oratorios, only a few have stood the test of time. Even when they were first produced, several were very unsuccessful; and very often were performed to such empty houses, that the king (George II.), who was a constant attender, composed nearly the whole audience. Lord Chesterfield, one evening coming out of the theatre, was asked by a friend if the Ora-

Addison disliked music, and that his friend Steele was a patentee of one of the other theatres, whose audiences were much thinned by the Opera.

torio was over? ‘Oh! no,’ said he, ‘they are now singing away; but I thought it best to retire, lest I should disturb the king in his *privacies*.’ Handel would often joke upon the emptiness of the house, which he said ‘would make de moosic sound all de petter.’ During the latter years of his life, he was afflicted with blindness; but still continued to superintend the performances of his Oratorios. But it must have been a melancholy sight to see him led to the organ, and afterwards, in front of the audience, to make his accustomed obeisance. It was observed, that with many parts of his own music he was unusually agitated:—more particularly with that affecting air in Sampson,

‘Total eclipse—no sun—no moon,—’

which so peculiarly applied to his own situation. He died on Good Friday, 1759; and had, for many days before his death, expressed a wish to his physician, Dr Warren, that he might breathe his last on that day. Twenty-five years after, being exactly a century from his birth, that splendid musical festival, which commemorated his genius and memory, took place in Westminster Abbey. It consisted of selections from his works, which were performed by a band of 563 instrumental, and 514 vocal performers. These were stationed at the west end of the broad aisle; the Court, and the rest of the audience, to the amount of nearly four thousand persons, were accommodated at the east end, and in galleries arranged along the body of the aisle. A striking proof of the great excellence of the performers is, that there never was more than *one general rehearsal* for each day’s performance:—this appears truly wonderful, when we recollect that vast numbers of the band, both vocal and instrumental, had never performed together before, many being amateurs, who volunteered their services. The whole money received amounted to twelve thousand eight hundred and fifty pounds,—a prodigious sum, and showing, perhaps better than any thing else, the eagerness with which people from all quarters flocked to this splendid exhibition of musical talent, to do honour to the memory of abilities so superior to the common standard of human excellence.

It remains only to consider the Music of Germany,—for the details of which, we must refer to the ‘Lives of Haydn and Mozart’;—all that is connected with the music being contained in the history of the two great composers of that country. It was our first intention to have entered into an analysis of the work in question; but we have already sufficiently tried the patience of our readers, and shall not exhaust it, by extending this article any further. We can most satisfactorily turn them over to the book itself; which is a translation of Letters written from

Vienna by a Frenchman, who was in habits of intimacy with Haydn for some years before his death, and received, from his own mouth, most of the anecdotes with which his account of him is interspersed. The account of Mozart, is translated from the German of a person who had his information from very authentic sources. It is considerably shorter than the other, as it is confined to Mozart alone—while the author of the Letters has mixed up a large portion of extraneous matter in his life of Haydn. We can now afford but a very brief notice of either.

Haydn was born in 1732, of very humble parents, and distinguished himself by his musical genius before he was twelve years of age. He composed several pieces before he was eighteen. He used to practise from sixteen to eighteen hours every day; and was in a state of extreme poverty till 1758, when he got an establishment in the family of the Prince Esterhazy. After this, his life was very uniform—the whole morning being spent in composing, and the evening in performing and superintending the performers in the opera. The total number of his compositions amount to no less than 990. When he sat down to compose, he always dressed himself with the utmost care—had his hair nicely powdered, and put on his best suit. Frederick II. had given him a diamond ring, and Haydn declared, that if he happened to begin without it, he could not summon a single idea. He could write only on the finest paper; and was as particular in forming his notes, as if he had been engraving them on a copperplate. After all these minute preparations, he began by choosing the theme of his subject—and fixing into what keys he wished to modulate it;—and he varied the action, as it were, of his subject, by imagining to himself the incidents of some little adventure or romance.

Such singularities, however, seem to have been common among composers. Gluck, when he felt himself in a humour for composing, had his piano carried into a beautiful meadow, and, with a bottle of champagne on each side of him, transported his imagination to Elysium. Sarti, a man of gloomy imagination, preferred the funeral stillness of a spacious room, dimly lighted by a single lamp. Cimarosa delighted in noise and mirth:—surrounded by a party of gay friends, he conceived his operas; and, as the ideas presented themselves, he seized and embodied them. In this way he planned that beautiful comic opera, *Il Matrimonio Segreto*. Paisiello composed his *Barbiere de Se-viglia*, and *La Molinara*, in bed:—and Sacchini declared, that he never had moments of inspiration, except his two favourite cats were sitting, one on each shoulder.

In 1790, at the age of fifty-nine, Haydn left Eisenstadt. to

visit London. Salomon, a professor in that city, who gave twenty concerts in the year, had engaged to give him 50*l.* for each concert. He remained only a year, but returned again in 1794. He met with the most flattering reception in both these visits. The University of Oxford sent him a Doctor's diploma,—an honour they rarely conferred upon any one, and which was not obtained even by Handel himself.

The *Creation* was finished in 1798; and, about two years after, the *Four Seasons* was completed. This was the last work of magnitude that came from his pen. His strength rapidly declined, and his faculties were almost wholly gone; but he survived till 1809, and died just after the French took possession of Vienna.

Mozart was born at Salzburg in 1756, and is well known to have been a prodigy of early talent. When only *three years* old, his great amusement was finding concords on the piano; and nothing could equal his delight when he had discovered an harmonious interval. At the age of four, his father began to teach him little pieces of music, which he always learnt to play in a very short time; and, before he was six, he had invented several small pieces himself, and even attempted compositions of some extent and intricacy.

The sensibility of his organs appears to have been excessive. The slightest false note or harsh tone was quite a torture to him; and, in the early part of his childhood, he could not bear the sound of a trumpet without growing pale, and almost falling into convulsions. His father, for many years, carried him and his sister about to different cities for the purpose of exhibiting their talents. In 1764 they came to London, and played before the King. Mozart also played the organ at the Chapel Royal; and with this the King was more pleased than with his performance on the harpsicord. During this visit he composed six sonatas, which he dedicated to the Queen. He was then only eight years old. A few years after this, he went to Milan; and, at that place, was performed in 1770 the opera of *Mithridates*, composed by Mozart, at the age of fourteen, and performed twenty nights in succession. From that time till he was nineteen, he continued to be the musical wonder of Europe, as much from the astonishing extent of his abilities, as from the extreme youth of their possessor.

Entirely absorbed in music, this great man was a child in every other respect. His hands were so wedded to the piano, that he could use them for nothing else: at table, his wife carved for him; and, in every thing relating to money, or the management of his domestic affairs, or even the choice and arrange-

ment of his amusements, he was entirely under her guidance. His health was very delicate; and, during the latter part of his too short life, it declined rapidly. Like all weak-minded people, he was extremely apprehensive of death; and it was only by incessant application to his favourite study, that he prevented his spirits sinking totally under the fears of approaching dissolution. At all other times, he laboured under a profound melancholy, which unquestionably tended to accelerate the period of his existence. In this melancholy state of spirits, he composed the *Zauber Flöte*, the *Clemenza di Tito*, and his celebrated mass in D minor, commonly known by the name of his *Requiem*. The circumstances which attended the composition of the last of these works, are so remarkable, from the effect they produced upon his mind, that we shall detail them; and, with the account, close the life of Mozart, and this long article.

One day when his spirits were unusually oppressed, a stranger, of a tall, dignified appearance, was introduced. His manners were grave and impressive. He told Mozart, that he came from a person who did not wish to be known, to request he would compose a solemn mass, as a requiem for the soul of a friend whom he had recently lost, and whose memory he was desirous of commemorating by this solemn service. Mozart undertook the task; and engaged to have it completed in a month. The stranger begged to know what price he set upon his work, and immediately paid him a hundred ducats, and departed. The mystery of this visit seemed to have a very strong effect upon the mind of the musician. He brooded over it for some time; and then suddenly calling for writing materials, began to compose with extraordinary ardour. This application, however, was more than his strength could support; it brought on fainting fits; and his increasing illness obliged him to suspend his work. 'I am writing this Requiem for myself!' said he abruptly to his wife one day; 'it will serve for my own funeral service;' and this impression never afterwards left him. At the expiration of the month, the mysterious stranger appeared; and demanded the Requiem. 'I have found it impossible,' said Mozart, 'to keep my word; the work has interested me more than I expected, and I have extended it beyond my first design. I shall require another month to finish it.' The stranger made no objection; but observing, that for this additional trouble, it was but just to increase the premium, laid down fifty ducats more, and promised to return at the time appointed. Astonished at his whole proceedings, Mozart ordered a servant to follow this singular personage, and, if possible, to find out

who he was: the man, however, lost sight of him, and was obliged to return as he went. Mozart, now more than ever persuaded that he was a messenger from the other world, sent to warn him that his end was approaching, applied with fresh zeal to the Requiem; and, in spite of the exhausted state both of his mind and body, completed it before the end of the month. At the appointed day, the stranger returned;—but Mozart was no more!

ART. V. *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow, comprising an Account of its Public Buildings, Charities, and other Concerns.* By JAMES CLELAND.

THIS book is the production of one of the citizens of Glasgow; and contains a great body of useful and curious information. Nothing, indeed, can be more interesting than an enlightened and comprehensive account of such an assemblage of human beings as are now to be found in the second-rate towns of our empire: And, when one thinks of the mighty influence of Cities, either as the organs of political sentiment, or the engines of political disturbance—when one regards the economy of their trade, and sees in living operation what that is which originates its many and increasing fluctuations—one cannot but look on the authentic memorials of such facts as are presented to our notice in this volume, with the same sense of their utility, as we would do on the rudiments of an important science, or on the first and solid materials of any deeply interesting speculation. There is one point, however, which at this moment engrosses all that we can spare of our attention,

So late as the end of last August, when the wages for weaving were at the lowest, Mr Cleland made a survey of the employed and unemployed hand-~~looms~~ of Glasgow and its immediate neighbourhood. Taking a radius of about five miles from the centre of the city, thus excluding Paisley, but embracing the whole suburbs, and many very populous villages,—he found 18,537 looms altogether, within the limits which we have just now specified; of which 13,281 were still working, and 5256 were, for the time, abandoned. It is to be observed, however, that, in many instances, several looms belong to one proprietor, which are wrought, in conjunction with himself, either by journeymen, or the members of his own family; and that this, of course, reduces both the number of weaving families upon the whole, and also that number of them who had resigned their wonted employment.

It is satisfying to have such a correct statement of an evil connected with the severest commercial distress that ever perhaps our country was involved in,—and in a quarter, too, where that distress was understood to be greatest. When the arithmetic of its actual dimensions is thus laid before us, it brings both the cause and the remedy more within the management of one's understanding. But it will still require a little consideration, to enable us to calculate the true amount, and understand the true character of this great calamity.

In the *first* place, then, it ought to be kept in mind, that there are particular lines of employment, where a given excess of workmen is sure to create a much greater proportional reduction in the rate of their wages. Should twenty thousand labourers, in a given branch of industry, so meet the demand for their services, as to afford to each of them a fair remuneration, then an additional thousand coming into competition with those who are already at work, may very possibly lower, by much more than a twentieth part, the price of their labour. In other words, the consequent deficiency of wages might go greatly beyond the fractional addition that had thus been made to the number of labourers.

It is thus that, in certain kinds of work, a very small excess of hands may bring a very heavy distress and depression upon a whole body of operatives. The urgency of a few more than are wanted, soliciting for employment, and satisfied with any terms rather than be kept out of it, may bring down the terms, to the whole profession, in a ratio so large, that the entire maintenance of these additional applicants for work would not nearly cost so much as is lost, upon the whole, by the body of their fellow workmen in the shape of reduced wages. For example, should two shillings a day be a fair remuneration for labour, and should it be the actual remuneration earned by twenty thousand workmen at some particular kind of it, an additional thousand might be maintained at this rate daily for an hundred pounds. But we should not be surprised to find that the effect of their appearance and of their competition was to bring down the daily wages to eighteen pence. Now, this would degrade beneath the average of comfort, twenty-one thousand workmen, by sixpence a day to each, or by five hundred and twenty-five pounds a day to them all, taken collectively. In other words, a certain redundancy of men might entail a calamity upon their profession, which, when measured arithmetically, will be found to exceed, by upwards of five times the whole expense, either of maintaining them in idleness, or of giving them full and adequate wages at another employment.

The above statement, we are persuaded, will recommend itself to the experience of all practical men;—nor do we think it difficult to apprehend the rationale of it. Men must have a subsistence for themselves and their families; and if this is only to be had through the medium of employment, men must have employment. If they cannot earn thereby a plentiful subsistence, they will rather put up with a scanty subsistence than have none at all. And thus it is that a surplus thousand of labourers may cheapen work, by a fraction greatly larger than the excess of their own number, over the former number of labourers;—and thus, from the necessity of a few, may there emanate an adverse influence which will spread itself over the many—and, with a very slight importation of more hands into a branch of industry already sufficiently occupied, may there be imported an evil so weighty, as to overbear for a time the whole profession, and to call forth from all the members of it a general outcry of apprehension and distress.

This view of the subject, if it contain in it matter of regret, that a cause so trivial should operate a mischief so extensive, contains in it also matter of consolation. As we have already travelled from the cause to the effect, we have only to travel back again from the effect to the cause; and if the cause be trivial, it may be remedied by a trivial exertion. The actual magnitude of any present or existing distress amongst a body of workmen, will not alarm us into a fear of its perpetuity, if we are right in tracing it to a cause so remediable, as to a small fractional excess in the number of these workmen. Should the addition of a thousand men on a branch of industry which affords sufficient maintenance to twenty thousand, have the effect of reducing their maintenance by one-fourth, then, when a case of such grievous reduction actually occurs, it is fair to infer, that the transference or removal of a single twentieth part of these labourers, would operate as a restorative to the comfort and circumstances of them all. And, when one thinks of the many natural securities which there are for bringing about an adjustment of those partial and temporary differences that obtain between the demand for labour and the number of labourers, he may both admit the severity of an existing pressure, and be foremost in every sound and practicable measure for its alleviation, without reading in it the symptoms of any great national catastrophe, or losing his confidence in the stability of his country's wealth and greatness.

It is proper, however, to remark, that there are certain kinds of work where these fluctuations are far more sudden than in others—where the appearance of a given excess of hands will tell on

the reduction of wages in a shorter time—and where the withdrawing this excess would also operate more speedily in restoring these wages to their former and ordinary level. Were the *opus operandum* a certain definite task, like the cutting down of harvest, the amount of which could neither be increased nor diminished, the effect would be quite immediate. The same holds true, though in a less degree, of the employment of household servants, and of the employment of ground labour in most of its varieties. In these instances, there is a certain quantity of work to be done; and this quantity, generally speaking, does not admit of being much extended, merely on the temptation of labour being offered at a cheaper rate; and in as far as the possible extent of a work is an element that is invariable, in so far will either an excess or deficiency of labourers for that work tell instantly on the wages of their employment. The same effect would follow in any manufacture, where the raw material out of which a commodity is wrought could not be raised or accumulated to a degree much exceeding the annual consumption, and where the commodity itself did not admit of being so accumulated. The employment of baking exemplifies this. Speaking generally, the grain of one year is consumed in the year following; and if the grain does not admit of being stored beyond certain limits, the bread that is manufactured admits still less of it. A steady number of operative bakers will thus suffice for the need of a country. So that, should a number of good journeymen in that profession suddenly appear amongst us, though only amounting to a twentieth part of their whole, the effect in bringing down their wages would both be great and instantaneous; while the full and speedy restoration of these wages, on the transference of a small portion of these operatives to other lines of employment, would convince us, how a cause, seemingly weak and disproportionate, may work for a time a serious and alarming depression in the comfort of an industrious class of the community.

Now, it so happens, that in the manufacture by which cotton is turned into muslin, there are many circumstances which serve to affect the law of those fluctuations to which the wages of the operatives are liable. There is, in the first place, a very great facility of learning the work; so that, in a short period of prosperity, an indefinite number of additional hands can be turned to the loom. In the second place, the raw material of successive seasons may be stored to any amount in warehouses; and, should it be necessary, the annual quantity of cotton raised in the world could be far more easily augmented a hundredfold, than the annual quantity of corn could be doubled. There is no

limit, therefore, to the bringing in of workmen in this particular line. And, in the third place, what they do work may also be stored. The muslin of very many months may lie in reserve for future demand—while bread cannot lie in reserve for as many days. Additional bakers, therefore, can never be admitted beyond what are sufficient for supplying the current consumption of this article: But additional weavers can be admitted for the purposes of future as well as of present consumption; and, to add to the elasticity of the latter concern, the wages of the operative weaver form a far larger ingredient of the price of muslin, than the wages of the operative baker do of the price of bread; so that if the wages of the former become much lower by the increase of the number of weavers, the muslin that they work becomes much cheaper, and the wearing of it becomes much more general; for, in the nature of things, the cheapness of an article of fine and ornamental dress will add much more to the consumption of that article, than the cheapness of bread can ever add to the consumption of bread.

Put together all these considerations, and it will be seen, how, though when an excess of competitors appears for *any* employment that requires a distinct and definite number of hands, the effect in reducing its wages is quite instantaneous—yet the same excess might appear for the weaving of muslin, without so instantaneous, or, at least for the time, so great a reduction in the wages. There ought, of course, on the very first appearance of this excess, to be a descending movement in the price of this labour; but, ere it has completed its course, it is met by a counter-movement on the part of capitalists and master-manufacturers, who will feel encouraged, for a time, by this cheapening of labour, and will store up its produce beyond the present demand of the market, and will accumulate goods for distant and future sales, under the present advantage of having these goods wrought at a rate which is gradually sinking. In this way, an increase in the supply of labour may for a time *increase* the demand for it; not so as to keep up its price, for then the very stimulus of the augmenting demand would be done away—but so as to prevent the depression of wages from coming suddenly to its maximum—so as to smooth, and to graduate the descent by which the operatives are conducted from the level of sufficiency to an abyss of most pitiable degradation. Had their work been of such a nature, that like that of cutting down the harvest, no more than a given quantity could be admitted within the limits of each month, then all at once would the excess of workmen have had its full effect in lowering the price of their work. But it is the power of producing and heaping up to any extent,

which, apart from sudden fluctuations in the demand for the article, causes the price of the work to descend, not by a desultory, but by a continuous movement; and postpones the period when the remuneration of the workmen arrives at the lowest point in the line of its variation.

And when the price has arrived at this point, there are two peculiar causes why it should linger obstinately there. The article produced by operative bakers is carried off in a single day; and there is always a fresh recurring demand for the same quantity of work from them. Their work does not admit of being much extended; and therefore an excess of workmen must cause an immediate and certain fall of wages. But neither does the produce of their work admit of being accumulated, so that there is no intervening stock of their article between them and their consumers; and therefore, in parting with the excess of their hands, the restoration of their wages would be just as sudden as the fall. But the work of weavers does admit of being extended, and therefore the fall of their wages may be gradual. The produce of their work admits also of being accumulated; and for this reason the reviving of their wages is gradual also. The stock on hand may be a barrier for many months between the need of the purchaser, and the work of the operative; and, in the declining prices of a glutted market, the inducement for keeping up this stock may be done away. In these circumstances, a much larger excess of weavers must go out of employment, that the matter may be righted speedily. It is not enough that the quantity of work be reduced to the *current demand* for the article. It must be reduced *beneath* this demand, so as to permit the stock to clear away. If more operatives can be taken on in this line of industry than in most others, without so immediate a reduction of their wages, more also must go off, for the purpose of bringing about a speedy restoration. So that we are not aware at present of any branch of employment whatever where the circumstances of the operatives, both in respect of the price of their work, and the number of workmen, are doomed to alternate along so extended an arch of vibration.

But there is still another cause by which this ascending process must be retarded. If the price of labour is reduced, while at the same time it is paid according to its quantity, the workmen will naturally strive to make up by the latter, what they lose in the former. It is in vain that a small fraction of the labourers be withdrawn, if they who remain shall, by increased application to their work, continue to throw off the same quantity of

the article upon the whole. There may, in this case, be fewer workmen, but not less work than before; and, in such a state of things, it obviously requires a much larger reduction of hands, ere the supply of their labour can be so far diminished, as that the stock of goods should clear away, and the demand of the consumer come again into contact with the work of the operative. So much is there in this cause, that when it was understood in Glasgow that the number of working looms was *only* reduced from eighteen to thirteen thousand, it was feared that the supply of work would still be as great as ever, and that the process of clearing away the piled and accumulated produce could not yet begin. In the mean time, there cannot be conceived a more cruel dilemma for the poor operative, than that, in eking out a subsistence for his family, he should thus overwork himself, and, by that miserable effort, should only strengthen the barrier that lies in the way of his final deliverance; that for the relief of the present urgencies of Nature, he should be compelled to put forth more than the strength of Nature, and yet find, as the direct result of his exertion, a lengthening out of the period of his distress; that the necessity should thus be laid upon him of what may be called a self-destroying process,—accumulating as he does, with his own hand, the materials of his own wretchedness, and so annoying and overwhelming the earth with the multitude of his commodities, that she looks upon his offerings as an offence, rather than an obligation, and refuses to sustain him. Misery like this may appear singular in its origin; and therefore is it of importance to know, that it is so frequent and extensive in its operation, as to be realized amongst us in the form of a periodic visitation, and often prolonged for months, or even for years together—lest it should be left to pine in neglect, or, what is still worse, should be aggravated by mischievous and misjudging interferences.

We have not here taken into account that fluctuation of demand which arises from a change in the state of foreign markets: though this, of course, will aggravate all the effects that we have now adverted to. But independently of this new and powerful element, we conceive that the phenomenon of our present severe and lengthened depression is sufficiently explained. Nor ought it to be a matter of wonder, that the great accession of hands which came in upon the body of our operative weavers at the breaking up of the war establishments, should gradually have conducted them to this extremity of distress; and that now, though at the distance of several years, and certainly with a few intermediate vibrations in their state of comfort, they should have arrived at a degradation from which assuredly nothing but

reduction in their numbers can either permanently or effectually deliver them.

There appear to be three ways of meeting such a calamity. The *first* is, to supply the defective wages, by a direct charitable allowance. This looks the most obvious way of it. Should a family be starving on five shillings a week, there is not a more obvious and straight forward method of relieving them, than simply to eke out for them, say three shillings more, and thus enable them to live on eight shillings a week. This is just what a kind and wealthy neighbour would do with a destitute family at his door; and much of what is tantamount to this, is done by generous individuals going forth unseen on the territory of such a visitation. But what may be done in detail, by the distinct and separate liberalities of the charitable, is often attempted to be done in the gross, by means of a public, and, therefore, visible combination. No one can question the amiableness of such a proceeding; but if truth be permitted to have a place in the argument along with tenderness, it will soon be acknowledged, that what is compassion at the origin, is cruelty in the result: For a fund raised to supply a defect in the wages of any class of labourers, has the sure effect of keeping many at their employment, who would else have cast about for another mode of subsistence. Wherever there is such a fund, there will not be so free or so copious a dispersion of hands away from a branch of overstocked industry; insomuch that, had a plan of this kind been adopted previous to the month of August, there would not have been nearly so great a reduction in the number of working looms, as from eighteen thousand to thirteen thousand, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow. The glut would have been longer perpetuated in the market; and either a further, or a more lengthened depression of wages would have resulted from such an interference. We have sometimes known, as the effect of a subscription fund, that the argument employed by the manufacturer, in the higgling which obtains between him and the operative, is, that the latter has his recourse upon the fund. But at all events, and whether there be any such avowal or not upon the subject, the fund which is raised to supply wages, is sure in the end to reduce them: This, indeed, is its precise function and necessary operation: So that, after all, the individual cases of alleviation which it produces, are far more than counterbalanced by the general and protracted sufferings which it brings upon the whole;—the consequence infallibly being, that that fractional excess of workmen; which it is of so much importance to detach from the mass, still adheres to it; till the nominal wages and the

charitable allowance put together, come in fact to make out no more than the scanty remuneration which is ever attendant on an overdone employment. Thus it is, that men who, with the clearing away of goods from the market, might in a few months have been earning an adequate subsistence for their families, and that in the shape of a fair and honourable recompense for their work, be forced to drivel out a much longer period in a penury composed of two stinted ingredients, and rendered more degrading by the contribution which charity has made to it.

This is just the operation of Poor-rates in England, when employed in supplying the inadequacy of wages. They ultimately displace as much in the shape of wages, as is rendered in the shape of charity; and men who, if the regulation of their numbers had been left to natural causes, would have continued scarce enough to have dictated the remuneration of an entire maintenance for their work, have been collected in such multitudes, as to have stripped themselves of all control over this matter, and brought the question of their subsistence under the determination of Church-wardens and overseers. It is thus that this fallacious system has inflicted on the labouring classes of that country a permanent degradation. What the Legislature intended as a boon, has turned out to be a sore bereavement. Had they confined it to one class of labourers, as weavers for example, then weavers would just have sunk under the oppression of this apparent privilege, and been singled out to public notice as the miserable and degraded caste of our nation. They would thereby have descended beneath the level of all other labourers, and been, in our land, what hewers of wood, and drawers of water were in the land of Judea. And these are not the judicious friends of the poor, but their unwise advocates, or perhaps their designing agitators, who would plead, as a right of theirs, for that which passes in the first instance into the pockets of their employers, and then goes to stamp an unnatural cheapness on the produce of their employment.

Such works as those of Mr Cleland are of great value, and are well fitted to pioneer the way of the economist to a sound and experimental conclusion on questions of great interest. He has extended his survey beyond the precincts of the immediate neighbourhood of Glasgow; or rather, instead of a survey, he has given an estimate of the country looms now employed by the manufacturers of Glasgow, and compares it with the number employed antecedently to the present depression in that branch of our manufactures. We should like to see a similar estimate for Manchester and its vicinity; as nothing could be more important than to learn the proportion between the em-

ployed and unemployed looms in the great weaving districts of England, and thus to ascertain what effect the Poor-laws have had in fixing the labourers of a declining branch of industry down to their employment, and so in increasing and accelerating its declension. It is quite clear, that neither the feeling nor the clamour of distress were at all less in the country where a compulsory provision has a full, than in the country where it has yet only obtained a partial operation. But it were desirable to know in how far, allured by the promise of their own institutions, the weavers of England were kept together at their work, instead of going off by those outlets which, in times of fluctuation and distress, enable the people of every country, in a certain degree, to shift their wonted employments.

And here we may state an inequality between Scotch and English operatives, to which many of our Southern neighbours may never perhaps have adverted. Should the Poor-rates of England reduce the *nominal* price of weaving there to five shillings a week, that becomes the *real* price to the operative in Scotland. This at least holds true, without any qualification, in as far as the Poor-rate for manufacturing workmen is contributed, not by the capitalists who employ them, but by other capitalists, or by the landed interest of the country. The manufacturers of Glasgow must be undersold by those of Manchester, if the latter can hire their workmen with a bounty upon their work, in the shape of a legal provision; and, to put the capitalists in both places on a footing, the whole hardship of the difference must fall on the weavers whom they employ. To obtain an equalization, there are only two methods; either to extend the Poor-rate to Scotland, or to abolish that part of the English practice, by which the fund is made applicable to a defect of work, or to a defect of wages. We are quite satisfied, that the effect of the former method would be, to sink the whole profession, as by a death-warrant, into a state of helpless and incurable degradation—and that the effect of the latter method would be, to raise the price of weaving to the rate of allowance that is now made up of its present nominal price, and of the supplemental charity which goes to the English operative. It would ultimately work out a great and a glorious emancipation for the weavers of England; and, to Scotland, it would come with all the force and charm of an immediate deliverance. And, placed as we are, in the pestilent neighbourhood of our sister country, we would plead for this partial abolition of her whole charitable system, as the prelude to a gradual and entire abolition; so, that this worthless and pernicious nuisance which her

mistaken policy has entailed upon our empire, may, in time, be utterly swept away.

There is another, and certainly a better, way of meeting this distress. Instead of supplying the deficient wages of the operatives in their employment, take so many of them away from their employment. Provide other work for them, where they may have a somewhat better remuneration than they have at their own work. In this way you will disengage so many, for a season, from a line of industry that is already overdone, and perhaps may transfer a number of weavers permanently to other employments. Thus may the supply of goods be reduced beneath the consumption, and the market, relieved of its superabundant stock, return to natural prices, and a fair remuneration for the operative. This, certainly, is a far more legitimate object for a public subscription, than the former; and the only hazard is, that after it is once started, and is obtruded on the view of the workmen as a likely expedient for their deliverance; it may not be supported with enough of vigour and liberality on the part of the benevolent. For, to pay the difference between bad wages and better, is not nearly so expensive as to pay the better wages altogether:—And it is this which tempts the charitable to the first method of supplying, rather than to the second method of withdrawing; and, even when the second method is entered upon by any public or combined movement, it is scarcely ever done in such a style of magnitude as to work any sensible effect. There will, no doubt, be a certain fraction withdrawn; but probably a very small proportion of the number that would need to be withdrawn, or of the number that would withdraw themselves, if left to prosecute their own expedients, without any delusive influence being set up to deceive and to detain them in their present situation. Government, for example, has held out the resource of emigration. But this they ought not to have done, unless they were in a condition to prosecute the enterprise on so great a scale as to work a national effect. Otherwise, they have only diverted individuals from their own measures for emigration, and in fact have lessened the relief of this expedient to the whole country—for many have trusted in this way to facilities which have not been realized. The city of Glasgow, in like manner, employs a few hundred operative weavers at a public work, the expense of which is in part defrayed by a public subscription. But, by this very measure, she has detained within her territory many more operatives than she employs. She has held out a prospect of employment at home which she has not been able to realize; and has so slackened the emigration to Ireland

and other parts of the country, that we have at this moment more occupied looms in consequence of the public work thus provided, than we would have had without it. When the transference was left to itself, we find that there was an abandonment of looms to the extent of three thousand and upwards.* The whole public work takes up scarcely as many hundreds. But the name and the expectation of it detained a great many more; of whom, a few were admitted to the privilege of this extra employment, and the rest were obliged to hang on under the chance either of an enlargement or a vacancy. So that all which has been publicly done in this way, is rather an apology for a good thing, than the good thing itself. It was great, perhaps, in reference to the sums contributed by several individuals; but quite of Lilliputian dimensions in reference to the evil to be combated. And it were well that all corporations, and more especially Government, the greatest corporation in our land, were more aware of the insignificance of all that they have done, and, perhaps, of all that they can do, to moderate the evils of a deranged and distempered commerce.

But the same powerlessness of effort cannot be charged on the benevolence of wealthy and enlightened individuals. Government is one, and city corporations are few; but rich individuals are many: and, were a wise direction given to their charity, there is no doubt of a great and valuable result coming out of it. The efforts of landlords and country gentlemen to procure extra work for our weavers, have created a most important and salutary diversion in our present emergencies. A list of all the individuals who have thus signalized themselves, would furnish a most gratifying record of the kind sympathy that is to be found, in our day, under the guidance of wisdom and just discernment. The names of the Duke of Hamilton, and Lords Belhaven and Douglas, in Lanarkshire, and of Mr Maxwell in the county of Renfrew, have a foremost place in this history of pure and honourable patriotism.

But there is yet another and a far more excellent way—not to be attained, certainly, but by a change of habit among the workmen themselves—yet such a change as may be greatly promoted by those whose condition or character gives them influence in society. We have always been of opinion, that the main use of a Savings Bank was, not to elevate labourers into the class of capitalists, but to equalize and improve their condition as labourers. We should like them to have each a small capital,

* It should be remarked here, that though upwards of 5000 looms were found unoccupied, yet nearly 2000 out of the whole 18,000 would, upon an average, be unoccupied even in ordinary times. •

not wherewith to become manufacturers, but wherewith to control manufacturers. It is in this way (and we can see no other) that they will be enabled to weather all the fluctuations to which trade is liable. It is the cruel necessity of overworking which feeds the mischief of superabundant stock, and which renders so very large a transference of hands necessary ere the market can be relieved of the load under which it groans and languishes. Now, this is a necessity that can only be felt by men on the brink of starvation, who live from hand to mouth, and have scarcely more than the day's earnings for the subsistence of the day. Let these men only be enabled, on the produce of former accumulations, to live through a season of depression while they work moderately, or, if any of them should so choose it, while they do not work at all,—and they would not only lighten such a period of its wretchedness, but they would inconceivably shorten its duration. The overplus of manufactured goods, which is the cause of miserable wages, would soon clear away under the restriction of work which would naturally follow on the part of men who did not choose, because they did not need, to work for miserable wages. What is now a protracted season of suffering and discontent to the lower orders, would, in these circumstances, become to them a short but brilliant career of holiday enjoyment. The report of a heavy downfall of wages, instead of sounding like a knell of despair in their ears, would be their signal for rising up to play. We have heard, that there does not exist in our empire a more intellectual and accomplished order of workmen than the weavers of Paisley. It was their habit, we understand, to abandon their looms throughout the half or nearly the whole of each Saturday, and to spend this time in gardening, or in the enjoyment of a country walk. It is true, that such time might sometimes be viciously spent; but still we should rejoice in such a degree of sufficiency among our operatives, as that they could afford a lawful day of every week for their amusement, and still more, that they could afford whole months of relaxed and diminished industry, when industry was underpaid. This is the dignified posture which they might attain; but only after the return of better times, and through the medium of their own sober and determined economy. Every shilling laid up in store, and kept in reserve for the evil day, would strengthen the barrier against such a visitation of distress and difficulty as that from which we are yet scarcely emerging. The very habits too, which helped them to accumulate in the season of well paid work, would form our best guarantee against the vicious or immoral abuse of this accumulation, in the season either of entire or comparative inactivity. We would expect an increase of reading, and the growth of literary cultivation, and the steady

advancement of virtuous and religious habits,—and, altogether, a greater weight of character and influence among the labouring classes, as the permanent results of such a system. Instead of being the victims of every adverse movement in trade, they would become its most effective regulators.

This is the eminence that the labourers of our nation are fully capable both of reaching and of maintaining. But it is neither the Poor-rate of England, nor the Law of Parochial Aid in Scotland, that will help them on to it. These have only deceived them away from the path which leads to independence; and, amid all the complaints which have been raised against the system of a compulsory provision for the poor, nothing is more certain than that our poor, because underpaid operatives, are the principal sufferers by it. Every other class in society has its compensation. It is paid back again to the manufacturer in the shape of a reduction in the wages of his workmen, and to the landlord by a reduction in the price of all manufactured articles. It is only the operative himself, who appears to be pensioned by it, that is really impoverished. It has deadened all those incitements to accumulation which would have raised him and his fellow-labourers to a footing of permanent security in the State—And, not till their eyes have been opened to the whole mischief and cruelty of this delusion—not till they see where it is that their most powerful and malignant enemy is lying in ambush—not till they have learned that, under the guise of charity, there has been an influence at work for many years, which has arrested the march of the lower orders to the elevation that naturally and rightfully belongs to them, and till they come to understand that it is by their own exertion and self-denial alone that they can win their way to it—not, in short, till the popular cry is for the abolition, rather than the extension of pauperism, will our labouring classes have attained their full share of comfort and importance in the commonwealth.

ART. VI. *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States of America. Part First. Containing an Historical Outline of their Merits and Wrongs as Colonies, and Strictures on the Calumnies of British Writers.* By ROBERT WALSH, Esq. 8vo. pp. 505. Philadelphia and London, 1819.

ONE great staple of this book is a vehement, and, we really think, an unjust attack on the principles of this Journal. Yet we take part, on the whole, with the author:—and heartily

wish him success in the great object of vindicating his country from unmerited aspersions, and trying to make us, in England, ashamed of the vices and defects which he has taken the trouble to point out in our national character and institutions. In this part of his design we cordially concur—and shall at all times be glad to cooperate. But there is another part of it, and we are sorry to say a principal and avowed part, of which we cannot speak in terms of too strong regret and reprobation—and that is, a design to excite and propagate among his countrymen, a general animosity to the British name, by way of counteracting, or rather revenging, the animosity which he very erroneously supposes to be generally entertained by the English against them.

That this is, in itself, and under any circumstances, an unworthy, an unwise, and even a criminal object, we think we could demonstrate to the satisfaction of Mr W. himself, and all his reasonable adherents; but it is better, perhaps, to endeavour, in the first place, to correct the misapprehensions, and ^{dispel} the delusions in which this disposition has its foundation, and, at all events, to set them the example of perfect good humour and fairness, in a discussion where the parties perhaps will never be entirely agreed; and where those who are now to be heard have the strongest conviction of being injuriously misrepresented. If we felt any soreness, indeed, on the score of this author's imputations, or had any desire to lessen the just effect of his representations, it would have been enough for us, we believe, to have let them alone. For, without some such help as ours, the work really does not seem calculated to make any great impression in this quarter of the world. It is not only, as the author has candidly observed of it, a very 'clumsy book,' heavily written and abominably printed,—but the only material part of it—the only part about which any body can now be supposed to care very much, either here or in America—is overlaid and buried under a huge mass of historical compilation, which would have little chance of attracting readers at the present moment, even if much better digested than it is in the volume before us.

The substantial question is, what has been the true character and condition of the United States since they became an independent nation,—and what is likely to be their condition in future? And to elucidate this question, the learned author has thought fit to premise about 200 very close printed pages, upon their merits as colonies, and the harsh treatment they then received from the mother country! Of this large historical sketch, we cannot say either that it is very correctly drawn, or very faithfully coloured. It presents us with no connected narrative, or interesting deduction of events—but is, in truth, a mere

heap of indigested quotations from common books, of good and of bad authority—inartificially cemented together by a loose and angry commentary. We are not aware, indeed, that there are in this part of the work either any new statements, or any new views or opinions; the facts being mostly taken from *Chalmers's Annals*, and *Burke's European Settlements*; and the authorities for the good conduct and ill treatment of the colonies, being chiefly the *Parliamentary Debates* and *Brougham's Colonial Policy*.—But, in good truth, these historical recollections will go but a little way in determining that great practical and most important question, which it is Mr W.'s intention, as well as ours, to discuss—What are, and what ought to be, the Dispositions of England and America towards each other?—And the general facts as to the origin and colonial history of the latter, in so far as they bear upon this question, really do not admit of much dispute. The most important of their settlements were unquestionably founded by the friends of civil and religious liberty—who, though somewhat precise and puritanical, were, in the main, a sturdy and sagacious race of people, not readily to be cajoled out of the blessings they had sought through so many sacrifices, and ready at all times manfully and resolutely to assert them against all invaders. As to the mother country, again, without claiming for her any romantic tenderness or generosity towards those hardy offshoots, we think we may say, that she oppressed and domineered over them much less than any other modern nation has done over such settlements—that she allowed them, for the most part, liberal charters and constitutions, and was kind enough to leave them very much to themselves;—and although she did manifest, now and then, a disposition to encroach on their privileges, their rights were, on the whole, very tolerably respected—so that they grew up to a state of prosperity, and a familiarity with freedom, in all its divisions, which was not only without parallel in any similar establishment, but probably could not have been attained had they been earlier left to their own guidance and protection. This is all that we ask for England, on a review of her colonial policy, and her conduct before the war; and this, we think, no candid and well-informed person can reasonably refuse her.

As to the war itself, the motives in which it originated, and the spirit in which it was carried on, it cannot now be necessary to say any thing—or, at least, when we say that having once been begun, we think that it terminated as the friends of Justice and Liberty must have wished it to terminate, we conceive that Mr W. can require no other explanation. That this result, however, should have left a soreness upon both sides, and especi-

ally on that which had not been soothed by success, is what all men must have expected. But, upon the whole, we firmly believe, that this was far slighter and less durable than has generally been imagined; and was likely very speedily to have been entirely effaced by those ancient recollections of kindness and kindred which could not fail to recur, and by that still more powerful feeling, to which every day was likely to add strength, of their common interests as *free* and as *commercial* countries, and of the substantial conformity of their national character, and of their sentiments, upon most topics of public and of private right. The healing operation, however, of these causes was unfortunately thwarted and retarded by the heats that rose out of the French revolution, and the new interests and new relations which it appeared for a time to create:—And the hostilities in which we were at last involved with America herself—though the opinions of her people, as well as our own, were deeply divided upon both questions—served still further to embitter the general feeling, and to keep alive the memory of animosities that should not have been so long remembered. At last came peace—and the spirit, but not the prosperity of peace; and the distresses and commercial embarrassments of both countries threw both into bad humour; and unfortunately hurried both into a system of jealous and illiberal policy, by which that bad humour was aggravated, and received an unfortunate direction.

In this exasperated state of the national temper, and, we do think, too much under its influence, Mr Walsh has thought himself called upon to vindicate his country from the aspersions of English writers; and after arraigning them, generally, of the most incredible ignorance, and atrocious malignity, he proceeds to state, that the *EDINBURGH* and *QUARTERLY* Reviews, in particular, have been incessantly labouring to traduce the character of America, and have lately broken out into such ‘excesses of obloquy,’ as can no longer be endured; and, in particular, that the prospect of a large emigration to the United States has thrown us all into such ‘paroxysms of spite and jealousy,’ that we have engaged in a scheme of systematic defamation that sets truth and consistency alike at defiance. To counteract this nefarious scheme, Mr W. has taken the field—not so much to refute or to retort—not for the purpose of pointing out our errors, or exposing our unfairness, but, rather, if we understand him aright, of retaliating on us the abuse we have been so long pouring on others. In his preface, accordingly, he fairly avows it to be his intention to act on the offensive—to carry the war into the enemy’s quarters, and to make reprisals upon the honour and character of England, in revenge for the insults

which, he will have it, her writers have heaped on his country. He therefore proposes to point out 'the sores and blotches of the British nation' to the scorn and detestation of his countrymen; and having assumed, that it is 'the intention of Great Britain to educate her youth in sentiments of the most rancorous hostility to America,' he assures us, that this design 'will and must be met with *corresponding sentiments* on his side of the water.'

Now, though we cannot applaud the generosity, or even the humanity of these sentiments—though we think that the American government and people, if at all deserving of the eulogy which Mr W. has here bestowed upon them, might, like Cromwell, have felt themselves too strong to care about paper shot—and though we cannot but feel, that a more temperate and candid tone would have carried more weight, as well as more magnanimity with it, we must yet begin by admitting, that America has cause of complaint;—and that nothing can be more despicable and disgusting, than the scurrility with which she has been assailed, by a portion of the press of this country—and that, disgraceful as these publications are, they speak the sense of a powerful and active party in the nation. All this, and more than this, we have no wish, and no intention, to deny. But we do wish most anxiously to impress upon Mr W. and his adherents, to beware how they believe that this party speaks the sense of the British Nation—or that their sentiments on this, or on many other occasions, are in any degree in accordance with those of the body of the people. On the contrary, we are firmly persuaded, that a great majority of the nation, numerically considered, and a still greater majority of the intelligent and enlightened persons whose influence and authority cannot fail in the long-run to govern her councils, would disclaim all sympathy with any part of these opinions; and actually look on the miserable libels in question, not only with the scorn and disgust to which Mr W. would consign them, but with a sense of shame from which his situation fortunately exempts him, and a sorrow and regret of which unfortunately he seems too little susceptible.

It is a fact which can require no proof, even in America, that there is a party in this country not friendly to political liberty, and decidedly hostile to all extension of popular rights,—which, if it does not grudge to its own people the powers and privileges which are bestowed on them by the Constitution, is at least for confining their exercise within the narrowest limits—which thinks the peace and well-being of society in no danger from anything but popular encroachments, and holds the only safe or desirable

government to be that of a pretty pure and unincumbered Monarchy, supported by a vast revenue and a powerful army, and obeyed by a people just enlightened enough to be orderly and industrious, but noway curious as to questions of right—and never pretending to judge of the conduct of their superiors.

Now, it is quite true that *this Party* dislikes America, and is apt enough to decry and insult her. Its adherents never have forgiven the success of her war of independence—the loss of a nominal sovereignty, or perhaps of a real power of vexing and oppressing—her supposed rivalry in trade—and, above all, the happiness and tranquillity which she enjoys under a republican form of government. Such a spectacle of democratical prosperity is unspeakably mortifying to their high monarchical principles; and is easily imagined to be dangerous to their security. Their first wish, and, for a time, their darling hope, was, that the infant States would quarrel among themselves, and be thankful to be again received under our protection, as a refuge from military despotism. Since that hope was lost, it would have satisfied them to find that their republican institutions had made them poor and turbulent and depraved—incapable of civil wisdom, regardless of national honour, and as intractable to their own elected rulers as they had been to their hereditary sovereign. To those who were capable of such wishes and such expectations, it is easy to conceive, that the happiness and good order of the United States—the wisdom and authority of their government—and the unparalleled rapidity of their progress in wealth, population and refinement, must have been but an ungrateful spectacle; and most especially, that the splendid and steady success of the freest and most popular form of government that ever was established in the world, must have struck the most lively alarm into the hearts of all those who were anxious to have it believed that the People could never interfere in politics but to their ruin, and that the smallest addition to the democratical influence, recognised in the theory at least of the British Constitution, must lead to the immediate destruction of peace and property, morality and religion.

That there are journals in this country, and journals too of great and deserved reputation in other respects; who have spoken the language of the party we have now described, and that in a tone of singular intemperance and offence, we most readily admit. But need we tell Mr W. or any ordinarily well informed individual of his countrymen, that neither this party nor their journalists can be allowed to stand for the People of England?—that it is notorious that there is among that people another and a far more numerous party, whose sentiments are

at all points opposed to those of the former, and who are, by necessary consequence, friends to America, and to all that Americans most value in their character and institutions?—who, as Englishmen, are more proud to have great and glorious nations descended from them, than to have discontented colonies uselessly subjected to their caprice—who, as Freemen, rejoice to see freedom spreading itself, with giant footsteps, over the fairest regions of the earth, and nations flourishing exactly in proportion as they are free—and to know that when the drivelling advocates of hierarchy and legitimacy vent their paltry sophistries with some shadow of plausibility on the history of the Old World, they can turn with decisive triumph, to the unequivocal example of the New—and demonstrate the unspeakable advantages of free government, by the unprecedented prosperity of America? Such persons, too, can be as little suspected of entertaining any jealousy of the commercial prosperity of the Americans as of their political freedom; since it requires but a very moderate share of understanding to see, that the advantages of trade must always be mutual and reciprocal—that one great trading country is of necessity the best customer to another—and that the trade of America, consisting chiefly in the exportation of raw produce and the importation of manufactured commodities, is, of all others, the most beneficial to a country like England.

That such sentiments were naturally to be expected in a country circumstanced like England, no thinking man will deny. But Mr Walsh has been himself among us, and was, we have reason to believe, no idle or incurious observer of our men and cities; and we appeal with confidence to him, whether these were not the prevailing sentiments among the intelligent and well educated of every degree! If he thinks as we do, as to their soundness and importance, he must also believe that they will sooner or later influence the conduct even of our Court and Cabinet. But, in the mean time, the fact is certain, that the opposite sentiments are confined to a very small portion of the people of Great Britain—though now placed unfortunately in a situation to exercise a great influence in her councils—and that the course of events, as well as the force of reason, is every day bringing them more and more into discredit. Where then, we would ask, is the justice or the policy of seeking to render a quarrel National, when the cause of quarrel is only with an inconsiderable and declining party of its members?—and why labour to excite animosity against a whole people, the majority of whom *must* be your sincere friends, merely because some prejudiced or interested persons among them have disgusted the great body of their own countrymen, by the senselessness and scurrility of their attacks upon yours?

The Americans are extremely mistaken, if they suppose that they are the only persons who are abused by the party that does abuse them. They have merely their share, along with all the friends and the advocates of Liberty in every part of the world. The Constitutionals of France, including the King and many of his ministers, meet with no better treatment;—and those who hold liberal opinions in this country, are assailed with still greater acrimony and fierceness. Let Mr Walsh only look to the language held by our ministerial journals, for the last twelvemonth, on the subjects of Reform and Alarm—and observe in what way not only the whole class of reformers and conciliators, but the names and persons of such men as Lords Lansdowne, Grey, Fitzwilliam, and Erskine, Sir James Mackintosh, and Messrs Brougham, Lambton, Tierney, and others, are dealt with by these national oracles,—and he will be satisfied that his countrymen neither stand alone in the misfortune of which he complains so bitterly, nor are subjected to it in very bad company. We, too, he may probably be aware, have had our portion of the abuse which he seems to think reserved for America—and, what is a little remarkable, for being too much her advocate. For what we have said of her present power and future greatness—her wisdom in peace and her valour in war—and of all the invaluable advantages of her representative system—her freedom from taxes, sinecures, and standing armies—we have been subjected to far more virulent attacks than any of which he now complains for his country—and that from the same party scribblers, with whom we are here, somewhat absurdly, confounded and supposed to be leagued. It is really, we think, some little presumption of our fairness, that the accusations against us should be thus contradictory—and that for one and the same set of writings, we should be denounced by the ultra-royalists of England as little better than American republicans, and by the ultra-patriots of America, as the jealous defamers of her Freedom.

This, however, is of very little consequence. What we wish to impress on Mr W. is, that they who traduce the largest and ablest part of the English nation, cannot well speak the sense of that nation—and that *their* offences ought not, in reason, to be imputed to her. If there be any reliance on the principles of human nature, the friends of liberty in England must rejoice in the prosperity of America. Every selfish, concurs with every generous motive, to add strength to this sympathy; and if any thing is certain in our late internal history, it is, that the friends of liberty are rapidly increasing among us;—partly from increased intelligence,—partly from increased suffering and impatience,—partly from conviction, prudence, and fear.

There is another consideration, also arising from the aspect of the times before us, which should go far, we think, at the present moment, to strengthen these bonds of affinity. It is impossible to look to the state of the Old World without seeing, or rather feeling, that there is a greater and more arduous contest impending, than ever before agitated human society. In Germany—in Spain—in France—in Italy, the principles of Reform and Liberty are visibly arraying themselves for a final struggle with the principles of Established Abuse,—Legitimacy, or Tyranny,—or whatever else it is called, by its friends or enemies. Even in England, the more modified elements of the same principles are stirring and heaving, around, above and beneath us, with unprecedented agitation and terror; and every thing betokens an approaching crisis in the great European commonwealth, by the result of which the future character of its governments, and the structure and condition of its society, will in all probability be determined. The ultimate result, or the course of events that are to lead to it, we have not the presumption to predict. The struggle may be long or transitory—sanguinary or bloodless; and it may end in a great and signal amelioration of all existing institutions, or in the establishment of one vast federation of military despots, domineering as usual in the midst of sensuality, barbarism, and gloom. The issues of all these things are in the hand of Providence and the womb of time; and no human eye can yet foresee the fashion of their accomplishment. But great changes are evidently preparing; and in fifty years—most probably in a far shorter time—some material alterations must have taken place in most of the established governments of Europe, and the rights of the European nations been established on a surer and more durable basis. Half a century cannot pass away in growing discontents on the part of the people, and growing fears and precautions on that of their rulers. Their pretensions *must* at last be put in issue; and abide the settlement of force, or fear or reason.

Looking back to what has already happened in the world, both recently and in ancient times, we can scarcely doubt that the cause of Liberty will be ultimately triumphant. But through what trials and sufferings—what martyrdoms and persecutions it is doomed to work out its triumph—we profess ourselves totally unable to conjecture. The disunion of the lower and the higher classes, which was gradually disappearing with the increasing intelligence of the former, but has lately been renewed by circumstances which we cannot now stop to examine, leads, we must confess, to gloomy auguries as to the character of this contest; and fills us with apprehensions, that it may neither

be peaceful nor brief. But in this, and in every other respect, we conceive that much will depend on the part that is taken by America; and on the dispositions which she may have cultivated towards the different parties concerned. Her great and growing wealth and population—her universal commercial relations—her own impregnable security—and her remoteness from the scene of dissension—must give her prodigious power and influence in such a crisis, either as a mediator or umpire, or, if she take a part, as an auxiliary and ally. That she must wish well to the cause of Freedom, it would be indecent to doubt—and that she should take an active part against it, is a thing not even to be imagined:—But she may stand aloof, a cold and disdainful spectator; and, counterfeiting a prudent indifference to scenes that neither can nor ought to be indifferent to her, may see, unmoved, the prolongation of a lamentable contest, which her interference might either have prevented, or brought to a speedy termination. And this course she will most probably follow, if she allows herself to conceive antipathies to nations for the faults of a few calumnious individuals: And especially if, upon grounds so trivial, she should nourish such an animosity towards England, as to feel a repugnance to make common cause with her, even in behalf of their common inheritance of freedom.

Assuredly, there is yet no other country in Europe where the principles of liberty, and the rights and duties of nations, are so well understood as with us—or in which so great a number of men, qualified to write, speak, and act with authority, are at all times ready to take a reasonable, liberal, and practical view of those principles and duties. The Government, indeed, has not always been either wise or generous, to its own or to other countries;—but it has partaken, or at least has been controlled by the general spirit of freedom; and we have no hesitation in saying, that the Free Constitution of England has been a blessing and protection to the remotest nations of Europe for the last 100 years. Had England not been free, the worst despotism in Europe must have been far worse than it is, at this moment. If the world had been parcelled out among arbitrary monarchs, they would have run a race of oppression, and encouraged each other in all sorts of abuses. But the existence of one powerful and flourishing State, where juster maxims were admitted, has shamed them out of their worst enormities, given countenance and encouragement to the claims of their oppressed subjects, and gradually taught their rulers to understand, that a certain measure of liberty was not only compatible with national greatness and splendour, but

essential to its support. In the days of Queen Elizabeth, England was the champion and asylum of Religious freedom—in those of King William, of National independence. If a less generous spirit has prevailed in her Cabinet since the settled predominance of Tory principles in her councils, still, the effects of her Parliamentary Opposition—the artillery of her free Press—the voice, in short, of her People, which Mr W. has so strangely mistaken, have not been without their effects;—and, though some flagrant acts of injustice have stained her recent annals, we still venture to hope, that the dread of the British Public is felt as far as Petersburg and Vienna: and would fain indulge ourselves with the belief, that it may yet scare some Imperial spoiler from a part of his prey, and lighten, if not break, the chains of many distant captives.

It is in aid of this decaying, perhaps expiring influence—it is as an associate or successor in the noble office of patronizing and protecting general liberty, that we now call upon America to throw from her the memory of all petty differences and nice offences, and to unite herself cordially with the liberal and enlightened part of the English nation, at a season when their joint efforts will in all probability be little enough to crown the good cause with success, and when their disunion will give dreadful advantages to the enemies of all improvement and reform. The *example* of America has already done much for that cause; and the very existence of such a country, under such a government, is a tower of strength, and a standard of encouragement, for all who may hereafter have to struggle for the restoration or the extension of their rights. It shows within what limits popular institutions are safe and practicable; and what a large infusion of democracy is consistent with the authority of government, and the good order of society. But her *influence*, as well as her example, will be wanted in the crisis which seems to be approaching:—and that influence must be paralyzed and inoperative, if she shall think it a duty to divide herself from England, to look with jealousy upon her proceedings, and to judge unfavourably of all the parties she contains. We do not ask her to think well of *that* party, whether in power or out of it, which has always insulted and reviled her, because she is free and independent and democratic and prosperous:—but we do confidently lay claim to her favourable opinion for that great majority of the nation that have always been opposed to this party—which has divided with her the honour of its reproaches, and is bound, by every consideration of interest and duty, consistency and common sense, to maintain her rights and her reputation, and to promote and proclaim her prosperity.

To which of these parties *we* belong, and to which our pen has been devoted, we suppose it is unnecessary for us to announce, even in America;—and therefore, without recapitulating any part of what has just been said, we think we may assume, in the outset, that the charge exhibited against us by Mr W. is, at least, and on its face, a very unlikely and improbable one—that we are actuated by jealousy and spite towards America, and have joined in a scheme of systematic defamation, in order to diffuse among our countrymen a general sentiment of hostility and dislike to her! Grievous as this charge is, we should scarcely have thought it necessary to reply to it, had not the question appeared to us to relate to something of far higher importance than the character of our Journal, or the justice or injustice of an imputation on the principles of a few anonymous writers. In that case, we should have left the matter, as all the world knows we have uniformly left it in other cases, to be determined by our readers upon the evidence before them. But Mr W. has been pleased to do us the honour of identifying us with the great Whig party of this country, or, rather, of considering us as the exponents of those who support the principles of liberty—and to think his case sufficiently made out against the Nation at large, if he can prove that both the *EDINBURGH* and the *QUARTERLY REVIEW* had given proof of deliberate malice and shameful unfairness on the subject of America. Now *this*, it must be admitted, gives the question a magnitude that would not otherwise belong to it: and makes what might in itself be a mere personal or literary altercation, a matter of national moment and concernment. If a sweeping conviction of mean jealousy and rancorous hostility is to be entered up against the whole British nation, and a corresponding spirit to be conjured up in the breast of America, because it is alleged that the *Edinburgh Review*, as well as the *Quarterly*, has given proof of such dispositions,—then it becomes a question of no mean or ordinary concernment, to determine whether this charge has been justly brought against that unfortunate Journal, and whether its accuser has made out enough to entitle him to a verdict leading to such consequences.

It will be understood, that we deny altogether the justice of the charge:—But we wish distinctly to say in the beginning, that if it should appear to any one that, in the course of a great deal of hasty writing, by a variety of hands, in the course of twenty long years, some rash or petulant expressions had been admitted, at which the national pride of our Transatlantic brethren might be justly offended, we shall most certainly feel no anxiety to justify these expressions,—nor any fear that, with the

liberal and reasonable part of the nation to which they relate, our avowal of regret for having employed them, would not be received as a sufficient atonement. Even in private life, and without the provocation of public controversy, there are not many men who, in half the time we have mentioned, do not say some things to the slight or disparagement of their best friends; which, if all 'set in a note-book, coned and got by rote,' it might be hard to answer:—and yet, among people of any sense or temper, such things never break any squares—and the dispositions are judged of by the general tenor of one's life and conduct, and not by a set of peevish phrases, curiously culled and selected out of his whole conversation. But we really do not think that we shall very much need the benefit of this plain consideration, and shall proceed straightway to our answer.

The sum of it is this—That, in point of fact, we have spoken far more good of America than ill—that in nine instances out of ten, where we have mentioned her, it has been for praise—and that in almost all that is essential or of serious importance, we have spoken *nothing but good*;—while our censures have been wholly confined to matters of inferior note, and generally accompanied with an apology for their existence, and a prediction of their speedy disappearance.

Whatever we have written seriously and with earnestness of America, has been with a view to conciliate towards her the respect and esteem of our own country; and we have scarcely named her, in any deliberate manner, except for the purpose of impressing upon our readers the signal prosperity she has enjoyed—the magical rapidity of her advances in wealth and population—and the extraordinary power and greatness to which she is evidently destined. On these subjects we have held but one language, and one tenor of sentiment; and have never missed an opportunity of enforcing our views on our readers—and that not feebly, coldly, or reluctantly, but with all the earnestness and energy that we could command; and we do accordingly take upon us to say, that in no European publication have those views been urged with the same force or frequency, or resumed at every season, and under every change of circumstances, with such steadiness and uniformity. We have been equally consistent and equally explicit in pointing out the advantages which that country has derived from the extent of her elective system—the lightness of her public burdens—the freedom of her press—and the independent spirit of her people. The praise of the Government is implied in the praise of these institutions; but we have not omitted upon every occasion to testify, in express terms, to its general wisdom, equity, and prudence. Of

the character of the people too, in all its more serious aspects, we have spoken with the same undeviating favour; and have always represented them as brave, enterprising, acute, industrious and patriotic. We need not load our pages with quotations to prove the accuracy of this representation—our whole work is full of them; and Mr W. himself has quoted enough both in the outset of his book and in the body of it, to satisfy even such as may take their information from him, that such have always been our opinions. Mr W. indeed seems to imagine, that other passages, which he has cited, import a contradiction or retraction of these; and that we are thus involved, not only in the guilt of malice, but the awkwardness of inconsistency. Now this, as we take it, is one of the radical and almost unaccountable errors with which the work before us is chargeable. There is no such retraction, and no contradiction. We can of course do no more, on a point like this, than make a distinct asseveration; but, after having perused Mr W.'s book, and with a pretty correct knowledge of the Review, we do say distinctly, that there is not to be found in either, a single passage inconsistent, or at all at variance with the sentiments to which we have just alluded. We have never spoken but in one way of the prosperity and future greatness of America, and of the importance of cultivating amicable relations with her—never but in one way of the freedom, cheapness, and general wisdom of her government—never but in one way of the bravery, intelligence, activity, and patriotism of her people. The points on which Mr W. accuses us of malice and unfairness, all relate, as we shall see immediately, to other and far less considerable matters.

Assuming, then, as we must now do, that upon the subjects that have been specified, our testimony has been eminently and exclusively favourable to America, and that we have never ceased earnestly to recommend the most cordial and friendly relations with her, how, it may be asked, is it possible that we should have deserved to be classed among the chief and most malignant of her calumniators, or accused of a design to excite hostility to her in the body of our nation? and even represented as making reciprocal hostility a point of duty in her, by the excesses of our obloquy? For ourselves, we profess to be as little able to answer this question, as the most ignorant of our readers;—but we shall lay before them some account of the proofs on which Mr W. relies for our condemnation; and cheerfully submit to any sentence they may seem to justify. There are a variety of Counts in our indictment; but, in so far as we have been able to collect, the heads of our offending are as follows, 1st, That we have noticed, with uncharitable and

undue severity, the admitted want of indigenuous literature in America, and the scarcity of men of genius; 2d, as an illustration of that charge, That we have laughed too ill-naturedly at the affectations of Joel Barlow's Columbiad, made an unfair estimate of the merits of Marshall's History, and Adams's Letters, and spoken illiberally of the insignificance of certain American Philosophical Transactions; 3dly, That we have represented the manners of the fashionable society of America as less polished and agreeable than those of Europe,—the lower orders as impertinently inquisitive, and the whole as too vain of their country; 4th, and finally, That we have reproached them bitterly with their negro slavery.

These, we think, are the whole, and certainly they are the chief, of the charges against us; and, before saying anything as to the particulars, we should just like to ask, whether, if they were all admitted to be true, they would afford any sufficient grounds, especially when set by the side of the favourable representations we have made with so much more earnestness on points of much more importance, for imputing to their authors, and to the whole body of their countrymen, a systematic design to make America odious and despicable in the eyes of the rest of the world? This charge, we will confess, appears to us most extravagant—and, when the facts already stated are taken into view, altogether ridiculous. Though we are the friends and well-wishers of the Americans—though we think favourably, and even highly, of many things in their institutions, government and character,—we are not their stipendiary Laureates or blind adulators; and must insist on our right to take notice of what we conceive to be their errors and defects, with the same freedom which we use to our own, and all other nations. It has already been shown, that we have by no means confined ourselves to this privilege of censure; and the complaint seems to be, that we should have used it at all. We really do not understand this. We have spoken much more favourably of their government and institutions, than we have done of our own. We have criticised their authors with at least as much indulgence, and spoken of their national character in terms of equal respect: But because we have pointed out certain *undeniable* defects, and laughed at some *indefensible* absurdities, we are accused of the most partial and unfair nationality, and represented as engaged in a conspiracy to bring the whole nation into disrepute! Even if we had the misfortune to differ in opinion with Mr W., or the majority of his countrymen, on most of the points to which our censure has been directed, instead of having his substantial admission of their justice in most

instances, this, it humbly appears to us, would neither be a good ground for questioning our good faith, nor a reasonable occasion for denouncing a general hostility against the country to which we belong. Men may differ conscientiously in their taste in literature and manners, and in their opinions as to the injustice or sinfulness of domestic slavery; and may express their opinions in public, without being actuated by spite or malignity. But a very slight examination of each of the articles of charge, will show still more clearly upon what slight grounds they have been hazarded, and how much more of spleen than of reason there is in the accusation.

1. Upon the *first* head, Mr W. neither does, nor can deny, that our statements are perfectly correct. The Americans have scarcely any literature of their own growth—and scarcely any authors of celebrity. The fact is too remarkable, not to have been noticed by all who have had occasion to speak of them;—and we have only to add, that, so far from bringing it forward in an insulting or invidious manner, we have never, we believe, alluded to it without adding such explanations as in candour we thought due, and as were calculated to take from it all shadow of offence. So early as in our third Number, we observed that ‘Literature was one of those *finer Manufactures* which a new country will always find it easier to import than to raise;’—and, after showing that the want of leisure and hereditary wealth naturally led to this arrangement, we added, that ‘the Americans had shown abundance of talent, wherever inducements had been held out for its exertion; that their party-pamphlets were written with great keenness and spirit; and that their orators frequently displayed a vehemence, correctness, and animation, that would command the admiration of any European audience.’ Mr W. has himself quoted the warm testimony we bore, in our 12th Volume, to the merits of the papers published under the title of *The Federalist*: And in our 16th, we observe, that when America once turned her attention to letters, ‘we had no doubt that her authors would improve and multiply, to a degree that would make all our exertions necessary to keep the start we have of them.’ In a subsequent Number, we add the important remark, that ‘among them, the men who *write* bear no proportion to those who *read*;

‘and that, though they have but few native authors, the individuals are innumerable who make use of literature to improve their understandings, and add to their happiness.’ The very same ideas are expressed in a late article, which seems to have given Mr W. very great offence—though we can discover nothing in the passage in question, except the

liveliness of the style, that can afford room for misconstruction. 'Native literature,' says the Reviewer, 'the Americans have none.' It is all imported. And why should they write books? when a six weeks' passage brings them, in their own tongue, our sense, science and genius, in bales and hogsheads?—Now, what is the true meaning of this, but the following—'The Americans do not write books; but it must not be inferred, from this, that they are ignorant or indifferent about literature.—The true reason is, that they get books enough from us in their own language, and are, in this respect, just in the condition of any of our great-trading or manufacturing districts at home, where there is no encouragement for *authors* to settle, though there is as much reading and thinking as in other places.' This has all along been our meaning—and we think it has been clearly enough expressed. The Americans, in fact, are at least as great readers as the English, and take off immense editions of all our popular works;—and while we have repeatedly stated the causes that have probably withheld them from becoming authors in great numbers themselves, we confidently deny that we have ever represented them as illiterate, or negligent of learning.

2. As to our particular criticisms on American works, we cannot help feeling that our justification will be altogether as easy as in the case of our general remarks on their rarity. Nothing, indeed, can more strikingly illustrate the unfortunate prejudice or irritation under which Mr W. has composed this part of his work, than the morose and angry remarks he has made on our very innocent and good-natured critique of Barlow's *Columbiad*. It is very true that we have laughed at its strange neologisms, and pointed out some of its other manifold faults. But is it possible for any one seriously to believe, that this gentle castigation was dictated by national animosity?—or does Mr W. really believe, that, if the same work had been published in England, it would have met with a milder treatment? If the book was so bad, however, he insinuates, why take any notice of it, if not to indulge your malignity? To this we answer, *first*, That a handsome quarto of verse, from a country which produces so few, necessarily attracted our attention more strongly than if it had appeared among ourselves; *secondly*, That its faults were of so peculiar and amusing a kind, as to call for animadversion rather than neglect; and, *thirdly*, what no reader of Mr W.'s remarks would indeed anticipate, That in spite of these faults, the book actually had merits that entitled it to notice, and that a considerable part of our article is accordingly employed in bringing these merits into view. In common candour, we must say, Mr W. should have acknowledged this fact,

when complaining of the illiberal severity with which Mr Barlow's work had been treated. For, the truth is, that we have given it fully as much praise as he, or any other intelligent American, can say it deserves; and have been at some pains in vindicating the author's sentiments from misconstruction, as well as rescuing his beauties from neglect. Yet Mr W. is pleased to inform his reader, that the work 'seems to have been committed to the ' Momus of the fraternity for especial diversion;' and is very surly and austere at 'the exquisite jokes' of which he says it consists. We certainly do not mean to dispute with him about the quality of our jokes:—though we take leave to appeal to a gayer critic—or to himself in better humour—from his present sentence of reprobation. But he should have recollected, that, besides stating, in distinct terms, that 'his versification was generally both soft and sonorous, and that there were many ' passages of rich and vigorous description, and some that might ' lay claim even to the praise of magnificence,' the critics had summed up their observations by saying, 'that the author's talents were evidently respectable; and that, severely as they ' had been obliged to speak of his taste and his diction, in a ' great part of the volume, they considered him as a giant in ' comparison with many of the paltry and puling rhymsters ' who disgraced our English literature by their occasional success; and that, if he would pay some attention to purity of ' style and simplicity of composition, they had no doubt that ' he might produce something which English poets would envy, ' and English critics applaud.'

Are there any traces here, we would ask, of national spite and hostility?—or is it not true, that our account of the poem is, on the whole, not only fair but favourable, and the tone of our remarks as good-humoured and friendly as if the author had been a whiggish Scotchman? As to 'Marshall's Life of Washington,' we do not think that Mr W. differs very much from the Reviewers. He says, 'he does not mean to affirm ' that the story of their Revolution has been told *absolutely* ' well by this author;' and we, after complaining of its being cold, heavy and tedious, have distinctly testified, that 'it displayed industry, good sense, and, in so far as we could judge, ' laudable impartiality; and that the style, though neither elegant nor impressive, was yet, upon the whole, clear and manly.' Mr W. however thinks, that nothing but national spite and illiberality can account for our saying, 'that Mr M. must ' not promise himself a reputation commensurate with the *dimensions* of his work;' and 'that what passes with him for ' dignity, will, by his readers, be pronounced dulness and fri-

'gidity : ' And then he endeavours to show, that a passage in which we say that ' Mr Marshall's narrative is *deficient* in ' *almost* ' everything that constitutes historical excellence, ' is glaringly inconsistent with the favourable sentence we have transcribed in the beginning; not seeing, or not choosing to see, that in the one place we are speaking of the *literary* merits of the work, as an historical *composition*, and in the other of the information it affords. But the question is not, whether our criticism is just and able, or otherwise; but whether it indicates any little spirit of detraction and national rancour—and this;—it would seem not very difficult to answer. If we had taken the occasion of this publication to gather together all the foolish and awkward and disreputable things that occurred in the conduct of the revolutionary councils and campaigns, and to make the history of this memorable struggle a vehicle for insinuations against the courage or integrity of many who took part in it, we might, with reason, have been subjected to the censure we now confidently repel. But there is not a word in the article that looks that way; and the only ground for the imputation is, that we have called Mr Marshall's book dull and honest, accurate and heavy, valuable and tedious, while neither Mr W., nor anybody else, ever thought or said anything else of it. It is his style only that we object to.—Of his *general* sentiments—of the conduct and character of his hero—and of the prospects of his country, we speak as the warmest friends of America, and the warmest admirers of American virtue could wish us to speak. We shall add but one short passage as a specimen of the tone of this insolent and illiberal production.

' History has no other example of so happy an issue to a revolution, consummated by a long civil war. Indeed it seems to be very near a maxim in political philosophy, that a free government cannot be obtained where a long employment of military force has been necessary to establish it. In the case of America, however, the military power was, by a rare felicity, disarmed by that very influence which makes a revolutionary army so formidable to liberty: For the images of Grandeur and Power—those meteor lights that are exhaled in the stormy atmosphere of a revolution, to allure the ambitious and dazzle the weak—made no impression on the firm and virtuous soul of the American commander.'

As to Adams's Letters on Silesia, the case is nearly the same. We certainly do not run into extravagant compliments to the author because he happens to be the son of the American President: But he is treated with sufficient courtesy and respect; and Mr W. cannot well deny, that the book is very fairly rated, according to its intrinsic merits. There is no ridicule, nor any

attempt at sneering, throughout the article. The work is described as 'easy and pleasant, and entertaining,'—as containing some excellent remarks on Education,—and indicating, throughout, 'that settled attachment to freedom which is worked into the constitution of every man of virtue who has the fortune to belong to a free and prosperous community.' As to the style, we remark, certainly in a very good-natured and inoffensive manner, that 'though it is remarkably free from those affectations and corruptions of phrase, that overrun the compositions of his country, a few national, perhaps we might still venture to call them provincial, peculiarities, might be detected;' and then we add, in a style which we do not think can appear impolite even to a minister plenipotentiary, 'that if men of birth and education in that other England which they are building up in the West, will not diligently study the great authors who fixed and purified the language of our common forefathers, we must soon lose the only badge that is still worn of our consanguinity.' Unless the Americans are really to set up a new standard of speech, we conceive that these remarks are perfectly just and unanswerable; and we are sure, at all events, that nothing can be farther from a spirit of insult or malevolence.

Our critique on the volume of *American Transactions* is perhaps more liable to objection; and, on looking back to it, we at once admit that it contains some petulant and rash expressions which had better have been omitted—and that its general tone is less liberal and courteous than might have been desired. It is remarkable, however, that this, which is by far the most offensive of our discussions on American literature, is one of the earliest, and that the sarcasms with which it is seasoned, have never been repeated—a fact which, with many others, may serve to expose the singular inaccuracy with which Mr W. has been led, throughout his work, to assert that we began our labours with civility and kindness towards his country, and have only lately changed our tone, and joined its inveterate enemies in all the extravagance of abuse. The substance of our criticism, it does not seem to be disputed, was just—the volume containing very little that was at all interesting, and a good part of it being composed in a style very ill suited for such a publication.

Such are the perversions of our critical office, which Mr W. can only explain on the supposition of national jealousy and malice. As proofs of an opposite disposition, we beg leave just to refer to our lavish and reiterated praise of the writings of Franklin—to our high and distinguished testimony to the merits of *The Federalist*—to the terms of commendation in which

we have spoken of the Journal of Messrs Lewis and Clarke; and, in an especial manner, to the great kindness with which we have treated a certain American pamphlet, published at Philadelphia and London in 1810, and of which we shall have a word to say hereafter,—though each and all of these performances touched much more nearly on subjects of national contention, and were far more apt to provoke feelings of rivalry, than anything in the Philosophical Transactions, or the tuneful pages of the Columbiad.

3. We come now to the ticklish Chapter of Manners; on which, though we have said less than on any other, we suspect we have given more offence—and, if possible, with less reason. We may despatch the lower orders first, before we come to the people of fashion. The charge here is, that we have unjustly libelled those persons, by saying, in one place, that they were too much given to spirituous liquors; in another, that they were rudely inquisitive; and in a third, that they were absurdly vain of their constitution, and offensive in boasting of it. Now, we may have been mistaken in making these imputations; but we find them stated in the narrative of *every* traveller who has visited their country, and most of them noticed by the better writers among themselves. We have noticed them, too, without bitterness or insult, and generally in the words of the authors upon whose authority they are stated. Neither are the imputations themselves very grievous, or as can be thought to bespeak any great malignity in their authors. Their inquisitiveness, and the boast of their freedom, are but excesses of laudable qualities; and intemperance, though it is apt to lead further, is, in itself, a sin rather against prudence than morality. Mr W. is infinitely offended, too, because we have said that ‘the people of the Western States are very hospitable to strangers—*because they are seldom troubled with them, and because they have always plenty of maize and hams;*’ as if this were not the *rationale* of *all* hospitality among the lower orders throughout the world,—and familiarly applied, among ourselves, to the case of our Highlanders and remote Irish. But slight as these charges are, we may admit, that Mr W. would have had some reason to complain if they had included all that we had ever said of the great bulk of his nation. But the truth is, that we have all along been much more careful to notice their virtues than their faults, and have lost no fair opportunity of speaking well of them. In our 23d Number, we have said, ‘The great body of the American people is *better educated*, and more comfortably situated, than the bulk of *any* European community; and possesses all the accomplishments that are anywhere to be

found in persons of the same occupation and condition.' And more recently, 'The Americans are about as polished as 99 out of 100 of our own countrymen, in the upper ranks; and *quite* *moral, and well educated, in the lower.* Their virtues are such as we ought to admire; for they are those on which we value ourselves most highly.' We have never said any thing inconsistent with this:—and if this be to libel a whole nation, and to vilify and degrade them in comparison of ourselves, we have certainly been guilty of that enormity.

As for the manners of the upper classes, we have really said very little about them, and can scarcely recollect having given any positive opinion on the subject. We have lately quoted with warm approbation, Captain Hall's strong and very respectable testimony to their agreeableness—and certainly have never contradicted it on our own authority. We have made however certain hypothetical and conjectural observations, which, we gather from Mr W., have given some offence—we must say, we think, very unreasonably. We have said, for example, that 'the Americans are about as polished as 99 in 100 of our own countrymen in the upper ranks.' Is it the reservation of this inconsiderable fraction in our own favour that is resented? Why, our very *seniority*, we think, might have entitled us to this precedence: and we must say that our monarchy—our nobility—our greater proportion of hereditary wealth, and our closer connexion with the old civilized world, might have justified a higher per-centage. But we will not dispute with Mr W. even upon this point. Let him set down the fraction, if he pleases, to the score merely of our national partiality;—and he must estimate that element very far indeed below its ordinary standard, if he does not find it sufficient to account for it without the supposition of intended insult or malignity. Was there ever any great nation that did not prefer its own manners to those of any of its neighbours?—or can Mr W. produce another instance in which it allowed that a rival came so near as to be within one hundredth of its own excellence?

But there is still something worse than this. Understanding that the most considerable persons in the chief cities of America, were their opulent merchants, we conjectured that their society was probably much of the same description with that of Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow:—And does Mr W. really think there is any disparagement in this?—Does he not know that these places have been graced, for generations, by some of the most deserving and enlightened citizens, and some of the most learned and accomplished men that have ever adorned our nation? Does he not know that Adam Smith, and Reid and

Miller, spent their happiest days in Glasgow; that Roscoe and Currie illustrated the society of Liverpool—and Priestley and Ferriar and Darwin, that of Manchester? The wealth and skill and enterprise of all the places is equally indisputable—and we confess we are yet to learn in which of the elements of respectability they can be imagined to be inferior to New York, or Baltimore, or Philadelphia.

But there is yet another passage in the Review which Mr W. has quoted as insulting and vituperative—for such a construction of which we confess ourselves still less able to divine a reason. It is part of an honest and very earnest attempt to overcome the high monarchical prejudices of a part of our own country against the Americans, and notices this objection to their manners only collaterally and hypothetically. Mr W. needs not be told that all courtiers and zealots of monarchy impute rudeness and vulgarity to republicans. The French used to describe an inelegant person as having ‘*Les manières d’un Suisse, En Hollande civilisé*’;—and the Court faction among ourselves did not omit this reproach when we went to war with the Americans. To expose the absurdity of such an attack, we expressed ourselves in 1814 as follows.

‘The complaint respecting America is, that there are no people of fashion,—that their column still wants its Corinthian capital, or, in other words, that those who are rich and idle, have not yet existed so long, or in such numbers, as to have brought to full perfection that system of ingenious trifling and elegant dissipation, by means of which it has been discovered that wealth and leisure may be most agreeably disposed of. Admitting the fact to be so, and in a country where there is no court, no nobility, and no monument or tradition of chivalrous usages,—and where, moreover, the greatest number of those who are rich and powerful have raised themselves to that eminence by mercantile industry, we really do not see how it could well be otherwise; we could still submit, that this is no lawful cause either for national contempt or for national hostility. It is a peculiarity in the structure of society among that people, which, we take it, can only give offence to their visiting acquaintance; and, while it does us no sort of harm while it subsists, promises, we think, very soon to disappear altogether, and no longer to afflict even our imagination. The number of individuals born to the enjoyment of hereditary wealth is, or at least was, daily increasing in that country; and it is impossible that their multiplication (with all the models of European refinement before them, and all the advantages resulting from a free government and a general system of good education) should fail, within a very short period, to give birth to a better tone of conversation and society, and to manners more dignified and refined. Unless we are very much misinformed, indeed, the symptoms of such

a change may already be traced in their cities. Their youths of fortune already travel over all the countries of Europe for their improvement; and specimens are occasionally met with, even in these islands, which, with all our prejudices, we must admit, would do no discredit to the best blood of the land from which they originally sprung.

Now, is there really any matter of offence in this?—In the first place, is it not substantially true?—in the next place, is it not mildly and respectfully stated? Is it not true, that the greater part of those who compose the higher society of the American cities, have raised themselves to opulence by commercial pursuits?—and is it to be imagined that, in America alone, this is not to produce its usual effects upon the style and tone of society? As families become old, and hereditary wealth comes to be the portion of many, it cannot but happen that a change of manners will take place;—and is it an insult to suppose that this change will be an improvement? Surely they cannot be *perfect*, both as they are, and as they are to be; and, while it seems impossible to doubt that a considerable change is inevitable, the offence seems to be, that it is expected to be for the better! It is impossible, we think, that Mr W. can seriously imagine that the manners of any country upon earth can be so dignified and refined—or their tone of conversation and society so good, when the most figuring persons come into company from the desk and the counting-house, as when they pass only from one assembly to another, and have had no other study or employment from their youth up, than to render society agreeable, and to cultivate all those talents and manners which give its charm to polite conversation. If there are any persons in America who seriously dispute the accuracy of these opinions, we are pretty confident that they will turn out to be those whom the rest of the country would refer to in illustration of their truth. The truly polite, we are persuaded, will admit the case to be pretty much as we have stated it. The upstarts alone will contend for their present perfection. If we have really been so unfortunate as to give any offence by our observations, we suspect that offence will be greater at New Orleans than at New York,—and not quite so slight at New York as at Philadelphia.

But we have no desire to pursue this topic any further—nor any interest indeed to convince those who may not be already satisfied. If Mr W. really thinks us wrong in the opinions we have now expressed, we are willing for the present to be thought so: But surely we have said enough to show that we had plausible grounds for those opinions; and surely, if we did entertain

them, it was impossible to express them in a manner less offensive. We did not even recur to the topic spontaneously—but occasionally took it up in a controversy on behalf of America, with a party of our own countrymen. What we said was not addressed to America—but said of her; and, most indisputably, with friendly intentions to the people of both countries.

But we have dwelt too long on this subject. The manners of fashionable life, and the rivalry of *bon ton* between one country and another, is, after all, but a poor affair to occupy the attention of philosophers, or affect the peace of nations.—Of what real consequence is it to the happiness or glory of a country, how a few thousand idle people—probably neither very virtuous nor very useful—pass their time, or divert the ennui of their inactivity?—And men must really have a great propensity to hate each other, when it is thought a reasonable ground of quarrel, that the rich *désœuvrés* of one country are accused of not knowing how to get through their day so cleverly as those of another. Manners alter from age to age, and from country to country; and much is at all times arbitrary and conventional in that which is esteemed the best. What pleases and amuses each people the most, is the best for that people: And, where states are tolerably equal in power and wealth, a great and irreconcilable diversity is often maintained with suitable arrogance and inflexibility, and no common standard recognised or dreamed of. The *bon ton* of Pekin has no sort of affinity, we suppose, with the *bon ton* of Paris—and that of Constantinople but little resemblance to either. The difference, to be sure, is not so complete within the limits of Europe; but it is sufficiently great, to show the folly of being dogmatical or intolerant upon a subject so incapable of being reduced to principle. The French accuse us of coldness and formality, and we accuse them of monkey tricks and impertinence. The good company of Rome would be much at a loss for amusement at Amsterdam; and that of Brussels at Madrid. The manners of America, then, are probably the best for America: But, for that very reason, they are not the best for us: And when we hinted that they probably might be improved, we spoke with reference to the European standard, and to the feelings and judgment of strangers, to whom that standard alone was familiar. When their circumstances, and the structure of their society, come to be more like those of Europe, their manners will be more like—and they will suit better with those altered circumstances. When the fabric has reached its utmost elevation, the Corinthian capital may be added: For the present, the Doric is perhaps more suitable; and, if the style be kept pure, we are certain it will be equally graceful.

4. It only remains to notice what is said with regard to Negro Slavery;—and on this we shall be very short. We have no doubt spoken very warmly on the subject in one of our late Numbers;—but Mr W. must have read what we there said, with a jaundiced eye indeed, if he did not see that our warmth proceeded, not from any animosity against the people among whom this miserable institution existed, but against the institution itself—and was mainly excited by the contrast that it presented to the freedom and prosperity upon which it was so strangely engrafted;—thus appearing

—‘ Like a stain upon a Vestal’s robe,

The worse for what it soils. ’——

Accordingly, we do not call upon other nations to hate and despise America for this practice; but upon *the Americans themselves* to wipe away this foul blot from their characters. We have a hundred times used the same language to our own countrymen—and repeatedly on the subject of the Slave Trade;—and Mr W. cannot be ignorant, that many pious and excellent citizens of his own country have expressed themselves in similar terms with regard to this very institution. As to his recriminations on England, we shall explain to Mr W. immediately, that they have no bearing on the question between us; and, though nobody can regret more than we do the domestic slavery of our West India islands, it is quite absurd to represent the difficulties of the abolition as at all parallel in the case of America. It seems to be pretty clearly made out, that, without slaves, those islands could not be maintained; and, independent of private interests, the trade of England cannot afford to part with them. But will any body pretend to say, that the great and comparatively temperate regions over which the American Slavery extends, would be deserted, if all their inhabitants were free—or even that they would be permanently less populous or less productive? We are perfectly aware, that a sudden or immediate emancipation of all those who are now in slavery, might be attended with frightful disorders, as well as intolerable losses; and, accordingly, we have nowhere recommended any such measure: But we must repeat, that it is a crime and a shame, that the freest nation on the earth should keep a million and a half of fellow-creatures in chains, within the very territory and sanctuary of their freedom; and should see them multiplying, from day to day, without thinking of any provision for their ultimate liberation. When we say this, we are far from doubting that there are many amiable and excellent individuals among the slave proprietors. There were many such among the importers of slaves in our West

Indies; Yet, it is not the less true, that that accursed traffic was a crime—and it was so called in the most emphatic language, and with general assent, year after year, in Parliament, without any one ever imagining that this imported a personal attack on those individuals, far less a blot upon the nation which tolerated and legalized their proceedings.

Before leaving this topic, we have to thank Mr W. for a great deal of curious, and, to us, original information, as to the history of the American slave trade, and the measures pursued by the different States with regard to the institution of slavery: From which we learn, among other things, that, so early as 1767, the legislature of Massachusetts brought in a bill for prohibiting the importation of negroes into that province, which was rejected by the British governor, in consequence of express instructions;—and another in 1774 shared the same fate. We learn also, that, in 1770, two years before the decision in the case of Somerset in England, the courts of the same distinguished province decided, upon solemn argument, that no person could be held in slavery within their jurisdiction; and awarded not only their freedom, but wages for their past services, to a variety of negro suitors. These, indeed, are fair subjects of pride and exultation; and we hail them, without grudging, as bright trophies in the annals of the States to which they relate. But do not their glories cast a deeper shade on those who have refused to follow the example—and may we not now be allowed to speak of the guilt and unlawfulness of slavery, as their own countrymen are praised and boasted of for having spoken, so many years ago?

We learn also from Mr W., that Virginia abolished the foreign slave trade so early as 1778—Pensylvania in 1780—Massachusetts in 1787—and Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1788. It was finally interdicted by the General Congress in 1794; and made punishable as a crime, seven years before that measure was adopted in England. We have great pleasure in stating these facts. But they all appear to us not only incongruous with the permanent existence of slavery, but as indicating those very feelings with regard to it which we have been so severely blamed for expressing.

We here close our answer to Mr W.'s charges. Our readers, we fear, have been for some time tired of it: And, indeed, we have felt all along, that there was something absurd in answering gravely to such an accusation. If any regular reader of our Review could be of opinion that we were hostile to America, and desirous of fomenting hostility between her and this country,

we could scarcely hope that he would change that opinion for any thing we have now been saying. But Mr W.'s book may fall into the hands of many, in his own country at least, to whom our writings are but little known; and the imputations it contains may become known to many who never inquire into their grounds: On such persons, the statements we have now made may produce some impression—and the spirit in which they are made perhaps still more. Our labour will not have been in vain, if there are any that rise up from the perusal of these pages with a better opinion of their Transatlantic brethren, and an increased desire to live with them in friendship and peace.

There still remains behind, a fair moiety of Mr W.'s book; containing his recriminations on England—his exposition of 'her sores and blotches'—and his retort courteous *rejoinders* to the abuse which her writers have been pouring on his country for the last hundred years. The task, we should think, must have been rather an afflicting one to a man of much moral sensibility:—But it is gone through very resolutely, and with marvellous industry. The learned author has not only ransacked forgotten histories and files of old newspapers in search of disreputable transactions and degrading crimes—but has groped for the materials of our dishonour, among the filth of Dr Colquhoun's Collections, and the Reports of our Prison and Police Committees—culled vituperative exaggerations from the record of angry debates—and produced, as incontrovertible evidence of the excess of our guilt and misery, the fervid declamations of moralists exhorting to amendment, or of satirists endeavouring to deter from vice. Provincial misgovernment from Ireland to Hindostan—cruel amusements—increasing pauperism—disgusting brutality—shameful ignorance—perversion of law—grinding taxation—brutal debauchery, and many other traits equally attractive, are all heaped together, as the characteristics of English society; and unsparingly illustrated by 'loose extracts from English Journals,'—quotations from *Es-priella's Letters*—and selections from the Parliamentary Debates. Accustomed, as we have long been, to mark the vices and miseries of our countrymen, we really cannot say that we recognise any likeness in this distorted representation; which exhibits our fair England as one great Lazar-house of moral and intellectual disease—one hideous and bloated mass of sin and suffering—one festering heap of corruption, infecting the wholesome air, which breathes upon it, and diffusing all around the contagion and the terror of its example.

We have no desire whatever to *argue* against the truth or the *value* of this picture of our country; which we can assure Mr

W. we contemplate with perfect calmness and equanimity : but we are tempted to set against it the judgment of another foreigner, with whom he cannot complain of being confronted, and whose authority at this moment stands higher, perhaps with the whole civilized world, than that of any other individual. We allude to Madame de Staël—and to the splendid testimony she has borne to the character and happiness of the English nation, in her last admirable book on the Revolution of her own country. But we have spoken of this work so lately, in our Number for September 1818, that we shall not now recal the attention of our readers to it, further than by this general reference. We rather wish to lay before them an *American* authority.

In a work of great merit, entitled, ‘ A Letter on the Genius and Dispositions of the French Government,’ published at Philadelphia in 1810, and which attracted much notice, both there and in this country, the author, in a strain of great eloquence and powerful reasoning, exhorts his country to make common cause with England in the great struggle in which she was then engaged with the giant power of Bonaparte, and points out the many circumstances in the character and condition of the two countries that invited them to a cordial alliance. He was well aware, too, of the distinction we have endeavoured to point out between the Court, or the Tory rulers of the State, and the body of our People : and, after observing that the American Government, by following his councils, might retrieve the character of their country, he adds, ‘ They will, I am quite sure, be seconded by an entire correspondence of feeling, not only on our part, but on that of the PEOPLE of England—whatever may be the narrow policy, or illiberal prejudices of the British MINISTRY;’—and, in the body of his work, he gives an ample and glowing description of the character and condition of that England of which we have just seen so lamentable a representation. The whole passage is too long for insertion ; but the following extracts will afford a sufficient specimen of its tone and tenor.

‘ A peculiarly masculine character, and the utmost energy of feeling are communicated to all orders of men,—by the abundance which prevails so universally,—the consciousness of equal rights,—the fulness of power and fame to which the nation has attained,—and the beauty and robustness of the species under a climate highly favourable to the animal economy. The dignity of the rich is without insolence,—the subordination of the poor without servility. Their freedom is well guarded both from the dangers of popular licentiousness, and from the encroachments of authority.—Their nation leads to national sympathy, and is built upon the most legitimate foundations—a sense of preeminent merit and a body of illu-
annals

‘ Whatever may be the representations of those who, with little knowledge of facts, and still less soundness or impartiality of judgment, affect to deplore the condition of England,—it is nevertheless true, that there does not exist, and never has existed elsewhere,—so beautiful and perfect a model of public and private prosperity,—so magnificent, and at the same time, so solid a fabric of social happiness and national grandeur. *I pay this just tribute of admiration with the more pleasure, as it is to me in the light of an Atonement for the errors and prejudices, under which I laboured, on this subject, before I enjoyed the advantage of a personal experience.* A residence of nearly two years in that country,—during which period, I visited and studied almost every part of it,—with no other view or pursuit than that of obtaining correct information, and, I may add, with previous studies well fitted to promote my object,—convinced me that I had been egregiously deceived.—I saw no instances of individual oppression, and scarcely any individual misery but that which belongs, under any circumstances of our being, to the infirmity of all human institutions.’—

‘ The agriculture of England is confessedly superior to that of any other part of the world, and the condition of those who are engaged in the cultivation of the soil, incontestably preferable to that of the same class in any other section of Europe. An inexhaustible source of admiration and delight is found in the unrivalled beauty, as well as richness and fruitfulness of their husbandry; the effects of which are heightened by the magnificent parks and noble mansions of the opulent proprietors: by picturesque gardens upon the largest scale, and disposed with the most exquisite taste: and by Gothic remains no less admirable in their structure than venerable for their antiquity. The neat cottage, the substantial farm-house, the splendid villa, are constantly rising to the sight, surrounded by the most choice and poetical attributes of the landscape. The vision is not more delightfully recreated by the rural scenery, than the moral sense is gratified, and the understanding elevated by the institutions of this great country. The first and continued exclamation of an American who contemplates them with unbiassed judgment, is—

Salve magna Parens frugum, Saturnia tellus

Magna virum.

‘ It appears something *not less than Impious to desire the ruin of this people*, when you view the height to which they have carried the comforts, the knowledge, and the virtue of our species: the extent and number of their foundations of charity; their skill in the mechanic arts, by the improvement of which alone, they have conferred inestimable benefits on mankind; the masculine morality, the lofty sense of independence, the sober and rational piety which are found in all classes; their impartial, decorous and able administration of a code of laws, than which none more just and perfect has ever been in operation; their seminaries of education yielding more solid and profitable instruction than any other whatever; their emi-

nence in literature and science—the urbanity and learning of their privileged orders—their deliberative assemblies, illustrated by so many profound statesmen, and brilliant orators. *It is worse than Ingratitude*—US not to sympathize with them in their present struggle, when we recollect that it is from them we derive *the principal merit of our own CHARACTER—the best of our own institutions—the sources of our highest enjoyments—and the light of Freedom itself*, which, if they should be destroyed, will not long shed its radiance over this country.

What will Mr Walsh say to this picture of the country he has so laboured to degrade?—and what will our readers say, when they are told that MR WALSH HIMSELF is the author of this picture !

So, however, the fact unquestionably stands.—The book from which we have made the preceding extracts, was written and published in 1810, by the very same individual who has now recriminated upon England in the volume which lies before us, —and in which he is pleased to speak with extreme severity of the *inconsistencies* he has detected in our Review ! — That some discordant or irreconcilable opinions should be found in the miscellaneous writings of twenty years, and thirty or forty individuals under no effective controul, may easily be imagined, and pardoned, we should think, without any great stretch of liberality. But such a transmutation of sentiments on the same identical subject—such a reversal of the poles of the same identical head, we confess has never before come under our observation ; and is parallel to nothing that we can recollect, but the memorable transformation of *Bottom*, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Nine years, to be sure, had intervened between the first and the second publication. But all the guilt and all the misery which is so diligently developed in the last, had been contracted before the first was thought of ; and all the injuries, and provocations too, by which the exposition of them has lately become a duty. Mr W. knew perfectly, in 1810, how England had behaved to her American colonies before the war of independence, and in what spirit she had begun and carried on that war :—our Poor-rates and taxes, our bull-baitings and swindlings, were then nearly as visible as now. Mr Colquhoun had, before that time, put forth his *Political Estimate* of our prostitutes and pick-pockets ; and the worthy Laureate his authentic *Letters* on the bad state of our parliaments and manufactures. Nay, the *EDINBURGH REVIEW* had committed the worst of those offences which now make hatred to England the duty of all true Americans, and had expressed little of that zeal for her friendship which appears in its subsequent Numbers. The Review of the *American Transactions*, and Mr Barlow's *Epic*, of Adams's

Letters, and Marshall's History, had all appeared before this time—and but very few of the articles in which the future greatness of that country is predicted, and her singular prosperity extolled.

How then is it to be accounted for, that Mr W. should have taken such a favourable view of our state and merits in 1810, and so very different a one in 1819? There is but one explanation that occurs to us.—Mr W., as appears from the passages just quoted, had been originally very much of the opinion to which he has now returned—For he tells us, that he considers the tribute of admiration which he there offers to our excellence, as an *Atonement* for the errors and prejudices under which he laboured till he came among us,—and hints pretty plainly, that he had formerly been *ungrateful* enough to disown all obligation to our race, and *impious* enough even to wish for our ruin. Now, from the tenor of the work before us, compared with these passages, it is pretty plain, we think, that Mr W. has just *relapsed* into those damnable heresies which we fear are epidemic in his part of the country—and from which nothing is so likely to deliver him, as a repetition of the same remedy by which they were formerly removed. Let him come again then to England, and try the effect of a second course of 'personal experience and observation'—let him make another pilgrimage to Mecca, and observe whether his faith is not restored and confirmed—let him, like the Indians of his own world, visit the Tombs of his Fathers in the old land, and see whether he can *there* abjure the friendship of their other children? If he will venture himself among us for another two years' residence, we can promise him that he will find in substance the same England that he left:—Our laws and our landscapes—our industry and urbanity;—our charities, our learning, and our personal beauty, he will find unaltered and unimpaired;—and we think we can even engage, that he shall find also a still greater 'correspondence of feeling in the body of our People,' and not a less disposition to welcome an accomplished stranger who comes to get rid of errors and prejudices, and to learn—or, if he pleases, to teach, the great lessons of a generous and indulgent philanthropy.

We have done, however, with this topic. We have a considerable contempt for the *argumentum ad hominem* in any case—and have no desire to urge it any further at present. The truth is, that neither of Mr W.'s portraits of us appears to be very accurate. We are painted *en beau* in the one, and *en laid* in the other. The particular traits in each may be given with tolerable truth—but *the whole truth* is to be found in neither;—and it will not even do to take them together—any more

than it would do to make a correct likeness, by patching or commanding together a flattering portrait and a monstrous caricature. We have but a word or two, indeed, to add on the general subject, before we take a final farewell of this discussion.

We admit that many of the charges which Mr W. has here made against our country, are justly made—and that for many of the things with which he has reproached us, there is just cause of reproach. It would be strange, indeed, if we were to do otherwise—considering that it is from our pages that he has on many occasions borrowed the charge and the reproach. If he had stated them, therefore, with any degree of fairness or temper, and had not announced that they were brought forward as incentives to hostility and national alienation, we should have been so far from complaining of him, that we should have been heartily thankful for the services of such an auxiliary in our holy war against vice and corruption, and rejoiced to obtain the testimony of an impartial observer, in corroboration of our own earnest admonitions. Even as it is, we are inclined to think that this exposition of our infirmities will rather do good than harm, so far as it produces any effect at all in this country. Among our national vices, we have long reckoned an insolent and overweening opinion of our own universal superiority; and though it really does not belong to America to reproach us with *this* fault, and though the ludicrous exaggeration of Mr W.'s charge, is sure very greatly to weaken his authority, still such an alarming catalogue of our faults and follies, may have some effect, as a wholesome mortification of our vanity. It is with a view to its probable effect in his own country, and to his avowal of the effect he wishes it to produce there, that we consider it as deserving of all reprobation;—and therefore beg leave to make one or two very short remarks on its manifest injustice, and indeed absurdity, in so far as relates to ourselves, and that great majority of the country whom we believe to concur in our sentiments. The object of this violent invective on England is twofold; and we really do not know under which aspect it is most reprehensible. It is, *first*, to repress, if possible, the invectives which we, it seems, have been making on America; and, *secondly*, to excite, *there*, a spirit of animosity, to meet and revenge that which those invectives are said to indicate here:—And this is the shape of the argument—What right have you to abuse us for keeping and whipping slaves, when you yourselves whip your soldiers, and were so slow to give up your slave trade, and use your subjects so ill in India and Ireland?—or what right have you to call our Marshall a dull historian, when you have a Belsham and a Gifford

who are still duller? Now, though this argument would never show that whipping slaves was a right thing, or that Mr. Marshall was not a dull writer, it might be a very smart and embarrassing retort to those among us who had defended our slave trade or our military floggings, or our treatment of Ireland and India—or who had held out Messrs Belsham and Gifford as pattern historians, and ornaments of our national literature. But what meaning or effect can it have when addressed to those who have always testified against the wickedness and the folly of the practices complained of, and who have treated the Ultra-Whig and the Ultra-Tory historian with equal scorn and reproach? *We have a right to censure cruelty and dulness abroad, because we have censured them with more and more frequent severity at home;—and their home existence, though it may prove indeed that our censures have not yet been effectual in producing amendment, can afford no sort of reason for not extending them where they might be more attended to.*

We have generally blamed what we thought worthy of blame in America, without any express reference to parallel cases in England, or any invidious comparison. Their books we have criticised just as we should have done those of any other country; and in speaking more generally of their literature and manners, we have rather brought them into competition with those of Europe in general, than those of our country in particular.—When we have made any comparative estimate of our own advantages and theirs, we can say with confidence, that it has been far oftener in their favour than against them;—and, after repeatedly noticing their preferable condition as to taxes, elections, sufficiency of employment, public economy, freedom of publication, and many other points of paramount importance, it surely was but fair that we should notice, in their turn, those merits or advantages which might reasonably be claimed for ourselves, and bring into view our superiority in eminent authors, and the extinction and annihilation of slavery in every part of our realm.

We would also remark, that while we have thus praised America far more than we have blamed her—and reproached ourselves far more bitterly than we have ever reproached her, Mr W., while he affects to be merely following our example, has heaped abuse on us without one grain of commendation—and praised his own country extravagantly, without admitting one fault or imperfection. Now, this is not a fair way of retorting the proceedings even of the Quarterly; for they have occasionally given some praise to America; and have constantly spoken ill

enough of the paupers, and radicals, and reformers of England. But as to *us*, and the great body of the nation which thinks with *us*, it is a proceeding without the colour of justice or the shadow of apology—and is not a less flagrant indication of impatience or bad humour, than the marvellous assumption which runs through the whole argument, that it is an unpardonable insult and an injury to find *any fault* with *anything* in America, must necessarily proceed from national spite and animosity, and affords, whether true or false, sufficient reason for endeavouring to excite a corresponding animosity against our nation. Such, however, is the scope and plan of Mr W.'s whole work. Whenever he thinks that his country has been erroneously accused, he points out the error with sufficient keenness and asperity;—but when he is aware that the imputation is just and unanswerable, instead of joining his rebuke or regret to those of her foreign censors, he turns fiercely and vindictively on the parallel infirmities of this country—as if those also had not been marked with reprobation, and without admitting that the censure was merited, or hoping that it might work amendment, complains in the bitterest terms of malignity, and rouses his country to revenge!

Which, then, we would ask, is the most fair and reasonable, or which the most truly patriotic?—We, who, admitting our own manifold faults and corruptions, testifying loudly against them, and feeling grateful to any foreign auxiliary who will help us to *reason*, to *rail*, or to *shame* our countrymen out of them, are willing occasionally to lend a similar assistance to others, and speak freely and fairly of what appear to us to be the faults and errors, as well as the virtues and merits, of all who may be in any way affected by our observations;—or Mr Walsh, who will admit *no* faults in his own country, and *no* good qualities in ours—sets down the more extensive of our domestic crimes to their corresponding objects abroad, to the score of national rancour and partiality; and can find no better use for their mutual admonitions, which should lead to mutual amendment or generous emulation, than to improve them into occasions of mutual animosity and deliberate hatred?

This extreme impatience, even of merited blame from the mouth of a stranger—this still more extraordinary abstinence from any hint or acknowledgment of error on the part of her intelligent defender, is a trait too remarkable not to call for some observation;—and we think we can see in it one of the worst and most unfortunate consequences of a republican government. It is the misfortune of Sovereigns in general that

they are fed with flattery till they loathe the wholesome truth, and come to resent, as the bitterest of all offences, any intimation of their errors, or intimation of their dangers. ~~But of all~~ *sovereigns, the Sovereign People* is most obnoxious to the rupture, and most fatally injured by its prevalence. In America, everything depends on their suffrages, and their favour and support; and accordingly it would appear, that they are pampered with constant adulation, from the rival suitors for their favour—so that no one will venture to tell them of their faults: and moralists, even of the austere character of Mr W., dare not venture to whisper a syllable to their prejudice. It is thus, and thus only, that we can account for the strange sensitiveness which seems to prevail among them on the lightest sound of disapprobation, and for the acrimony with which ~~what would~~ pass anywhere else for very mild admonitions, are repelled and resented. It is obvious, however, that nothing can be so injurious to the character either of an individual or a nation, as this constant coddling of praise; and that the want of any native censor, makes it more a duty for the moralists of other countries to take them under their charge, and let them know now and then what other people say of them.

We are anxious to part with Mr W. in good humour;—but we must say that we rather wish he would not go on with the work he has begun—at least if it is to be pursued in the spirit which breathes in this. Nor is it so much to his polemic and vindictive tone that we object, as this tendency to adulation, this passionate vapouring rhetorical style of amplifying and exaggerating the felicities of his country. In point of talent and knowledge and industry, we have no doubt that he is eminently qualified for the task—(though we must tell him that he does not write so well now as when he left England)—but no man will ever write a book of authority on the institutions and resources of his country, who does not add some of the virtues of a Censor to those of a Patriot—or rather, who does not feel, that the noblest, as well as the most difficult part of patriotism, is that which prefers his country's *good* to its *favour*, and is more directed to reform its vices, than to cherish the pride of its virtues. With foreign nations, too, this tone of fondness and self-admiration is always suspected, and most commonly ridiculous—while the calm and steady claims of merit that are interspersed with acknowledgments of faults, are sure to obtain credit, and to raise the estimation both of the writer and of his country.

And now we must at length close this very long article—the very length and earnestness of which, we hope, will go some-

way to satisfy our American brethren of the importance we attach to their good opinion, and the anxiety we feel to prevent any accidental repulsion from being aggravated by a misapprehension of our sentiments, or rather of those of that great body of the English nation of which we are here the organ. In what we have now written, there may be much that requires explanation—and much, we fear, that is liable to misconstruction.—*The spirit* in which it is written, however, cannot, we think, be misunderstood. We cannot descend to little cavils and altercations; and have no leisure to maintain a controversy about words and phrases. We have an unfeigned respect and affection for the free people of America; and we mean honestly to pledge ourselves for that of the better part of our own country. We are very proud of the extensive circulation of our Journal in that great country, and the importance that is there attached to it. But we should be undeserving of this favour, if we could submit to seek it by any mean practices, either of flattery or of dissimulation; and feel persuaded that we shall not only best deserve, but most surely obtain, the confidence and respect of Mr W. and his countrymen, by speaking freely what we sincerely think of them,—and treating them exactly as we treat that nation to which we are here accused of being too favourable.

ART. VII. 1. *Franz Bopp über das Conjugations System der Sanskritsprache in vergleichung mit jenem der Griechischen, Lateinischen, Persischen et Germanischen sprache; nebst episoden des Ramayan et Mahabharat in genauen metrischen übersetzungen aus dem original texte, et einigen abschnitten aus dem Vedás.* Frankfurt am Mayn.

2. *Nalus, Carmen Sanscriticum e Mahábhárato, edidit, Latine vertit, et Adnotationibus illustravit Franciscus Bopp.* Londini, 1819.

THE philologers of Germany, whose labours have so largely contributed to restore the text, explain the allusions, and elucidate the philosophy, of the writers of ancient Europe, have at last begun to direct their attention to those of India. Mr Frederick Schlegel was the first, who, in an Essay on the language and philosophy of the Indians, indicated to his countrymen the sources of unexplored truths concealed in that distant region, and the important discoveries to which they might arrive in tracing the affiliation of nations, the progress,

of science, and the transactions of that mysterious period which precedes all history, but that of one remarkable family. Mr Schlegel's Essay, composed with that ability which has procured both for him and his brother a high rank amongst the literati of the Continent, excited the attention of the studious, and the patronage of the great. The former began to study Sanskrit through the medium of the slender resources furnished by the English press: And amongst the latter, the King of Bavaria sent two of his subjects, to seek, in Paris and London, the necessary aid of Indian manuscripts. The two works before us prove the discernment which selected their author, as well as the liberal thirst for knowledge which prompted that monarch to encourage a pursuit, which even commercial jealousy herself could not attribute to a political motive, in ~~a sovereign of~~ States are situated like those of Bavaria.

We should sooner have called the attention of ~~our~~ readers to the curious and instructive publication which stands at the head of this article, had we not despaired of rendering a grammatical disquisition interesting to the general reader. Some of our readers may possibly wish that we had persevered in that commendable diffidence.

Sir William Jones had, many years ago, indicated in a general way the remarkable affinity of the antient languages of the East and West. His untimely death deprived the world of the proofs of many of his opinions, which his learning and ability would have enabled him to produce with a copiousness of illustration which cannot now be supplied. In our review of that truly admirable work, the Sanskrit Grammar of Mr Wilkins, we very inadequately remedied this deficiency, by a list of words having the same signification in Sanskrit, Persian, Latin and German; and subjoined a few remarks on the similarity of their inflexions. It is to the latter object, and to the verbs exclusively, that our author has confined himself in the present work. In fact, isolated words are readily transplanted from one nation to another, without in the slightest degree affecting either the genius or the mechanism of the language which adopts them. The Phenician voyagers, and their colonies, have left traces of Hebraic origin, where the entire structure of the languages proves them to be completely exotic.

The object of the work before us is not merely to point out the analogy between the languages mentioned, but also to discover, by comparison, the origin and primitive signification of their grammatical forms. We shall briefly enumerate a few of the many subjects here examined and elucidated.

1st, The same Persons are denoted, in all these languages, by

the same letters. The root *Seb* has the same signification in Greek and Sanscrit.

Active Voice.	Sanskrit.	Greek.	Latin.
	Middle Voice.	Middle Voice.	Active.
Sebam	Sebe	σεβωμαι	colo
seban	sebase	σεβουαι	colis
sebati	sebate	σεβεται	colit
sebāmas	sebamāhe	σεβωμεθα	colimus
sebatha	sebadhva	σεβουθε	colitis
sebanti	sebante	σεβονται	colunt.

The present tense is composed of the root, the sign of the conjugation, and the sign of the person. The latter is, M for the first, S for the second, and T for the third person. M, in these languages, is the characteristic letter of *Me*, the person who speaks. The S of the second is only preserved in the Greek pronoun. The T of the third is derived from the pronoun *that* in Sanscrit, the Greek *ταυτα*, the English *that*. Our readers cannot fail to be struck with the recurrence of the same inflections in the same order, in the middle voice of the Sanscrit and Greek, and in the active voices of the Sanscrit and Latin.

2dly, The first preterite is formed, in Sanscrit, by prefixing A to the root, as the imperfect in Greek is by the augment. Thus, the first person is in Sanscrit *asebam*, in Greek *εσεβον*. The Latin imperfect is formed by a different process, which is thus explained by our author; and we give it, because even this variation abounds in singular coincidences. Two roots in Sanscrit serve to denote existence, 'as' and 'bhu;' whence *asti* and *bhavati*, he is; *est* and *fuit*, in Latin; *ast* and *bud*, in Persian; *is* and *be*, in English. The former of these roots is defective in all these languages, and requires its deficiencies to be supplied from the root *bhu*, in Latin *fu*. The Romans had neither the sound of the aspirated B, nor a letter to represent it. In Latin, therefore, it is generally changed to F; thus, *bhrātāras* becomes *fratres*, &c. The first preterite of *bhu* in the first person, is *abhavam*, whence our author is disposed to derive *col-ebam*.

3dly, The characteristic of the second preterite in Sanscrit, and of the perfect in Greek, is the reduplication of the first consonant of the root; and the same rules subsist in both languages for the substitution of simple for compound consonants. Thus, 'he delighted,' is in Sanscrit 'tatarpa,' in Greek *ταρταρα*, the root having the same signification in both languages. Traces of the same reduplication exist in Latin, as *dediit*, *stetit*, from the Sanscrit roots 'da,' and 'stha;' whence *dadati*, and *tishṭoti*, he gives, and he stands. But the roots which are reduplicated

in the present tense in Sanscrit, form a separate conjugation, comprehending most of the Greek verbs in *μι*. Thus *dadhāmi*, I ordain, which corresponds with the Greek *τιθημι*, and *addhāmi*, I give, to *διδωμι*, are attributed to this conjugation: but the root *yunj* to join, *jungo* in Latin, in Greek *ζυνωμι*, is placed in a conjugation characterized by the insertion of the syllable 'nu.'

4th, One observation, which, amongst many others, does credit to our author's perspicacity, is the following. The vowel *I* is inserted in Sanscrit to denote what is unreal, what neither has nor had existence; though it might, could, would, should, or even will, exist. By the rules of euphony, *I* before a vowel is changed to 'Y.' Hence the potential 'sebecyam,' I might, could, &c. honour. The Greek optative is formed by the insertion of the same vowel, as *σέβοιμι*, *utinam colerem*.

5th, The first future in Greek, like the second in Sanscrit, is formed by adding the future of the substantive verb to the root. Thus the root *τυν* signifies, in the former language, to strike; in the latter, to burn or inflict pain. The future of the Greek in the middle voice, is *τυψομαι*, of the Sanscrit *tapsyami*, *tapsyase*, *tapsyate*, &c.

6th, As there is no end of pursuing analogies in these cognate tongues, we will only add those of the participles. The present participle in Sanscrit and Greek is formed by the same increment to the root, to which, in Latin, is superadded an S. Thus, the root *bhri*, to carry, of which the aspirated B is as usual changed to an F, makes in Greek *φερω*, in Latin *fero*, of which the participles are—

	Sanskrit.	Greek.	Latin.
Nominative	bharan	φερω	ferens
Accusative	bharantam	φεροντα	ferentem.

The present participle of the middle and passive voices in Sanscrit and Greek is formed by the same terminations; thus, *bhāmi*, I shine, in Greek *φαιω*, makes in this participle

bhāyamānas	bhāyamāna	bhayamanam
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In Greek.	φαμενος	φαμενη	φαμενοι.
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The Latin participle in *tus* corresponds entirely with the Sanscrit participle of the third preterite passive. Thus, the root 'vesht' having the same meaning in Sanscrit and Latin, we have

veshtitas	veshtitā	veshtitum
And in Latin, vestitus	vestita	vestitum.

In Sanscrit and Greek, the participle of the second future passive, is formed by adding the same syllable to the root. Thus, about to be delighted—

In Sanscrit,	tarpishyamanas	tarpishyamanā	tarpishyamanam
In Greek,	τάρπησταινος	τάρπησταινη	τάρπησταινον.

But we must here terminate a discussion which already we have probably extended much too far for the general reader. It will be understood, however, that these constitute only a few of the many remarkable analogies which our author has pointed out. Yet they seem to us much more than sufficient to demonstrate, that the internal structure of the Greek, Latin, and Sanscrit tongues, is regulated on the same principles, and cast in the same mould. Our author's comparison of these with the Persian and Gothic, affords results no less interesting. If there be any who can still think that such coincidences might arise from the casual intercourse of commercial relations, or from the Greek kingdom of Bactria, during the brief period of the reign of the Seleucides in that country, we cannot help thinking that these gentlemen should be prepared to show, that the much nearer vicinity and longer domination of the Macedonian and Greek empire, had produced similar effects on the languages derived from the Hebraic stem. The Greeks were finally expelled from Bactria by the Arsacidæ, about two centuries after its conquest by Alexander. If that period were sufficient to admit of their stamping such indelible traces on the language of India, why should no vestige of the same influence be discovered in the Arabic, though Arabia was for a much longer period bounded on the north and west by the kingdoms founded by the successors of Alexander?

Another work by the same author has recently been published in England. It is a literal translation into Latin of the celebrated story of Nala and Damayanti, which has served as a foundation for many Indian poems, and at least of one Indian drama. Our author's object in this work is thus stated.

'The perfection of the structure of the Sanscrit language, and its immense copiousness in grammatical forms, although they conduce to a more definite knowledge of a writer's meaning when the language has become familiar, and certainly admit of less ambiguity than in other Eastern tongues destitute of these advantages; yet, to a learner, are productive of considerable difficulty. Having myself acquired a knowledge of the Sanscrit without an instructor, so much the more did a literal translation, in which each word should be rendered by a corresponding one, appear to me desirable; although the excellent English translations sufficiently supplied the place of general guides. The Latin language is peculiarly adapted for a version, in which the order of the words in the original is to be uniformly preserved. Yet even in it, this object cannot always be attained without some sacrifice of elegance, and frequent deviations from the customary collocation.'

The story is comprised in an episode of the Mahābhārat:
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It is related in a style of great simplicity; contains some passages of exquisite pathos; and everywhere exhibits the mythology, manners, and character of the wonderful people amongst whom the scene is laid.

Nala, the tamer of horses, had just succeeded his father on the throne of Nīśhādha, when the beauty and virtues of Damayanti, daughter of Bhima, king of Vidarbha, became the theme of universal praise. The valour of Nala, his manly form, and his skill in guiding the rapid car, had also reached the ears of the princess; and each had conceived a mutual passion before they met. In days of yore, when the daughter of a king in India had attained a proper age, her father celebrated a tournament, to which all the neighbouring kings and their sons, with persons of the military cast in general, were invited. Into this assembly it was the custom for the princess to enter, and to choose for herself a husband, by throwing a necklace of flowers round the neck of the favoured youth. Hence the ceremony was called Swayambara, or self-election. When Bhima ordered the Swayambara of his daughter Damayanti to be proclaimed, all India hastened to obey the summons. Princes, with their retinues, advanced from the most distant places towards Vidarbha. Nala, inflamed by love and impatience, approached the city; but the gods had determined to put his virtue to no common trial. Indra, the god of the firmament; Agni, god of fire; Yama, the judge of departed souls; and Varuna, the god of the waters, appeared in the air in their celestial chariots, and, alighting close to Nala, thus addressed him. 'King of men, we rely on thy fidelity. Perform a service to the gods, and be our messenger.' Nala, after having venerated the divinities, promised to fulfil their commands. 'We are deities come on account of Damayanti; I am Indra; these are the lords of fire and of the waters, and this the destroyer of mortal forms. Go to Damayanti, inform her of our arrival, that we desire her choice to fall on one of us, and use your own eloquence to persuade her to yield to our desires. Her bower is impervious to all others; but, by our celestial power, you will enter unperceived.' In vain Nala represented his ardent passion, and implored the gods to release him from his rash promise. At last he repaired sorrowfully to the bower of Damayanti, and first beheld her surrounded by attendant nymphs. Sweetly smiling, her form was beautiful, like that of the sea-born goddess; and her bright eyes kindled anew his latent passion. Damayanti and her nymphs are no less struck with the manly beauty of the young hero; and, on their interrogating him, he relates what had happened, delivers the message of the gods, and conscientiously enforces the duty of compliance. He then

retires, inwardly assured, that although he had faithfully fulfilled his promise, he himself must be the object of her choice.

On the first auspicious day, the Swayambara commenced. When Damayanti entered the circus, amidst the prodigious concourse of chiefs and warriors, she looked round for the King of Nishādha; but, instead of discovering *one*, she beheld with dismay a groupe of five, in form, dress and feature, absolutely undistinguishable from him she sought, and recognised the presence of the divinities. She implores their pity in a hymn; and instantly the four gods appear in their celestial forms and attributes—pure, with chaplets of heavenly blossoms, their feet not touching the ground, their eyes never closing, and unaccompanied by shadow. The blushing maid then timidly advancing, throws the flowery necklace over the shoulders of Nala; and the ceremony finishes, amidst the applause of gods and men. Nala carries his bride to Nishādha, who produces him a son and daughter. Their happiness found no parallel on earth; ‘his subjects lived contented under his government, and protected by his justice; he performed the regal sacrifice of a horse, with a magnificence equal to Yayāti; and preserved from spoil the earth fertile in rich gifts.’

But the scene was soon to change. When the gods withdrew from the Swayambara, they met the vindictive demon Cali, the genius of the iron age, hastening to the entertainment. Informed that he was too late, and of Nala's success, this malignant spirit vowed revenge. By the approved and very reasonable rules of démonology, an evil spirit cannot take possession of a man, until some fault on his part furnishes an opportunity. It was long before this presented itself; but at last, by the accidental omission of some rite, Cali found an entrance, and, taking possession of Nala, perverted his intellect, changed his disposition, and all but his love for Damayanti. In this state, Cali inspires Pushcara (the unworthy brother of Nala) with the project of challenging him to play at dice. Every thing he possessed, his treasures, palaces, and at last his kingdom, are successively lost. Damayanti, perceiving her husband's infatuation, directs a faithful servant to harness his favourite steeds, and, placing both her children in the chariot, to drive them to Vidarbha, and there leave them at her father's court. The demoniac, now deprived of all, is only troubled to find out what to stake; for even their clothes had been played for.

‘You have now nothing left but Damayanti,’ cried Pushcara; ‘let her be the stake, and the game be continued. When Nala heard these words, his heart was rent; but, fixing his eyes on Pushcara, without a reply, he divested himself of the regal ornaments, now the property of another, and quitted the palace, followed by Damayanti.’

The first act of his brother's government was an edict, declaring that, whoever might afford shelter or sustenance to Nala and Damayanti, should be punished with death. Fainting with fatigue and hunger, they reached the desert. Nala in vain urges her to return to her father's court, pointing out the way. Her reply, even in so literal a translation, seems to us singularly simple and pathetic.

‘ Tremet mei cor, sidunt membra omnino,
Tuum, Rex, consilium cogitantis iterum iterum ;
Privatum regno, privatum opibus, orbem veste, fame, siti affectum
Quo modo relinquens eam ego te, in vacua hominibus sylvâ ?
Defessi tui, fame afflicti, cogitantis illam voluptatem,
In sylvâ terribili, magne Rex, delebo ego lassitudinem.
Non enim uxori equale quidpiam nascitur medicorum putatum .
Medicamentum in omnibus dolribus.’

She concludes by entreating him to accompany her to Vidarbha, and by expressing her firm resolve never to quit him, either in prosperous or in adverse circumstances. Thus conversing, they arrive at a deserted cottage; and, sitting down on the grass, Damayanti, overcome by fatigue, soon falls into a profound sleep. But the unhappy demoniac was a stranger to repose.

‘ What course should I now pursue or shun? Is death, or a religious seclusion, best adapted to my wretched condition? My lovely companion only suffers from my sorrows: separated from me, she would repair to her father's mansion. With me, her lot must be misery; at a distance, there is a chance of her tasting joy. But may not some injury befall her in the solitary way?’

Thus revolving opposite views, his mind still infatuated by the malignant Cali, he determines on leaving her whilst asleep, as the only method of forcing her to return to her father. We cannot help thinking the following passage replete with true pathos.

‘ He fled distracted, leaving Damayanti sleeping on the ground. Then, relenting, he returns, and, gazing upon her as she lay, shed a flood of tears, saying, She, who never before was exposed even to the air or the sun, she even now lies sleeping on the bare ground, as one who has none to help her. Sweetly smiling as she lies wrapped in a scanty garment, what will be her situation when she awakes? How will she traverse this forest, only inhabited by wild beasts and serpents? May the divine Aditya and the Vasava protect her! May the twin gods and the deities of the winds defend her, as she lies here deserted by all but her virtues. Thus having said, he again ran from the spot; but, again repenting, he returns. At last, urged by the demon in his breast, he finally rushed distracted from the forest.’

The astonishment and despair of Damayanti, when she awoke after a long interval, and found herself deserted by her lord, is painted with much natural simplicity. The subject has been

treated by the finest Roman poets. Catullus, in his Nuptials of Pæleus and Thetis, and Ovid in his Epistles, have sung Ariadne deserted by the faithless Theseus, on the desert island of Naxos. Both are highly finished pictures, particularly the first. There is, however, a charm of innocence in the wailings of Damayanti, who, regardless of herself, thinks only of her husband's fate, that is not to be found in the furious transports of the daughter of Pasiphaë. After a variety of adventures, in which she is exposed to the greatest perils, her state approaches to distraction. She sees 'a lofty mountain, holy, with innumerable cliffs, with rocks of refulgent brightness, stretching to the skies, placed as if for a rampart to the subjacent forest. Its recesses gave shelter to the lion, the tiger, the wild elephant and the boar : the voices of innumerable birds resounded from its sides, covered with the deep dyes of many flowering shrubs. I will interrogate, said the distracted queen, the genius of this sacred mountain, with his streams and birds and cliffs, concerning the king of Nishādha. God of this holy mountain, whose aspect is divine, affording refuge to multitudes, hail ! Salutation to thee, O pillar of the earth ! Having approached, I reverently salute thee. Know me for the wife and daughter of a king, and called Damayanti. The mighty warrior, Bhima, who rules Vidarbha, is my father, a monarch affording protection to the four casts. He has performed the royal sacrifice of a horse, and the rite was accompanied by royal gifts. Nala, the slayer of foes, is my husband,—devout, skilled in the Vedas, munificent, attentive to holy rites. In sacrifice, in beneficence, and in war, equally renowned. I have approached thee, deserted by fortune, forsaken by my lord, and sunk in calamity, seeking my husband, the king of men. Chief of mountains, from your lofty summits rising to the skies, have you beheld the king of Nishadha wandering in this frightful forest ? Has Nala been seen by you ? Holy mountain, why do you not console me, as your own daughter, by a reply ?'

The Hindu mythology, animating all nature, assigning to each fountain its nymph, and to each mountain its divinity, prevents the above spirited apostrophe from appearing forced or unnatural. Such notions, indeed, pervade the whole poem. Journeying through the forest, she comes to a secluded dell, to which a party of the philosophers, called Gymnosophists by the Greeks, though partially covered with the bark of trees, had retired from the busy world. On her entrance, the hermits, surprised at the appearance of a form of so much delicacy and beauty, thus address her,

'All hail, fair vision ! Speak, O thou of faultless beauty, who art thou, and what do you require ? Beholding thy fair form in this forest, astonishment fills our minds. Compose yourself, and cease to grieve. Art thou the goddess of this forest, or the genius of this mountain, or the nymph of this stream ?'

'Illa dixit his vatibus. Non ego sylvæ hujus divinitas,
Neque etiam hujus montis, Brahmani, non etiam amnis divinitas,
Humanam me noscite, cuncti devotionis divites!'

Her progress through the forest is thus described—

'Ea vidit arbores multos, multasque amnes ita,
Multasque montes amænos, multasque feras et aves,
Specusque, collesque, fluminaque mira visu.'

It is not certainly in a version, of which the object is to render each word by a corresponding one, similarly placed, that poetical beauties must be sought. Yet, even in this, we think, Mr Bopp has succeeded, as far as success was possible.

Our readers will not expect us to trace further the wanderings of this celebrated pair, nor to pursue the fable to its termination. The adventures which led to the restoration of Damayanti to her father, to the exorcisement of the king of Nishādha, and to his again ascending the throne with his faithful partner, must all be left to the imagination of those who do not choose to pursue them in the Latin translation, which is accompanied by the Sanskrit text, printed with singular correctness in Mr Wilkins's elegant types.

The return of Mr Colcbrooke to this country, who, after the death of Sir William Jones, contributed to the Asiatic Society the articles chiefly calculated to attract public attention, has rendered the publication of their researches less frequent, and their contents somewhat less interesting. We must, indeed, except some valuable additions to our geographical knowledge, from the observations of recent travellers, beyond the northern boundaries of Hindustan. The fields of Indian antiquities have been of late less diligently cultivated. As we may not again have an opportunity soon, we may be permitted here to cast a glance on those extensive regions.

History, considered in a philosophical view, is chiefly conversant with the manners, opinions and circumstances, public and private, of individuals united in society. The manners of barbarians present everywhere a great similarity, modified only by climate. Of civilized nations, it may be affirmed, that the interest excited, and the inferences suggested, by their history, bear some proportion to the discrepancies it exhibits with that state of society which we habitually contemplate in our intercourse with the world. But these divergencies may very naturally be supposed to increase by remoteness of time. In our endeavours to rend the mysterious veil which ages have drawn between us and the nations of high antiquity, we are justified in expecting to trace moral combinations hitherto unremarked, political institutions unknown, and man acting under the influence of opi-

nions and circumstances, to which we have not before seen him subjected.

Although the succession of dynasties that have ruled, or of petty wars that have desolated particular countries, may not be entitled to much attention from the philosopher; yet the great revolutions which have dissolved antient societies, and produced new ones, sometimes sweeping from the earth all record of the preexisting order of things, must be known in order to account for what now exists. But these mighty events, with all their extensive train of moral consequences, have often occurred. England, though protected by her insular situation—*penitus toto diviso orbe Britannos*, has at different periods witnessed the solemnities of the Druids, the holocausts to the Capitoline Jupiter, the barbarous rites of Woden and of Freya, and, finally, the establishment of the true faith.

It is probable that none of these great landmarks have perished, since the age in which Homer lived, with respect to Greece, and since the reigns of Cyaxares and of Alyattes in Asia. But what would have been the astonishment of the Father of History, could he have been informed, that, of the language in which he spoke and wrote, the most cognate dialect was that of India,—a country so remote, that even his inquisitive mind had learned little respecting it, excepting that it was the most populous of countries then known?—That the divinities worshipped by his countrymen, which he generally states to have been recently introduced into Greece from Egypt, by Homer and succeeding poets, had their altars established on the shores of the distant Ganges, where they were destined to continue for ages, after they had abandoned Olympus? The causes to which these unquestionable facts are to be attributed, are beyond the period of history;—but are they also lost to tradition?—Into the immensely voluminous literature of the Brahmans, who has sufficiently penetrated to answer this question?

Independently of this curious problem, the civil history of India, from the era at which the Puranas professedly date, to the period of the Musulman invasion, is an object of rational inquiry; and its chronology might, to a certain extent, be supported by establishing synchronisms, such as the identifying Chandra Gupta with Sandrocottus. The name of the Indian sovereign who reigned over Magadha, when Behmen (Valu-man endowed with arms), whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes Longimanus, invaded the west of India, is preserved by a Persian historian, and accords with the Indian genealogies. Such synchronisms, when they can be discovered, afford confirmation to other facts.

To the Geography of the Puranas, we earnestly wish that some of the members of the learned Society to which we have alluded, would devote their attention: but not merely by specifying the situation of countries incidentally mentioned in other works. Each Purana contains a chapter on geography, usually entitled 'Bhuvana darsa,' or the mirror of regions. A similar work seems to have been current in antient Persia, which M. Anquetil du Perron translated from the Pehlevi, with the title of Bhaun deesh. If a Sanscrit scholar in India, taking for his text one of those Puranica chapters, would give a local habitation and a modern name to the countries, he would supply an important desideratum; and might derive great aid from the Pandits, and from the strangers who now resort to Calcutta from all parts of India. The names of antient nations, of whom the Hindus have retained little besides, attest the authenticity of their traditions; as the Pehleva, the Sacæ, and, more recently, the Huna. Ptolemy places in northern Asia, a region which he terms Ottorcora. The Uttara Curu, or northern land of the Curus, is allotted to the same quarter in the Purana.

An inquiry of an extremely interesting nature might also be made into the doctrines of the different schools of Philosophy, with a view to ascertain whether the sects founded by Pythagoras, Epicurus, Zeno, Plato, and Aristotle, stand in the relation of parents or offspring, to the sects supporting similar opinions in the East.

With respect to Science, we certainly never supposed that the discoveries of Newton or of La Place had been anticipated by the Brahmans: nor that the existing boundaries of scientific knowledge were likely to be extended by our intercourse with India. We still think, however, that the history of science may derive important contributions from that source. The discussions to which the publication of the Indian Algebra gave rise, have elicited some valuable information. Before we determine that the knowledge existing in the East, and bearing the marks of originality by the peculiarity of its forms, ought to be attributed to the Greeks, it should, we think, be very distinctly demonstrated, that the Greeks themselves possessed what they are said to have communicated.

ART. VIII. *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, including the Isle of Man, comprising an Account of their Geological Structure; with Remarks on their Agriculture, Scenery and Antiquities.* By JOHN MACCULLOCH, M. D. 2 vols. 8vo. and 1 vol. 4to. Plates. London and Edinburgh. 1819.

WE have had frequent occasion to speak of Dr Macculloch in terms of high commendation, in our Reviews of the Transactions of the Geological Society, the channel through which the chief part of his scientific labours has been communicated to the public, until the appearance of the present volumes; and we have great pleasure in again introducing him to the notice of our readers in a more extended work. It is very seldom that we find a person with such high qualifications for a scientific traveller; for, besides a strong natural understanding, and a thoroughly good education, he possesses a variety of accomplishment that is very rarely found combined in the same individual. He is, moreover, one of the few men of powerful mind and high cultivation, who have hitherto directed their attention to Geology; for it is unquestionably true that, with a very few exceptions, this branch of science has not yet attracted the higher order of intellects, but has been very much in the hands of a minor class of philosophers, who, at an easy rate, get that dignified title from the world by accumulating facts, without one idea of generalization having ever entered into their mind. We do not mean to deny the usefulness of that class of persons, because more powerful minds may afterwards turn to use the materials which their industry has heaped together; but he alone is fully qualified to investigate and describe the phenomena of Nature, who bears steadily in mind, that the facts he is collecting are valuable only in reference to some great general law. On the other hand, an accurate acquaintance with the minute details of the subject is of the highest importance; and it is to be regretted that some of the distinguished persons who have led the way in the higher departments of the science, have not been sufficiently familiar with its more minute branches: a deficiency in this respect has very often given an appearance of inaccuracy to their observations, and has afforded a petty triumph to those cavillers, who, while they are incapable of understanding the great views of the author, exult over these little flaws, and magnify their importance—very often, indeed, when they do not in the least degree affect the general conclusion that has been drawn. It is this rare combination of general views, with accurate information in all the elementary branches of his subject, which places Dr Macculloch so high above most of his contemporaries as a Geologist. No work descriptive of the physical structure of an extensive range of country, that has appeared since the invaluable Travels of Saussure, possesses such high merits as that now before us. We discover in it the same patient industry of observation, directed by a powerful and well regulated understanding, and controuled by a candid and unprejudiced philo-

sophy, which so eminently distinguishes the great Geologist of the Alps. We wish that we could carry the parallel a little further, and say that the reader of Dr Macculloch's work will be as insensibly carried along by the charms of the style: But in this respect we must allow that he has not equalled his great predecessor.

We have now been speaking only of the geological part of these volumes, which indeed forms the leading feature, and occupies the chief space in the work; but the author has not been unmindful of the various subjects of general interest which present themselves to an intelligent traveller, in the very remarkable countries which he describes. There are dispersed, throughout both volumes, much valuable information, and many very interesting remarks upon the habits and condition of the people in the islands,—the state of population, the agriculture and fisheries, the antiquities, superstitions, and peculiar customs. Before entering upon our examination of the geological part of the volumes, we shall offer a few remarks upon some of the most interesting subjects of general information which they contain: But it is impossible for us, within any reasonable limits, to notice even slightly all the objects to which the attention of the author was directed; and, among so many of equal interest, we have some difficulty in deciding which to leave out.

In judging of the merits of this work, we are not to estimate the labour the author has undergone in collecting his materials, by the standard of most books of travels, descriptive of a country so near at home. It was not his lot to be carried over smooth roads in a well hung carriage, and to close the labours of the day with a comfortable meal and a soft bed; but it was the toilsome work of five successive summers, spent upon a boisterous sea, or a miserably poor comfortless land. He visited every rock that appears above the surface of the waters, from the Isle of Man to North Rona, and from the Mainland to St Kilda; and has here given us a detailed description of nearly one hundred and twenty islands. He had to make his way through a most difficult navigation, in a sea that is scarcely ever free from tempest, committing himself very often to a frail bark, and the still greater danger of ignorant mariners: and when we consider that he travelled alone in that cheerless region, we cannot sufficiently admire the ardour and constancy with which he persevered in his labours. We cannot, however, describe the difficulties he had to encounter, so well as in his own words.

‘Some future geologist will perhaps fill up the blank which I have unwillingly left, if indeed there be anything in those two islands but

what I have conjectured to exist. He will be fortunate if he is not compelled to leave much unseen, and to supply somewhat from conjectures. Though, like the philosopher in *Rasselas*, he were to find the winds and waves obedient to his word, he would still have much to encounter. He cannot ride in a land without roads, since his horse can neither tread the bogs, nor scale the rocks. Though he may walk with the strength of *Antæus*, and, like the Arab, live on the 'chameleon's diet,' it will avail him little, unless with the wild duck, the proper tenant of this amphibious region, he can also traverse the lakes and swim the friths. The dependence which he may place on the maritime habits of the islands, will be overthrown at every step by the mis-arrangements common in this country which display so strikingly some of the characteristics of the Highlander; an almost unsurmountable indolence, and a content which is either satisfied with an expedient, or submits to inconveniences of its own creating, as if they were part of the necessary career of his life. Poverty is not always the cause of these inconveniences. If the poor fisherman has no rudder to his boat, no yard to his mast, or no sheet to his sail, his richer neighbour is often equally in want of them. He who has traversed these islands will easily recognise the truth of the subjoined picture.

'It was settled in the evening that we should visit Barra Head on the following morning. Unfortunately the laird's only boat had been left on the beach without an anchor a few days before, whence it was carried away by the tide and dashed to pieces. But there was an expedient at hand, as there was another boat in the island, and it was borrowed for the occasion. In the morning, when ready to embark, it was discovered that the borrowed oars had been negligently left on the beach on the preceding evening, and had, like the former boat, been carried away by the tide. There was now a boat, but there were no oars. Oars could be borrowed, somewhere: they would be ready at some time in the day; at twelve or one o'clock; it would not be many hours too late; we could only be benighted in returning. By the time the oars had been sent for, it was discovered that the boatmen and servants were all absent cutting peat in a neighbouring island. But it was possible to find another expedient for this, by procuring some of the islanders. A messenger was accordingly sent for four men. In the mean time, the borrowed oars of one fisherman were fitted to the borrowed boat of another; but, alas! all the islanders were absent making kelp. Thus the day was spent in arranging expedients and in removing obstacles. Thus is life spent in the Highlands, and thus will it be spent by him who trusts to Highland arrangements for the accomplishment of his objects.' *I. p. 86-7.*

'I have on a former occasion described the nautical circumstances under which I did not reach Barra Head: it will not be useless to describe those under which I accomplished a first visit to Loch Scavig. The itinerary of a traveller is often of advantage to his succes-

sors ; while a single anecdote is often more characteristic of a people than a laboured description.

The expedition was to proceed from Gillan on the west side of Sleat ; and as a Highland boat is not soon set in motion, the crew was bespoke on the preceding evening. It was in vain that the orders were given for six in the morning ; the men were not collected till nine—a Highlander being seldom ready, even for his harvest field, before ten o'clock. After the ordinary useless discussions we proceeded to the beach ; but the tide had ebbed, and the boat was dry : it could not be launched without further assistance. Before the requisite assistance was procured, an hour had elapsed. Being at length launched, it was discovered, that, out of the four oars required, only one was present. It was necessary to procure the complement from a neighbouring village, and this was scarcely accomplished in another hour. Some hopes at last appeared that the day would not elapse in preparations ; but, of the pins required for rowing, only two could be found, swimming in the water which filled half of the boat. Sky not being a land of wood, some time passed before this little but indispensable requisite could be obtained, for which the teeth of a harrow were at length procured. We were now fortunately under way : the first stroke of the oars had been given, when an unlucky breeze springing up, one of the crew proposed that we should return for a sail. It was in vain to oppose this motion, too favourable to the natural indolence of this people ; although it was not easy to conjecture how a sail was to be rigged on a boat which had neither step for a mast nor provision for a rudder. It was wrong to wonder at the latter defect, as the use of this contrivance is quite unknown in many parts of these islands. In less than two hours the trunk of a birch tree was procured, which, being fastened to one of the thwarts with some twine, was converted into a mast worthy of the first navigator. A broomstick, secured to this mast in a similar manner, formed the yard, and the sail was composed of a pair of blankets pinned together by wooden skewers, and fastened to the broomstick by the same means. The want of sheet and tack was supplied by a pair of scarlet garters which one of the men stripped from his chequered stocking ; and thus a ship was at length generated, not much unlike those of the heroic ages, of which memorials are still existing in the sculptures of Iona. It was two o'clock before this rigging was perfected and we were ready for sea.

The want of a rudder being supplied by an oar, and the sail unable to stand near the wind, we made no way except to leeward, and there was a prospect of reaching Rùm instead of Scavig ; neither arguments nor authority being of the least avail with a people who, in spite of their practice, are utterly ignorant of the properties and management of a boat. On a sudden a fortunate squall unshipped the helm ; brought the sail aback ; and the whole apparatus, too feeble to upset the boat, was carried overboard. We reached our des-

ination when we should have been returning, and passed the greater part of the night at sea.' I. 281, 282.

'Between Garvrisa and the point of Craignish is the passage known by the name of Dorish more (the great gate), frequented by vessels passing from Crinan northwards, and distinguished, like the other narrow channels of this coast, by the strength and rapidity of the tides, and by the short cross sea produced when their course is opposed to a fresh breeze.

'On the day of my visit to these islands, a boat with six men was lost in this passage; an accident, like most of those which happen in the Western islands, resulting from the rashness and ignorance of the boatmen. Were it not for the extreme buoyancy of their boats, generally built on the plan of a Norway skiff, and often indeed built in Norway, such accidents would be more frequent, as no experience seems to have taught them the management of a boat in those delicate cases which are of perpetual occurrence in such a sea of cross tides, and in a climate so squally.

'It is not an exaggeration to say, that the traveller who makes this tour, is in daily, often in hourly risk of his life, more particularly with the boatmen of the country; the rigging of their boats being as bad as their management. Fortunately for themselves, their timidity is generally equal to their ignorance.' II. 270.

Nor are these the only obstacles a traveller has to contend with in these islands; for he who is so satisfied with the first answer to his question as to venture to act upon it, will very soon discover, that the testimony is not to be relied upon, even in matters that come under his daily observation.

' "How long is this Loch?"—"It will be about twanty mile."—"Twenty miles! surely it cannot be so much."—"May be it will be twelve."—"It does not seem more than four."—"Indeed I'm thinking ye're right."—"Really you seem to know nothing about the matter."—"Troth I canna say I do." This trait of character is universal; and the answer is always so decided, that the inquirer, unless he is a strenuous doubter, is not induced to verify the statement by this mode of cross-examination.' I. p. 162. *Note*.

Dr Macculloch estimates the population of the Western Islands at 60,000. But if the inquiries instituted by the Gaelic School Society are to be relied on, and there is no reason to doubt their accuracy, he has underrated their numbers very considerably. In the first Report of that Society, published in 1811, the population of the Islands is estimated at from 90 to 100,000; and as the population has, for the last seventy years, been regularly progressive, it is probably now fully equal to the greater of these numbers. Although this is a scanty population, when compared to the extent of territory, such is the natural barrenness of the soil, and the small proportion of land that has

been brought into cultivation, that almost every one of the islands is oppressed with a redundant population, living in a state of wretched poverty, and very often exposed to the most serious privations. So few are the wants of the inhabitants, so wholly ignorant are they of the comforts of civilized life, that a bare subsistence is sufficient to remove all the fears of oppression from a numerous family. This excessive population has been gradually created by that ruinous system so long prevalent in the islands, by which the cultivation of that part of the land which is capable of culture, is in the hands of small occupants; a system excellently adapted to the end, when the great object of the Laird was to swell his band of submissive vassals, but most unhappy in its consequences, now that these Lairds have been tamed, and brought under the dominion of the laws. It is quite clear, that the soil and climate are insuperable obstacles to the successful cultivation of grain to any considerable extent; and that the land can in no way be turned to so good account as in the rearing of cattle and sheep. This change, however, cannot be brought about until a vast proportion of the present inhabitants are removed from the soil; a measure which cannot be accomplished on a sudden without outraging humanity, but which may perhaps be brought about by some system of certain but imperceptible operation. We do not believe that much relief can be looked for from emigration; for this simple reason, that, to a people like the inhabitants of these islands, who are not very unhappy with their condition, it does not hold out temptations sufficiently strong to overcome those powerful ties which attach them to the land of their forefathers.

4. 'The Englishman, to whom the habits and feelings of this people are unknown, will be surprised that such a state of things can exist at all, and not less so to find that it is difficult to apply a remedy. He expects that the natural overflowing of people in one place, will, without effort, discharge its superfluity on those where there is a deficiency. He is unacquainted with the pertinacity with which the Highlanders adhere to their place of birth; and that, it would seem, exactly in the inverse ratio of all apparent causes of attraction. At the same time it must be remarked, that the insulated state, the peculiar habits, and the language of these people, present additional obstacles to migration; and that many changes, yet far distant, must be made before such a free communication can be established as shall allow it to take place, without effort and without pain, before it shall become a current part of the system of action. Any expedients which shall break through these habits and destroy these bounds, will facilitate this measure so much to be wished; and by abolishing distinctions in the community at large, render the interchange of all its constituent parts easy.' I. 109, 110.

But this great population is not only labouring under the pressure of wretched poverty—it is in the most deplorable state of ignorance. We shall scarcely be believed by those of our countrymen who do not attend to inquiries of this sort, when we tell them, that at this moment there are in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, nearly three hundred thousand persons who are unable to read. And, when this is made known to our Southern neighbours, how justly will they rebuke the presumption of the assertion, so often made in reproach to them from this part of the island, that it is the proud distinction of Scotland that every poor man is taught to read and write. This most melancholy fact would, in all probability, have never been brought to light, had it not been for the exertions of those enlightened and benevolent individuals who established the Gaelic School Society—who have, with very limited support, during the last nine years been actively engaged in the most judicious plans to remove, as far as their slender means will extend, this humiliating national disgrace. We take shame to ourselves, that we have not long ago taken notice of the valuable Reports published by that Society, which are full of the most interesting information; but we hope ere long to bring the subject more prominently forward. In the mean time, that we may induce some of our sceptical countrymen, who are firmly persuaded that no such disgrace can attach to Scotland, to look into the facts stated by the Gaelic School Society, we give the following extract from their First Report, in 1811.

‘ The returns which have been made by the clergymen of different parishes, fully confirm all that had been feared by individuals belonging to your Society. This will appear by the mention of a few parishes, their population, and the number incapable of reading in each.

‘ *On the Main Land—*

‘ In the parish of Fearn, out of 1500, 1300 are unable to read.

—	Gairloch,	2945, 2549	ditto.
—	Lochbroom,	4000, 3300	ditto.

In the Islands—

‘ In the parish of Kilmuir, Skye, 3056, 2718 unable to read.

—	Stornoway, Lewis,	4000, 2800	ditto.
—	Harris,	3000, 2900	ditto.
—	North Uist,	4000, 3800	ditto.

‘ Thus, out of 22,501, 19,367 are incapable of reading either English or Gaelic; and many other parishes might be mentioned in a state equally destitute. Connected with this melancholy fact, it must be observed, that the proportion who are able to read, reside in or near the district where a school is taught; but in the remote glens, or

subordinate islands of almost every parish, few or none can be found who know even the letters.

And here we cannot avoid expressing our surprise at the conduct of the Bible Societies, and similar associations, who, with such immense funds at their disposal, lavish vast sums in foreign missions, while so great a proportion of our own people, both in Scotland and in Ireland, have so much stronger claims upon their attention. Why should a single shilling go abroad, so long as it deprives a single individual among our own countrymen of that very blessing which it is sent away to bestow? Such extensive philanthropy would be very praiseworthy, if the work at home was accomplished; but to lay out our treasure in cultivating another man's field, while our own is overgrown with briars and thistles, is either insanity or the most preposterous vanity. We fear that it is to this last source that we must trace this wild delusion; for a Report from a Missionary in Otaheite or Owhyee, who tells how many hundred Bibles he has distributed to the savages, has a much more imposing sound in a speech at the Freemason's Tavern, than could be produced by the homely names of Sutherland and the Isle of Skye.

The peculiarities of character and of manner among the inhabitants of these insulated regions, are no less interesting to a stranger than the country they inhabit; and they did not fail to awaken the attention of this acute traveller. One of the most striking features in their character, is that invincible indolence which can hardly be overcome either by the promise of profit, or the certainty of danger. That it is created by the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed, and is not a constitutional disease, is manifest, because it ceases when they leave their country, and are roused into exertion by the bustle of active life in the busy world. Where the work to be done is so little, and the labourers so many, in a climate where the inhabitant is forced to seek shelter from the inclemency of the weather for three fourths of the time that the sun is above the horizon; where there are no manufactures; and where he is denied the occupation that reading would afford,—can it be wondered at, if the Highlander sleeps away his existence in listless inactivity? He has no spur to exertion by seeing luxury and refinement around him, in the possession of those who have risen into wealth by the industrious exercise of their talents: The little he does see, belongs to those who have inherited their riches from a long line of ancestry, and who seem to their surrounding tenantry as beings of a higher race of existence. We have already quoted some instances of this indolent habit, in pointing out the

difficulties a traveller has to contend with in these countries; but it would seem, from the following example, that the lord is not exempt from this disease of his vassals.

‘ In a proportional degree, a Highland gentleman is as little anxious to multiply his enjoyments as his tenant, whose domestic animals dispute the fireside with himself, and whose smoke, for want of other vent, must find its exit at the door of his miserable hut.

‘ The following example is characteristic. An Highland estate was given in lease for 200 years to a cadet of the family, as a reward for military services, under the sole condition of delivering it at the expiration of the lease, with a specified number of growing trees of a certain age, and under a determined fine for each tree deficient in the required age. That lease is on the point of expiring, and, as yet, not a tree is planted. When I visited it not long ago, the lessee informed me that he meant to plant to-morrow. He had been twenty years in possession; and his predecessors, for five or six generations past, had probably all, like him, intended for the last 200 years to plant “to-morrow.” I. 156, 157.

It is comfortable however to reflect, that amidst all the privations which the poor people of these islands are doomed to suffer, they are yet contented and happy with their lot; and that, too, in situations where these sufferings must be felt in their severest form. There are few who will not derive a most valuable lesson of contentment from the following very interesting account of our author's visit to the Island of North Rona.

‘ The islands of Sulisker and North Rona, although at a considerable distance from each other, are usually associated by the joint appellation of Barra and Rona; but they are scarcely known except to the mariners who navigate the North Sea, and to the inhabitants of Lewis, of which estate they form a part. They are the northernmost of the Western Islands,—the Thulé of the other islanders, who consider them as placed “far from the sun and summer gale,” and beyond the limits of the habitable world. To have visited Barra and Rona gives a claim to distinction scarcely less in their estimation than to have explored the sources of the Nile or the Niger.

‘ Rona is accessible in one spot only, and even that with difficulty, from the long swell which is rarely altogether absent in this sea. The landing-place is only the face of an irregular cliff; and it is necessary to be watchful for the moment to jump out on the first ledge of rock to which the boat is lifted by the wave. The removal of the sheep is a perilous operation, the animal being slung by the legs round the neck of a man, and thus carried down the face of a rock where a false step exposes him to the risk of being either strangled or drowned. To find inhabitants on such an island, is a strong proof, among many others, of the value of land in this country, compared to that of la-

bour. There are few parts of Britain where Rona would not be abandoned to the sea-fowls that seem its proper tenants.

'The violence and height of the mountainous seas which in winter break on this island are almost incredible. The dykes of the sheep-folds are often thrown down, and stones of enormous bulk removed from their places, at elevations reaching to 200 feet above the high-water mark :—so powerful is the breach of the sea.

'Some years have now past since this island was inhabited by several families, who contrived to subsist by uniting fishing to the produce of the soil. In attempting to land on a stormy day, all the men were lost by the upsetting of their boat; since which time it has been in the possession of a principal tenant in Lewis. It is now inhabited by one family only, consisting of six individuals, of which the female patriarch has been forty years on the island. The occupant of the farm is a cottar, cultivating it and tending fifty sheep for his employer, to whom he is bound for eight years; an unnecessary precaution, since the nine chains of the Styx could afford no greater security than the sea that surrounds him, as he is not permitted to keep a boat. During a residence, now of seven years, he had, with the exception of a visit from the boat of the *Fortunée*, * seen no face but that of his employer and his own family. Twice in the year, that part of the crop which is not consumed on the farm, together with the produce of the sheep and the feathers obtained from the sea-fowl, which he is bound to procure, are taken away by the boat from Lewis; and thus his communication with the external world is maintained. Fortunately, he seemed to care but little for any thing out of the limits of his own narrow kingdom.† In addition to the grain and potatoes required for the use of his family, he is allowed one cow, and receives for wages the value of two pounds sterling annually in the form of clothes. With this, the family, consisting of six individuals, must contrive to clothe themselves. How they are clothed it is scarcely necessary to say; covered they are not, nor did there appear to be a blanket in the house; the only substitute for a bed being an excavation in the wall, strowed, as it seemed, with ashes and straw.

'There is no other water in the island than that which is collected in pools from the rain; but there is no chance of any deficiency

* 'Then employed in cruising after the President in 1812.'

† 'On the appearance of our boat, the women and children were seen running away to the cliffs to hide themselves, loaded with the very little moveable property they possessed; while the man and his son were employed in driving away the sheep. We might have imagined ourselves landing in an island of the Pacific Ocean. A few words of Gaelic soon recalled the latter; but it was some time before the females came from their retreat, very unlike in look to the inhabitants of a civilized world.'

in this article. As there is no peat, turf is used for fuel, and the oil of the tallow for light: but, with characteristic improvidence, there are no means of lighting the fire should it ever be extinguished. Well may the vestals of this cottage watch the smoky embers and trim the dying lamp.

Such is the violence of the wind in this region, that not even the solid mass of a Highland hut can resist it. The house is therefore excavated in the earth, the wall required for the support of the roof scarcely rising two feet above the surface. The roof itself is but little raised above the level, and is covered with a great weight of turf, above which is the thatch; the whole being surrounded with turf stacks to ward off the gales. The entrance to this subterranean retreat is through a long, dark, narrow and tortuous passage like the gallery of a mine, commencing by an aperture not three feet high, and very difficult to find. With little trouble it might be effectually concealed, nor, were the fire suppressed, could the existence of a house be suspected, the whole having the appearance of a collection of turf stacks and dunghills. Although our conference had lasted some time, none of the party discovered that it was held on the top of the house. It seemed to have been constructed for concealment from white bears, or men more savage still, with a precaution now at least useless. The interior strongly resembles that of a Kamschatkan hut; receiving no other light than that from the smoke hole, being covered with ashes, festooned with strings of dried fish, filled with smoke, and having scarcely an article of furniture. Such is life in North Rona; and though the women and children were half naked, the mother old, and the wife deaf, they appeared to be contented, well fed, and little concerned about what the rest of the world was doing. It was still an object of curiosity to ascertain if beings so insulated had no desire to return to society, and mingle once more with their fellow-creatures. But though man is gregarious, the want of extended society is in a great measure the want of cultivated minds. Here the family was society enough; and to provide for the demands of the impending day, sufficient occupation. The inferior members of it seemed to know of no other world than North Rona; and the chief appeared to wish for little that North Rona could not supply. The only desire that could be discovered, after much inquiry, was that of getting his two younger children christened; and for this purpose he had resolved to visit Lewis when his period of residence was expired. I need not say to those who know the Highlanders, that their sense of religion is not limited to externals. Amid his solitude this poor man had not forgotten his duties, though excluded from the advantages of their social forms. Yet I shall not be surprised, if, after the accomplishment of his only wish, he should again long for his now habitual home; and expect that some future visitor will, twenty years hence, find Kenneth Mac Cagie wearing out his life in the subterranean retreat of his better days.' I. 204-210.

We should be led far beyond our limits, were we to attempt to notice, in any other than a very cursory manner, the information which these volumes contain upon the State of Agriculture in the different islands. In general, the land is in the possession of small tenants, who have neither capital, or enterprise to introduce a single improvement; and every thing is conducted upon the most uneconomical and most ignorant systems. Scarcely any notion is entertained of the rotation of crops, or of the advantages to be derived from it; and turnips, peas, beans, grass-seeds, and clover are unknown. In some of the larger islands, however, such as Mull, Skye, Coll, and a part of the Long Island, but chiefly in Isla, very material improvements have lately taken place by the enlargement of farms, the granting of secure leases to tenants of capital, and the exertions of the more wealthy and enlightened proprietors who have farms in their own hands. The introduction of green crops, the improvement of the breed of cattle and of sheep, and a better system of stocking and of winter feeding, are gradually going on. But it is impossible that any general system of improvement can take place, until a very large capital is laid out in an extensive system of drainage, and in making roads. Where that capital is to come from, it is not easy to guess:—The proprietors have it not;—and as to any assistance from Government for these purposes in the islands, it could only be expected upon a very strong case of national advantage being made out, as it would not be very reasonable that the inhabitants of Middlesex and Mid-Lothian should be taxed, merely to improve the estates of these Highland lairds. But, supposing the capital to be found, is it quite clear, that, under the most improved system, the soil and climate would not be an insuperable bar to an adequate return?

We are very unwilling to pass over the many valuable and interesting remarks of our author upon the numerous remains of antiquity that are to be found in the Western Islands, the curious superstitions of the people, and his dissertation upon Highland Music; but we must not forget that we have yet to enter upon the chief subject of the work, and we do not wish to encroach upon the space allotted for it.

Among the numerous descriptions of the more remarkable islands in the Hebrides that have been published from time to time, there is no work previous to this of Dr Macculloch, which can be referred to with any degree of confidence for geological information, except the *MINERALOGY OF THE SCOTTISH ISLES*, by Professor Jameson, published in 1800. His observations did not, however, extend beyond a small number of the islands

and moreover the state of the science has so much changed, both in regard to our knowledge of the structure of individual rocks, and the mode of conducting geological investigations, that we can hardly compare the observations of the two geologists, far less infer anything to the disadvantage of the learned Professor, where they do not agree. It is indeed satisfactory to find, that Dr M. bears testimony to the accuracy of his account, as far as the facts have been described. But the work before us forms a manual by which the structure of each island may be examined with minute detail, and will prove a most valuable guide to the mineralogists who may hereafter visit any part of that most interesting and instructive coast. It is obviously quite impossible for us to enter at all into the detailed descriptions contained in the work;—it will be sufficient if we give a rapid sketch of the general structure of these islands, and notice some of the more remarkable points of geological speculation which appear to us to have been elucidated by the labours of this very accurate observer. We do not apply the term *accurate*, without knowing that it is deserved; and it will be very satisfactory to our geological readers to be informed, that Dr Macculloch's description of the Island of Arran has been compared with the notes which a very eminent scientific person made upon the spot a few years ago, with the view of drawing up a geological account of that remarkable island, in conjunction with the late Professor Playfair and Lord Webb Seymour; and he has found that, with a single exception, Dr Macculloch has pointed out every object of importance—and that exception occurs at a spot which is only laid bare at low water.

Although there is a great deal of low land in the islands, their general aspect is hilly and mountainous, and their shores are generally bounded by bold and precipitous cliffs. In some there are mountains, the elevation of which almost equals the more conspicuous of those of the mainland. Ben More in Mull, Dr Macculloch ascertained, by barometrical measurement, to be 3097 feet above the level of the sea. Hecla in South Uist, is 3000; Clisseval in Harris, 2700; Goatfell in Arran, 2865; Ben an Oir in Jura, 2500; and the Cuchullin Hills, in Skye, range from 2000 to 3000 feet. The general direction of the coasts, the mountainous ridges and the intervening valleys, is between N. E. and S. W., a disposition analogous to what prevails in the mainland; and, in general, these prevailing directions will be found to correspond in a great degree with the directions of the strata of rock. There appears, moreover, a remarkable identity between the strata of the isl-

ands and those of the mainland; and, in a great variety of cases enumerated by Dr Macculloch, it may be distinctly ascertained that they have at one time been continuous, although now entirely detached by the deep sea which rolls between them. There is, indeed, no part of the geological history of these regions more interesting or more instructive, than the numerous and irresistible proofs they exhibit of that gradual but sure decay which is in unceasing operation over the whole surface of the globe. Nor is it only from the identity of the strata of the islands with those of the mainland that we are led to infer that an intervening portion has been worn away. A proof no less conclusive exists, in the rounded blocks that are sometimes scattered upon the surface of the islands, or are embedded in the alluvial soil, of rocks totally distinct from any existing in the island itself, but identical with rocks found *in situ* on the adjoining islands or mainland: such blocks are very numerous on the surface of Staffa. Many of the facts described clearly indicate, that the separation has not been sudden, but the slow action of destroying forces; and if it is legitimate to measure the process of past decay by the standard which our own experience supplies of its advancement, there are none of the phenomena of geology which speak a language less equivocal as to the high antiquity of this earth, than those to which we have now alluded.

In determining the plan he should follow in describing the several islands, Dr Macculloch has not confined himself to any geographical order, but has classed those islands together which are of analogous structure, and are connected by their natural affinities. By this arrangement, unnecessary repetition has been avoided; the islands mutually assist in explaining the structure of each other; that which is obscure in one, being elucidated by some other of the group; and the interest of the whole is increased by the comparison. The general relations of the different individuals of each group with the adjoining mainland, are pointed out; and, at the conclusion of each great division, the principal facts are brought together in one condensed view, that the reader may be enabled to draw such general conclusions as he may consider to be made out by the evidence that has been laid before him. The descriptions are aided by numerous coloured maps, plans, and views—a species of illustration which Dr M. has more at command than any geologist we are acquainted with; a very important branch of the education of a geological traveller, and which, if more frequently attended to, would save many an unintelligible description.

The five distinct groups into which Dr Macculloch has divided the Western Islands, he distinguishes by the names of the *Gneiss*, the *Trap*, the *Sandstone*, the *Schistose*, and the *Clyde* Islands.

The *Gneiss* Islands comprehend the whole of the Long Island, Coll, Tiree, Iona, Rona, and a portion of Rasay. The *Trap* Islands are, Mull and Skye, with Egg, Muck, Rum and Canna, and the numerous islets which lie around them. The *Sandstone* Islands are of very limited extent; but are taken in conjunction with the adjoining coast, where this class of rock prevails from the point of Sleat in Skye to Cape Wrath. The *Schistose* Islands include Isla, Jura, and the smaller islands which skirt the shore of Argyleshire from Lorn to Cantyre. The *Clyde* Islands are, Arran, Bute, the Cumbrays, and Ailsa.

Dr Macculloch uses the term *Gneiss* in a much more extensive sense than that to which it is usually confined by the school of Werner. But this extension of the term appears to be fully warranted; for the varying composition of the rock, and the gradual nature of the changes it undergoes, render it impossible to apply separate terms to each variety, without accumulating titles which would incumber rather than elucidate the subject. The chief varieties described have a composition identical with granite, sometimes characterized by a large grain and imperfectly foliated structure, with frequent partial transitions into granite; at other times having a schistose structure, and graduating into micaceous schistus and quartz rock. Hornblende, as well as mica, enters into the composition of it; and is more prevalent than mica in the *gneiss* of the Western Islands.

With the exception of Arran and a part of Mull, granite is not found in mass in any of the Western Islands; but, throughout the whole of the *Gneiss* islands, it is of constant occurrence in the form of veins traversing the accompanying strata. These are exhibited under so many varieties of form, that they throw considerable light upon the history of this rock; and it is very important to have the testimony of so accurate an observer as Dr Macculloch, upon a point upon which the opinions of geologists have been so much divided. To those who are less familiar with the controversy, it may be proper to state, that the point at issue is this—whether there is sufficient evidence to prove that granite has been brought into the situations it now occupies, posterior to the deposition of the rocks which lie over it. Dr Hutton, who was the first to maintain this bold and ingenious theory, considered it to be demonstrated by the numerous veins and ramifications which are seen to proceed from the mass of

granite into the superincumbent strata. His opponents maintain that these veins are of cotemporaneous formation with the strata in which they occur. We cannot afford space for more than the general conclusions to which Dr Macculloch has arrived; and must refer to the work itself for the abundant and very distinct evidence upon which his reasoning is founded.

All the varieties of gneiss are occasionally intersected by granite veins, and they are indeed almost characteristic of this rock; being rarely absent for any considerable space, and seldom traversing micaceous schist unless under circumstances where they can be traced to some neighbouring mass of granite. They are, however, most abundant in the granitic division. They are infinitely various in size, and in the number and intricacy of their ramifications; and it is further worthy of remark, that the contortions of any mass of gneiss are always proportioned to the number and importance of those which it contains. Hence it is that the schistose is more free from contortions than the granitic variety. It is nevertheless proper to make an exception respecting those beds of gneiss which alternate with other rocks, such as clay slate; these, as far as I have observed, never containing veins. In some varieties of gneiss they are so abundant as nearly to exclude the original rock, so that the mass presents little else than a congeries of veins. An instance of this nature occurs in the Flannan isles; but the most striking are to be seen on the north-west coast, between Loch Laxford and Cape Wrath. The latter spot is no less remarkable for its picturesque grandeur, than for the perfect manner in which it displays this circumstance, the cliffs being free from lichens, and unaltered by the weather; so that all the parts are as visible as in an artificial section. The hornblende schist and the gneiss are broken into pieces and entangled among the veins in the same manner as the stratified rocks are in the trap of Skye; but with infinitely greater intricacy, so as rather to resemble a red and white veined marble with imbedded fragments of black. These fragments do not seem to form a twentieth part of the whole mass; while the progress of the different veins, and their effects in producing the disturbance, are as distinct as in an ordinary hand specimen. If the intricacy of the ramifications, and the intersection of one set of veins by a second and a third of different textures, present an argument in favour of a succession of these at several periods, there is here no want of such evidence.

Whether these granite veins are connected with masses of granite in all cases, cannot be determined. In some instances, as in Perthshire, where the gneiss reposes on granite, it is probable that they proceed from it; but it has already been seen that there are no traces of that rock in the Long Island. That is, however, no proof of its non-existence; and the circumstance of the veins being always present when the gneiss reposes on granite, and absent when another rock is interposed, renders it probable that in these cases granite, though invisible, is still present.

The following considerations render it probable that the granite veins which traverse gneiss are posterior to the including rock, and formed under circumstances analogous to those under which other granite veins have intruded into the schistose rocks with which they interfere.

They are accompanied by fractures or contortions of the gneiss, of such a nature as to prove that it once possessed a condition capable of yielding in different ways to external force, while these appearances are also proportioned to the number and intricacy of the veins. In the schistose varieties which yield easily in the direction of the laminae, the veins frequently hold a parallel course to these, while an occasional flexure occurs in those cases where the vein crosses them; the edges being incurvated from the thicker part, or the root of the vein, towards its termination. Lastly, in cases, of which an example was described in Tirey, where a vein traverses a mass of limestone included in the gneiss, it disturbs that substance as well as the surrounding rock; and in another parallel instance noticed in Scalpa, where the included substance is serpentine, the vein itself undergoes a change, by participating in the nature of that rock during its passage.

The schist is in these islands occasionally traversed by granite veins, similar in aspect and composition to those which traverse the gneiss of the neighbouring parts. This may be adduced as a proof of the posteriority of these veins to the rocks which they intersect; since they are here, as in Coll, found to pass indiscriminately through two different rocks, of which the one appears, from its position, to be of more recent formation than the other.

Although unwilling to repeat the trite arguments derived from the nature of granite veins, I cannot avoid remarking the strong support they receive from the circumstances now mentioned, particularly from the fact of the imbedded fragments; an appearance which cannot be reconciled to any supposition yet offered, except that of the posteriority of granite.' I. 218-220. 144. 556-557.

The Island of Arran was the great source from which Dr Hutton drew the proofs in support of his theory of Granite, and has been since appealed to by his illustrious commentator, Mr Playfair; and as this island has been so minutely examined by Dr M., it is important that we should notice, that his views entirely coincide with those of Hutton and Playfair upon the phenomena in question.

It would in itself be sufficient evidence against the stratification of the granite of Arran, to point out its connexion with the superincumbent schists. This has been brought to light at Loch Ransa in a most distinct manner, by the removal of the soil where the junction of these substances takes place. In numerous other situations in Scotland, it can be seen already exposed to view; inasmuch that no rational doubt can be entertained respecting the true nature of a phenomenon so very palpable and so frequent. As a fact proved, it may

also be considered a rule, not an exception. The ramifications which proceed from the mass of granite into the schist at the place above mentioned, are numerous and intricate, and they diminish as they recede from the main body; while their mineral character undergoes a change; the granular structure becoming more minute, almost in proportion to the minuteness of the vein, until the true character of granite entirely disappears. It is superfluous to repeat the conclusions which have been drawn from these appearances, relative to the origin of granite, since they must be familiar to every one.' II. 345, 346.

The term TRAP, by which the next group of islands is distinguished, is also used in a generic sense, and comprehends that extensive variety of rocks to which the names basalt, greenstone, syenite, claystone, clinkstone, and porphyry are applied; all of which are found to pass into each other by insensible gradations, and are associated by a common set of geological relations. They can nowhere be studied to greater advantage than in the Western Islands, from the various forms in which they occur, and the facility with which their connexion with the accompanying strata may be observed. The facts which Dr Macculloch has recorded in regard to this class of rocks, are highly important. A detailed account of them we cannot attempt to give; but we shall endeavour to state the general results which he has deduced from his extensive examination of this interesting class of geological phenomena. One of the most important, is the geological identity which he has traced between syenite and the other members of the Trap family; for the resemblance which this rock very often bears to granite, may lead, and probably has often led, to very erroneous conclusions, where its geological position has not been fully investigated. In the island of Skye, there is a very extensive district where common greenstone, amygdaloidal claystone, common pale syenite, micaceous syenite, and simple blue claystone, are found irregularly recurring throughout the whole group. The predominant variety of the syenite, is an aggregate of felspar and hornblende, in which the hornblende generally bears a very small proportion to the other ingredient. The porphyritic character is sometimes assumed by this mixture; while, in some rare instances, quartz enters into the composition. More rarely still, it contains mica; and, in this case, it cannot be distinguished from those granites which contain crystals of hornblende, superadded to the usual threefold mixture of quartz, felspar, and mica.

The character of this syenite gives rise to some conclusions that are not unimportant. At present, it is easily mistaken in hand specimens for a variety of those granites which are entirely subjacent to

the other rocks, and divested of any pretensions to the overlying character. With a very slight change of composition, it could not be distinguished. That such a change occurs in other situations, seems proved by the observations of Mr Von Buch in Norway, who has described granite lying on black conchiferous limestone. This granite is, according to that author, connected with porphyry; and there is no reason therefore to doubt that the instance quoted by him is analogous to this, although he has not entered into a full examination of its connexions. His overlying granite will therefore prove, like this, a mere variety, in a geological view, of the syenite and porphyry formation; another proof, if such were wanting, of the necessity of great caution in drawing geological inferences from the examination of mere specimens of rocks, and of the absolute necessity of tracing the actual connexions of all those rocks which are subject to similar variations of character.

In the next place, this syenite may serve to prove, that, in many other cases, the granites, which we have been accustomed to consider as prior in formation to the secondary strata, if not to the primary schists, may be often posterior to both: the opportunities for ascertaining their relations being wanting; sometimes from the total absence of the secondary rocks in the places where they occur, and others, from the impossibility of obtaining sufficient access to them, to enable us to ascertain a point of great delicacy and difficulty; and in a third case, perhaps from the demolition and disappearance of those portions which may have once been overlying, and have, as being the most limited and the most feebly supported, been removed through a long course of time by the ordinary causes of waste.

I. 371, 372.

Similar instances of a gradual and imperceptible transition, from a perfectly characterized greenstone to an equally distinct syenite, are of frequent occurrence in Harris, Rum, Mull, and Arran; and in every part of the Western Islands, where the trap rocks prevail, abundant proof may be found how utterly unimportant, in regard to their geological history, is that distinction which is founded upon the variety in their mineralogical structure. In describing the trap rocks of Kerrera, Dr Macculloch makes some very judicious remarks upon this subject.

As in other cases, the different modifications or members are here found gradually changing their characters, and passing into each other. Thus, greenstone passes into basalt, or into clinkstone, or compact felspar, or into porphyries and amygdaloids of various aspects. Many of the simpler varieties occur, of a brown, grey, reddish, or white colour, with different degrees of hardness and much diversity of fracture; offering specimens, to none of which, in the present state of our nomenclature, it is possible to apply names that could be understood. It is, perhaps, better to leave such substances

without a name, than to designate them by terms that have been already too often used in a lax and ambiguous sense; since the negative confusion that may result from the want of appropriate appellations, is much less inconvenient than the positive one which attends their misapplication; inasmuch as it admits of future amendment, and as it is much easier to add to a nomenclature than to change its signification.' II. 122, 123.

Throughout the whole range of the Western Islands, there is scarcely a rock, whether belonging to the primary or secondary strata, which is not more or less intersected by veins or dykes of trap. In every part of the Long Island, the gneiss is penetrated by these veins, varying in thickness from many yards to the diameter of a thread: One in the little island of Harfersa, off North Uist, is about fifteen or twenty feet in thickness; passing through the gneiss in a position nearly vertical, splitting into minute ramifications, and very much confounded and mixed with the including rock. In Barra, they are of very small size, but are subdivided into branches of extraordinary tenuity, and traverse the gneiss or granite veins in the most intricate manner. Veins of the same degree of tenuity may be observed in the adjoining islands of Hellesa and Gia, branching off from dykes of great dimensions. One off the shore of North Uist, of about twenty feet in thickness, is composed of two or three beds, each of which has a peculiar structure, and might be mistaken for a succession of strata, were it not seen to cross the beds of clay slate through which it passes, in a curved and somewhat waving course. A vein somewhat similar in the variety of rock, is found at Loch Oransa in Skye, traversing gneiss, being a fine basalt at the edge, and passing by degrees into greenstone, porphyry, and amygdaloid. A very remarkable vein occurs on the shore of Loch Scresort in Rum, where the mass is columnar; but the directions of the columns is not at right angles to the direction of the vein, but parallel to it, and their position horizontal, divided into rude joints of irregular length. In Rum, there is a vein of ordinary dark basalt, enclosing fragments of the adjoining red sandstone, scattered at considerable distances through it, and varying from an inch or two to a foot in diameter. Analogous instances occur in Muck, Seil, Lunga, and Bute. In Seil, the vein runs between strata of clay slate; and, parallel to them, and at each side, it is intermixed to the depth of an inch or two with distinct fragments of the slate. In Arran, there is a vein of pitchstone, including fragments of the adjoining red sandstone; a circumstance that has not been before observed in a pitchstone vein, and pointing out an interesting analogy between that substance and trap, in addition to those already known. Where these included frag-

ments occur in a vein of small dimensions, they are rarely changed in appearance from the adjoining rock; but where they are found in the larger masses of rock, they are considerably altered, having the appearance of those gradual changes which mark the commencement of fusion. Some very remarkable instances of the conversion of shale, containing organic remains, into lydian stone, by the contact of the trap rocks, similar to what occurs at Portrush on the coast of Antrim, have been noticed by Dr Macculloch in Skye and the Shiant Isles.

One of the most plausible arguments of those who maintain that the trap rocks have been deposited in the same manner as the strata with which they are associated, is founded on the assumed fact, that they are frequently found alternating in regular and parallel succession with the strata. Numerous instances of this alternation have been observed by Dr Macculloch in the Western Islands; but he has had frequent occasion to discover, that this seeming alternation is quite fallacious, so much so, as to lead him to doubt whether, in the cases that have been quoted as a proof of slow deposition like the other strata, a similar fallacy may not exist.

The interference of the trap with the strata presents, as I already remarked, every modification that has yet been described. Some of them require a few words; but the greater number will be sufficiently and even better illustrated by the drawings, which have been so selected as to contain the principal details of the whole line of disturbance: the general aspect of larger portions of the coast being given in other sketches taken from a distance, where the minor disturbances were invisible. One of the objects is to show that there is no persistent parallelism between the trap and the stratified rocks, and that the occasional regularity of alternation is deceptive; since, by extending the examination, we always arrive at some point where that regularity ceases. This fact has often been noticed on a smaller scale; but there is here a display of the whole arrangement on a scale so magnificent and extensive, since it occupies many miles in length, and so free from all chance of error, since the sections are as perfect as if made by art, that it would be unpardonable to pass it over.

The instances of fracture, separation, displacement, flexure, and entanglement, are sufficiently visible in the drawings: those of irregularity in the stratified disposition of the trap, require a few words. In one case, which occurs not far from Holme, there is a bed extending for a great way, surmounted by a parallel series of the secondary strata in contact with it; but, on a narrow inspection, innumerable veins are seen branching into the strata in every possible direction, illustrating in a very perfect manner the origin of at least one order of veins. In a second case, three beds of trap can be traced in a parallel direction for a considerable space, separated by the regular strata, when suddenly the whole unite into one mass.

Had not this occurrence at length betrayed the true nature of these beds, there would have been no hesitation, from a limited observation, in describing them as unquestionable instances of alternation. In the last case which I shall enumerate, one regular bed of trap may be traced for more than a mile, lying in a parallel and undisturbed continuity between the secondary rocks. On a sudden, however, it bends downwards, so as to pass through the strata immediately in contact, and then continues to hold its regular course for a space equally great, with a thickness and parallelism as unaltered as before. I need make no commentary on these several facts, since the conclusions that may be deduced from them have long been familiar to geologists.' I. 382, 383.

'In describing the limestone of Broadford, I formerly remarked that it contained beds of trap, often so equally interstratified as to be generally undistinguishable from regular alternations. An excellent example of their real nature, and of their identity with the analogous appearances in the north-eastern coast of Trotternish is afforded by a circumstance occurring among similar beds at Borrereg. In one of these, the bed, after a very extensive parallel course among the strata of limestone, undergoes a sudden flexure into an oblique position; which, shortly becoming vertical, it is then continued beyond reach of investigation, under the usual form of a common trap vein; intersecting at right angles in one place the strata to which it was parallel in another.' I. 400.

There is perhaps no point in Geology that has been more satisfactorily made out, than the history of the trap rocks; and the great mass of evidence which has now been collected regarding them, appear to warrant the following conclusions—That they are all of posterior formation to the stratified rocks with which they are associated, whether primary or secondary, and have been consequently intruded among the strata—that this intrusion has been accompanied, in many cases, with such force as to fracture and displace the strata—that they have been ejected from below in a fluid state—and that this fluidity was produced by the action of heat. Throughout the whole of this work, wherein an extensive series of the trap rocks are described, Dr Macculloch almost invariably has come to these conclusions. We refer our readers to the work itself, for the numerous instances where these opinions are delivered; and must content ourselves with one or two short extracts.

'Numerous trap veins are seen traversing the strata of this island. They have no certain direction, being in some places erect, in others inclined; at one time intersecting the beds in angular directions, at another insinuating themselves in a parallel course between their laminae. In some cases, the same vein will be found to occupy both positions, changing its course from a transverse to a parallel one. The deep and perfect sections of the rocks, both here and in Scarba,

enable us to trace distinctly those arrangements in the veins, which, in most instances, where the surfaces only admit of examination, are nearly as much matter of induction as of observation. It is from those veins which are entirely or in part conformable to the planes of the strata, that we are enabled to understand the manner in which the character of the including rock has affected the form and disposition of the vein. Where its course lies at angles with the direction of the strata, it is generally straight and persistent, while its breadth is equal throughout; as if the violence and suddenness with which the original fissure was formed, had been such as to disregard all impediments arising from inequalities of hardness, these bearing no proportion to the force exerted in the separation. Where, on the contrary, the fissure has taken place in the direction of the beds, the vein will often be found unequal in thickness, and sometimes curved, or even tortuous; from the greater facility with which these have yielded in that direction, and from the inequalities originally existing in the disposition of the laminæ, which, by their separation, have given a passage to the fluid-intruding material. Such appearances are here both frequent and remarkable; and analogous, if not equally well marked facts, occur in other parts of the Western Islands.' II. 168, 169.

'If we examine any other portion of the strata, we shall find similar, although not equal deficiencies, attended by consequent irregularities; all of them, doubtless, equally caused by the trap rocks, the effects of which seem to consist in the overwhelming of some of the strata and the displacement of others; the whole being on a scale so large and distinct as to leave no doubt respecting their nature, and producing a connected train of appearances that cannot be traced in any other place with which I am acquainted. I shall not attempt to point out the revolutions that must have taken place in these parts of the earth's surface before such effects could have been produced; still less to inquire into causes, in a work intended as a simple record of the physical structure of the places examined, as far as it is possible to give such a record its due value without a certain proportion of theoretic connexion. While the changes are as obvious as their magnitude is striking, it is evident that they have been produced long after the greater part of the materials here forming the surface of the earth had assumed their regular distribution.' I. 393.

'If the connexions of these rocks with those on which they lie are examined, it will be found that they are sometimes in contact with the clay slate, at others with the graywacké; a proof of their posteriority to both, and of their irregularity of position. They are also found branching into large veins, which again ramify into smaller; penetrating the schist in various directions, and sometimes for a long space conformable to its disposition. Where these parts only are visible, and where their connexion with the superincumbent masses cannot be traced, they have the appearance of beds alternating with the schist; but this appearance, traced in one instance to its true origin, justifies us in assigning the same to all similar masses.

'The relation of the trap to the sandstone and conglomerate, is by no means so clear: yet as some decided instances occur of its overlying position with respect to these also, we are perhaps justified in concluding, that the whole of the trap is posterior to the stratified rocks, whether primary or secondary; and that, wherever it appears inferior to the latter, the apparent priority implied by this, is only an example of intrusion similar to that which occurs between the trap and the schists.' II. 123, 124.

'The similarity between the trap rocks and those of volcanic origin has been too often noticed to require a repetition of that remark. It is equally known to geologists that volcanoes are situated in this class of rocks; a position which appears to countenance the opinion that there is a connexion in the origin of the two, and that the recurrence of trap in any given place, such as it is observed in the island under review, is a phenomenon closely linked with the actual existence of volcanoes in districts of trap rock.'

'It is still necessary to point out a circumstance of no uncommon occurrence in the trap of this island, as well indeed as in many others which I have examined; partly because it confirms this conjecture, and is an additional proof of the resemblance between the traps and the lavas, and partly because it has been doubted or denied by many geologists who have treated of these rocks. This is the existence of cavities resembling in every respect those which are contained in the scoria of volcanoes, or in cellular lavas. They occur also abundantly in Mull and in the trap near Oban; and are particularly conspicuous in some parts of the Little Cumbray, where I shall have occasion to describe them more fully.' I. 458.

And in describing these cavernous traps of the Little Cumbray, he states that, 'it is often impossible to distinguish them from scoriform lavas, so identical are their characters with those of the volcanic rocks. Similar specimens occur among the trap in many other places, but they are rarely so perfect. That any other cause but the extrication of air should have produced these cavities, is highly improbable; and on the igneous view of the origin of those rocks, the existence of such a cause is sufficiently proved.' II. 487.

The impossibility of making any arrangement that should perfectly combine geographical with geological convenience, has rendered it necessary to form a separate division for the *Sandstone Islands*. They are of very limited extent; but the rock itself forms a very important feature in the geological history of the country, and prevails to a great extent on the Mainland, occupying an uninterrupted line from Glen Elg to Cape Wrath, and extending inland nearly thirty miles. It occurs also in the centre of Sutherland, and forms a large portion, if not the whole, of Caithness. Notwithstanding its name of *Red Sandstone*, it must be classed with the primary rocks, for it is found alternating with gneiss; but, until this important discovery of

Dr Macculloch, it has always been considered as belonging to the secondary rocks, or at least to that class of secondary rocks to which some geologists apply the term *transition*. It is principally distinguished from the red sandstones of the centre of Scotland, by its extreme hardness, and by its crystalline texture. In this respect it often equals common quartz, no distinction between the constituent grains being visible, but the whole appearing as if cemented by a general solution of silica. It is often, however, in these cases, gravelly, while it occasionally consists of large fragments, angular as well as rounded, of different colours, compacted into one crystalline mass. It is always stratified. In the predominant examples, the strata are very thin and equal; and in all these cases the angle of inclination is low, deviating in some instances but slightly from the horizontal position; and the surfaces of the flags sometimes bear these marks of undulation which occur in the secondary sandstones, and resemble so much the marks left by the sea on sandy shores. Where the angle of inclination becomes considerable, the distinctness of the stratification diminishes; and where the beds assume the vertical position, it requires great care to discover any marks of that order; the rock acquiring the aspect of some granites, or that of the irregular gneiss by which it is accompanied, and being split into prismatic or angular fragments. Both in the islands and on the Mainland, it graduates into gneiss; and the transition is effected sometimes by schist, and grey indurated sandstone, and sometimes by quartz rock. In a large proportion, however, of the Mainland, no such transitions are found; but there is a sudden and complete alternation of the two rocks. The alternations with gneiss are visible at Loch Carron and Great Loch Broom; the sandstone in the latter place lying beneath the gneiss, and both having a common dip to the south-east. It forms hills of all dimensions, and of every variety of aspect—round, conical, ridged, or serrated, alternately rising to the greatest average altitude of the Scottish mountains. Kea Clòch, in Ross-shire, presents in itself examples of all these forms; the summits being in some places no less strongly serrated than those of the Arran mountains, while the height is between 3500 and 3700 feet; and, what is remarkable, the strata of this mountain are horizontal, and consist of the red sandstone from the base to the summit; and as it is separated by a wide valley from the adjoining mountains, which are composed of the same rock, it stands as an index of the enormous waste by which the land has been worn down into its present outline.

It is scarcely necessary now to say, that this sandstone must be ranked in the class of primary rocks. On no other view can the preceding facts be explained, notwithstanding the occasional points of resemblance which it presents to those of the secondary division. It must therefore be considered as a red primary sandstone; and, that it is not even the latest of the primary strata, is evident from the preceding history of its connexions.

No objection need arise with respect to the use of the term *primary*, as applied to a rock composed of the reunited fragments of former rocks. That term has here, as on other occasions throughout this work, been substituted for the word *primitive*, and is purely relative; implying nothing theoretical respecting the origin of any order of rocks, whether stratified or amorphous. Nor is this sandstone a solitary example of the mechanical recomposition found among rocks of the primary division. The instances of this structure occurring in the quartz rock of Jura and the associated islands, are equally remarkable; and there are indeed striking analogies between that series and the present, in many important particulars. With respect to the existence of an unquestionably mechanical structure in a primary rock, it may also be remarked, that the micaceous schist of Isla, which contains fragments of granite and quartz rock, presents a decided example of it; as do also those rocks of the graywacké and conglomerate structure, which are found among the argillaceous schists in various parts of Scotland. If even the red sandstone of this district be considered as a modification of quartz rock, no alteration will follow in the nature of any of the views that have here been brought forward. The same history will be transferred to a new term, not to another substance; and the same consequences will follow, that so often result from the substitution of one word for another; in the best cases; that of leaving every thing precisely where it stood before; and in the worst, confusion and obscurity, instead of light and order.' II. 98, 99.

In further illustration of the important inferences to be deduced from this history of the primary sandstone, we may notice the occurrence of a conglomerated rock formed of fragments of quartz, imbedded in a micaceous schist, in the island of Coll—of a conglomerate composed of rounded and angular pebbles of quartz and gneiss, imbedded in a gravelly clay, found contained between two portions of gneiss in Lewis—of a rounded pebble imbedded in the clay slate of the Isle of Man—but, above all, that most interesting discovery, of a rock containing organic remains alternating with gneiss, at Loch Eribol. It is scarcely necessary to point out how entirely these facts demonstrate the truth of that great and fundamental position of the Huttonian theory, the most important in its consequences in the whole range of geological inquiry,—‘That in *all* the strata we discover proofs of the materials having existed as

elements of bodies which must have been destroyed before the formation of those of which these materials now actually make a part. That Dr Macculloch coincides in these views, is sufficiently evinced by the following passage:

With the exception of granite, it is not probable that geologists have yet discovered a rock beneath which organic remains may not be found. As they diminish in number, in a general sense, the further we recede from the most recent strata, it is plain that, among the lowermost rocks, they may occur so rarely as still to have escaped observation; a circumstance of which the chances would be increased by their more limited variety, more complete loss of texture and shape, and more simple forms. Their gradual disappearance in those cases where the secondary limestones assume the massive structure and crystalline texture, described in the *Annals of Skye* and of the *Isle of Man*, will illustrate this opinion, and suggest the possibility, that even the common primary limestones may originally have contained organized bodies.

Perhaps when observations have been further multiplied, it may yet be ascertained, that there has been no portion of time during the deposition of the stratified rocks, however ancient, in which animals have not existed. In concluding this subject, it is unnecessary to point out the importance of the preceding facts to geological science; and it is almost superfluous to say, that to account for them by calling this gneiss a *transition rock*, is merely to substitute a term which leaves the fact and its consequences precisely where they stood before. II. 514, 515.

The Schistose Islands comprehend Isla, Jura, the smaller isles immediately contiguous, and those which lie between Mull and the Mainland. Their strong resemblance to each other in structure,—the obvious repetitions of similar strata which occur throughout them,—the mutual correspondence of their outlines and of the bearing of their strata, together with the intimacy of their geographical positions,—render this association as natural as it is useful for the illustration of the whole. They consist of all the primary stratified rocks except gneiss; and, among them, quartz rock and clay slate appear predominant, micaceous schist being less abundant. These are accompanied by a series of rocks composed of chlorite schist, of felspar, and of hornblende, in various states of mixture and alternation; and, lastly, by graywacké and limestone, the last being the smallest in quantity. The same alternations of rock which occur in any one or more islands, are found also nearly throughout the whole group, although in different proportions. In contemplating these alternations, there is nothing more remarkable than the frequent change of substance, and the tenuity of the strata which are thus intermixed with each other; and, in consequence of this perpe-

tual change, substances generally considered as occupying distinct places on the surface of the earth, in a regularly consecutive order, are here repeated without any distinction as to priority or posteriority; clay slate, for example, being sometimes found above and sometimes below micaceous schist, sometimes alternating with gneiss, as it also does in North Uist. In the island of Isla, the following series may be seen extending from the western side of the island to the Mull of Oe on the east; and they can be traced in contact and in obvious succession throughout the whole space: clay slate—gneiss—clay slate—graywacké slate—clay slate quartz rock—coarse graywacké quartz rock, clay slate—micaceous schist, clay slate. Numerous instances of similar alternations are mentioned throughout the work, affording abundant proof, if such were wanting, that the doctrine of *Universal Formations* and regularity in the order of succession of the strata, has been founded on very limited experience, and cannot be admitted as a general law. These examples are no less valuable in pointing out the fallacy of the theoretical division of rocks which are distinguished by the term *transition*.

Our remarks upon this work have already extended to so great a length, that we are unable to enter upon many points of great interest that have occupied Dr Macculloch's attention, as they would take up more space than we can allot to them. We are thus prevented from doing full justice to Dr Macculloch, by pointing out more particularly wherein he is entitled to the honour of original discovery, both in geological facts, and in having found many of the simple minerals in these islands, which were not previously known to exist there. But Dr Macculloch's reputation stands already so high, and his views are so much beyond those who would give battle about the discovery of a pebble, that we did not feel very anxious about the defence of his fame in this respect.

We have heard, with great satisfaction, that he has made considerable progress in a survey of Scotland, with the view of publishing a geological map. This important and very arduous undertaking is conducted under the direction of the Board of Ordnance, and, in conjunction with the great Trigonometrical Survey, does infinite honour to that Board; while it affords an eminent proof of the liberal and enlightened views of the illustrious Person who is now at the head of it,—that while he is conducting the national objects committed to his charge, the great public cause of Science is cherished and promoted.

ART. IX. *A Guide to the Electors of Great Britain upon the Accession of a New King, and the immediate Prospect of a New Parliament.* Third Edition. 8vo. pp. 56. London, Ridgway. 1820:

IT is long, indeed, since so excellent a Pamphlet has appeared upon any political subject, as the one now before us. The publick having already pronounced a decisive opinion in its favour, by exhausting two editions during the bustle and distractions of a General Election, we may be thought to undertake a needless task in professing to describe its merits; but we owe it as a debt of gratitude to the author, for the light he has thrown upon questions highly important, and hitherto treated with vagueness and unprofitable declamation on the one side, or mysteriously wrapped up in the obscurity of official details upon the other. The author is, we believe, pretty generally known to be Mr Creevey, a Member of Parliament for many years; during which he so highly and so usefully distinguished himself as the friend of rational reforms, the advocate of sound constitutional principles, and the unsparing enemy of abuse, that his exclusion from the House of Commons must now be regarded as a serious publick loss; more especially at a period when those questions are to be brought under review, with which he, more than any other man, had shown himself intimately acquainted.

The beginning of a New Reign, as the reader probably knows, brings forward one of the most momentous subjects on which the representatives of the people can at any time be called to deliberate,—the formation of the Civil List,—that is, the arrangement of nearly the whole civil expenses of the country, including the charges of executing the Laws at home, representing it abroad, and providing for the support, the dignity, and the splendour of the Crown. In the ancient times of the Monarchy, the Sovereign, who was rather the first of the feudal Barons than the ruler of a great People, derived his revenues chiefly from land vested in him as a great proprietor, and from certain occasional perquisites given to him for the better support of his office; and, it may be added, that the services which his vassals were bound to perform in war, or to redeem with money, helped him mainly to defray its expenses. On extraordinary occasions, taxes were levied directly upon the subject; but the bulk of the revenue was that which the King derived from his Possessions and his Prerogative, independent of any consent of Parliament for raising it, and of any controul in its expenditure. In return for the funds thus vested in the Crown, it was

bound to defray all the expenses of the State in peace and war: and, while the hereditary revenues remained entire, and the feudal services belonged to them; the Sovereigns of this country could well support this burthen. Repeated dilapidations, however, reduced the former in process of time; and as the feudal scheme fell into disuse, the other great branch of the Monarch's resources was lopt off also; so that from time to time he was, happily for the liberties of the nation, compelled to ask supplies from Parliament; and, by degrees, one after the other, all the great branches of publick expenditure were transferred from the Crown to the Country.

The Sovereign being thus exonerated from his payments, it was natural to expect that he should also relinquish those funds which had been allotted to him to make those payments;—that having no longer, for example, to pay the Army and Navy, he should no longer retain the perquisites of Admiralty and Prize which had been destined to support those services, but should transfer to the publick, to whose shoulders he had shifted the burthen, those profits which are inseparably connected with it. This part of the process, however, was altogether omitted. Notions of right and prerogative were conveniently enough introduced. The King was said to have those branches of revenue by a high title, and that they were inherent in the Crown by virtue of his Royal prerogative; no account being taken of the material circumstance, that, while so possessed by the Crown, they had been burthened with disbursements now undertaken by the State. However, things were suffered to go on in this unfair and unsatisfactory manner for a long course of years. Several attempts, no doubt, were made to arrange matters equitably and amicably between the parties. As soon as Parliament began to show a due jealousy of the Executive, and a proper vigilance over the public purse, the nature of these hereditary revenues came to occupy their attention; but rather with a view to their vexatious origin, than their large amount. The worst of the whole, *wardship*, or the King's right of seizing or granting the guardianship and estates of infants,—*purveyance*, or the power of seizing cattle, carriages, and provisions for the Royal household,—and the various feudal incidents of tenure by Knights' service, were so extremely oppressive, that the full exercise of them could not be borne; and even a mitigated exercise was wholly destructive of liberty. Early in James I.'s reign, we accordingly find a treaty entered into between Parliament and the Crown, by which a commutation was intended to be stipulated; and the learned, ingenious, and indefeasible Monarch estimated the value of his right by a sufficiently recondite process of calculation. He ob-

served, that there were Nine Muses, the patronesses of poets, who were always poor; therefore, he must have more than nine score thousand pounds by the year, which the Commons had tendered him: Also, there were Eleven Apostles, deducting Judas, as unfit to be named among honourable contracting parties. Now, it was plain that ten, the medium between the Muses and Apostles, even if it were not also the number of the Commandments, ought to be the sum chosen:—And to this the Commons, moved by his Majesty's great wit and solid judgment, assented:—So that, had the treaty been concluded, he would have had 200,000*l.* a year, in lieu of the remaining feudal perquisites of the Crown. Upon the Restoration, in 1660, Charles II., desiring to gain the affections of his subjects, renewed the negotiation; and the memorable act was passed, abolishing the Court of Wards, Purveyance, &c.; in return for which, an hereditary Excise was settled on the Sovereign, beside other grants for his life; out of which he was to defray both the charges of his household and family, and those of the Civil government of the country. This is the first instance of anything like an arrangement of the Civil List. In James II.'s reign, a similar provision was continued; and in the reigns of William and Anne, a more regular plan was pursued, which has ever since been followed, of voting, at the accession of each Sovereign, a certain yearly sum, to continue during the reign, to cover all the expenses of the Royal household and family, and many of the charges connected with the Civil government of the country.

In consideration of these grants for life, each succeeding Sovereign has given up all claim to those branches of the separate property of the Crown which are technically termed its *Hereditary Revenue*; that is, the Crown lands, the hereditary Excise, first granted in Charles II.'s time, in lieu of Warding and Purveyance, and the smaller branches arising from fines, &c. But, by some strange accident, very considerable branches of revenue, or perquisites *exactly of the same nature*, have been kept separate, and retained by the Crown, notwithstanding the provision made by the country both for the household and for all the other branches of the public service, formerly supported out of those hereditary and separate funds. It is hardly necessary to remark, how wide and dangerous a door is thus opened to abuse, by the sums thus entrusted to the Crown and its ministers, without any Parliamentary grant or controul, and expended without even the form of laying estimates before the House of Commons. Other inroads of abuse are to be found in the Pension List, which the Executive government is permitted to fill up to a large amount, without any

check from Parliamentary investigation; and nothing can be more manifest, than the inconsistency of the whole Civil List arrangement with the present form of the Constitution, and the shape into which the finances of the country have, for nearly a century and a half, been moulded. A new reign necessarily brings forward this question in all its bearings; and ~~the~~ ^{new} Parliament as necessarily is summoned to form the plan for the King's life.

At this particular period, therefore, Mr Creevey takes his stand, and addresses his countrymen upon a subject important in every point of view, whether we regard its financial or its constitutional bearings. It cannot be doubted that his Tract possesses very great merit. The argument is conducted with a degree of plainness, and force, and manliness, seldom to be met in union with so much temper and moderation. The arrangement is lucid and natural; the topics succeed one another in great abundance, and with striking rapidity; there is nothing superfluous, and nothing left unexplained. The style is admirable; clearness, precision, and the excellent taste which consists in avoiding all ornament where the subject requires none, as well as where it admits none—are the characteristics of this pamphlet; which deserves to be placed along with the celebrated political writings of Dean Swift—only that its matter is far more important, and its principles more enlarged. We hasten to present the reader with an abstract of so striking and useful a composition; premising, that though it was published in the contemplation of a general election, as a guide to electors, it is now addressed, with equal propriety, to the Members elected to serve, and contains the soundest advice upon their public duties.

Our author begins with stating, that the Commons' House of Parliament is, by the language and the spirit of the Constitution, the guardian of the publick purse; that, formerly, it was so in fact, as well as in name; and that the causes may be easily traced, of the present discrepancy between the theory and the practice of the Constitution—between the character and functions of our representatives who made the glorious stand against the Crown in James the First's time, and the well known habits of the same personages in these our times. How comes it to pass, that the people, the electors of the empire, instead of finding comfort and protection from their representatives against the encroachments of Royal authority, and the imposition of new burthens, as they heretofore were wont to do, now find themselves involved in a constant struggle with those very representatives, who, from their guardians, have become the Crown's

allies; and, from checks to the increase of taxes, are converted into ready instruments of taxation? After noting a remarkable exception to this position, (the defeat of the Property-tax in 1810, which he ascribes to Mr Brougham giving time to the voice of the nation to make itself heard), and drawing from this fact the consolatory inference, that the country can still, when it pleases, prevent abuses of its property or violations of its rights, he goes on to examine the causes of that great and lamentable change in the complexion of Parliamentary proceedings, which bids fair to destroy our ancient Constitution.

In pursuing this important investigation, the author unfolds the whole mystery of undue influence, or, as it has sometimes been termed, indirect influence, in a manner exceedingly striking; and we regard this disclosure as the more valuable, because the public out of doors have never before been instructed respecting the secret springs of corruption, or that machinery in Parliament which is found so effectual a check to all reformation, and so powerful an ally to bad government. He shows clearly, and by evidence the most incontestable, how the machine works;—how well for those concerned,—how fatally for the people at large.

The first head of the account is the enormous Debt of the country. In the year 1760, at the late King's accession, the whole annual expenses of the debt, interest, and other charges, amounted to only 3,302,673*l.*, as appears from the statements in the Commons' Journals. At the present time, 4,283,600*l.* are paid for collecting the Taxes alone; and 3,392,326*l.* is the expense of collection in Great Britain, as appears from the last Finance Accounts laid before Parliament. Who then (asks our author) disposes of this large yearly sum paid to the collectors? Who names to those lucrative places? Nominally the Crown, but really the House of Commons.

Does any man doubt this fact? If a gentleman represents a town of any commercial importance, and supports the Government by his vote in Parliament, does he not attend regularly at the Treasury, and demand, as a matter of right, the filling of all vacant appointments in the customs, excise, stamp-office, &c. of the town he represents, with his own relations, friends, or political supporters? In the like manner, if he represents a county and supports the minister, is not the valuable appointment of Receiver of the Land-tax, with other such things, considered immediately as his own private property; and don't we invariably see those appointments come into possession of his brother, or his son, or some family or political connexion? It is only a few years ago that Mr Wilberforce was re-proved in the House of Commons by Mr Canning,—was taxed by him, as it were, for ingratitude in opposing the Government on that

occasion, upon the sole ground that Mr. Wilberforce was as regular a sutor at the Treasury for the disposal of offices in the revenue in favour of his friends, as any other ministerial member; and on that account, that they, the ministers, had an equal right to his vote and support. Here was no dispute, no difference of opinion, respecting the fact; on the contrary, you have the admission, from the gravest and highest authorities, that the distribution of this four millions of money, paid for the collection of the taxes, is considered the absolute right of all members of Parliament who support the Government, and to be by them disposed of in favour of their families, friends, and supporters.

This then (he adds) I consider to be the first and great operating cause by which our representatives are removed from the reach of their constituents: From the very sources of our own miseries they have discovered the means of procuring wealth and emolument: Whilst we, the people, are ground to the earth by the taxes, the families and connexions of our representatives are absolutely supported by the very collection of these taxes. pp. 4-6.

The next source of influence, and cause of estranging the representative from his constituent, is the East India Company and its patronage, military, civil, judicial and commercial; proportioned to a population of fifty millions of souls, and a revenue of sixteen millions of money. In 1784, by Mr Pitt's famous India Bill, the Company was put under the controul of the Crown; and from that moment, Indian patronage has flowed into the House of Commons in a deep and constant stream: He gives a striking and memorable example, well calculated to show the practical bearings of this head upon the question, and to exhibit the steps by which votes in Parliament are actually gained through the political arrangements of the State. No one doubts the tendency of patronage to promote influence, and affect the proceedings of our representatives; but our author shows at once the very way in which it does so.

We all remember, or at least every one ought to remember, what happened in the House of Commons in 1809. It then appeared in evidence before Parliament, that Lord Castlereagh, being at the time Minister of the Crown, presiding over the government of India, had actually disposed of one of the Company's appointments, a writership, by way of barter or exchange, for a seat in the House of Commons, which seat was to be filled by Lord Castlereagh's friend, Lord Dunsford, now Earl of Clancarty. And when this case was brought before the House of Commons by Lord Archibald Hamilton, as a grave matter of charge against Lord Castlereagh, and after Lord Castlereagh had fully admitted all and each of the facts of the case to be strictly true, the House of Commons did nevertheless, upon serious debate and division, fully absolve Lord Castlereagh from every kind of blame in this transaction. So here, again, we have a solemnly re-

corded decision of the House of Commons, that Indian patronage, like the collection of the English revenue, is just and lawful prize to members of the House of Commons, and that it is to be used by them for whatever purposes they chuse, whether of private emolument or public corruption, without the slightest attention to the complaints or remonstrances of their constituents. Can any man think of this last mentioned case, and at the same time doubt, that the House of Commons is changed in its nature from what it formerly was; or can he doubt that this enormous Indian patronage, so divided as it now is with the Crown, is one of the many and great causes that has produced this fatal change in the practice of our Constitution? pp. 7, 8.

We certainly do not mean to diminish the weight of this statement, when we observe, that the existence of the Company, with all the evils and anomalies which it occasions, recommends itself as a benefit in the choice of evils, to every one who regards the freedom and stability of the Constitution. It operates injuriously in a mercantile point of view; and the whole scheme is extremely anomalous in its nature. — But let us only reflect in whose hands the undivided patronage of India must be, were the Company's government subverted, and the territory vested, like Jamaica or Ceylon, or the Cape, in the Crown. At present, the Directors have a large share of the patronage uncontrouled by Government; and Ministers are obliged to rest satisfied with a comparatively moderate proportion. Were the Company abolished, the whole patronage must of necessity vest in them. The arrangement to which our author refers in the passage last cited, had the effect, probably the purpose, of transferring a part of this patronage from the Directors of the Company to the Ministers of the Crown. In this respect, it exactly resembled all the other reforms introduced into the practice of the Constitution by Mr Pitt, and which we described more at large in a former Number (April 1810). It carried the long arm of the Treasury into the subordinate department, and increased, *pro tanto*, the Ministerial patronage. Our author has shown how this may be used in swaying the House of Commons.

He next proceeds to the list of places held under the Crown by members of Parliament; and it appears from the Third Report of the Finance Committee, a body selected by the Ministers themselves, though nominally voted by the House of Commons, that *seventy-six* members hold places, the salaries of which are 156,606*l.* a year.

'Under these circumstances,' he asks 'who can wonder at the separation in interest which we so evidently perceive between our representatives and ourselves? Fancy to yourselves the ordinary occupa-

tion of power in London by most of our representatives. During the morning you may find them at the Treasury in pursuit of appointments in the revenue in favour of their brothers, or cousins, or friends, and parliamentary supporters; or at the Board of Controul, or India House, soliciting fellowships and cadetships for their sons and nephews. In times of war, the Admiralty and Horse-Guards are equally beset by these parliamentary visitors, for commands and commissions. Follow the same persons in the evening to the House of Commons, and there see them joined by that solid body of reserve, the seventy-six placemen, who have 156,000*l.* divided amongst them; and now let me ask you, if in a company thus composed, the Minister of the Crown should be pleased to propose a tax upon malt, or any other article in which we (the people) are deeply interested,—what chance, I say, do you suppose we have of escaping this burden, however unanimous our voices may be against it? We know, to our own sorrow, and to the shame of our representatives, that we should have none. Who can wonder that it should be so, after what I have stated to you? pp. 8, 9.

Next follows the great fund, called, in common parlance, the *Droits of Admiralty*, but made up of various perquisites of the Crown chiefly during war. These perquisites were originally vested in the Sovereign, to enable him to provide for the expense of defending the realm, and clearing the seas of pirates. That this was the original destination of the fund, requires but little proof either from reason or authority. But the former being obvious, as all such revenues must, in the nature of things, have had this condition annexed to their enjoyment, a few examples of the latter may suffice; and we advert to this point the rather, because it did not fall in with our author's plan to dwell at all upon it. Lord Coke says, that wreck (one of the droits of Admiralty) is the Crown's at common law, and that the stat. of West. 1. is only declaratory; but he admits that this reason for it has been given, namely, 'because the King is bound to clear the narrow seas of pirates, and that wreck is to defray the expense thereof.' 2. *Instit.* 167. Holborne, in his *Argument on Shipmoney*, lays it down as clear and known law, that 'the King hath the natural profits of the sea, as royal fish, and all others if he would take them, for guarding the seas; and so of letters of marque, prizes and impositions.' 3. *Howell's St. Tr.* 1004. Mr Justice Crawley (in the same great case) holds the customs to be clearly for the expenses of defence; and only gives as a reason why the fish are not, because they are too small an article for such a purpose (ib. 1081), his Lordship not having lived to see the droits swell in one reign to the enormous sum of above nine millions. Further, it may be remarked, that whatever is laid down respecting Prize, applies equally

to Droits, these being merely incident to right of prize, and prize being, by law, as completely vested in the Crown as droits; in so much, indeed, that before the usual grant and prize acts at the beginning of each war, all prize went in the Crown, exclusively—that, if not voluntarily or parliamentarily granted, it continues in the Crown—and that, even after the grant, the Crown may release any prize property, without the consent of the Captors, even after adjudication in the Courts of Admiralty, and up to the last moment of appeal, before final judgment. For the proof of these positions, we refer to the well known cases of *Home v. Camden*, in *Dom. Proc. by error from C. P.* 2. *H. B.* 359. and *Elselu. Maas*, 5. *Rob.* 182. Now, what do the learned Judges lay down of the right of prize? We cite Sir William Scott, no very strenuous opposer of the Royal prerogative, nor a specimen of what Bacon calls that ‘odious thing, a popular Judge.’ ‘Prize,’ says he, ‘is the creature of the Crown,—according to all writers; *Bello parte cedunt reipublicæ*.’—“It is given for this purpose, that the power to whom it belongs to decide on peace and war, may use it in the most beneficial manner for the purposes of both.”—“It is not held” (he afterwards says) ‘by the Sovereign himself as private property.’ 5. *Rob.* 182. Again—Old Stores form another branch of the droits; and were always held as such until the 45. *Geo. III.* transferred them to the service of the Navy. Yet what says the law on that branch of the fund in question? A grant of them having been made by James I. to the Earl of Devonshire under the Privy Seal, (the Report says, but it appears to have been the Sign manual), he sold them and died, and his executors were sued in the Exchequer for the value. The matter was referred to the two Chief Justices and the Chief Baron, whose opinion is thus delivered by no less a reporter than Lord Coke. ‘The King’s treasure,—the ligament of peace, the sinews of war, the preserver of the honour and safety of the realm, and his other valuable chattels—are so necessary and incident to the Crown, that they shall go with it to the successor of the King, and not to his executor; and the only warrant sufficient to issue any treasure, must be under the Great or Privy Seal.’ 11. *Rep.* 91. 6. Lord Clarendon relates an opinion given by himself to Charles II., when he appointed Lord Ashley, afterwards the famous Shaftesbury, as treasurer or receiver of the proceeds of the Dutch prizes, by warrant under the Sign manual, and made him only accountable to himself. ‘If,’ said the Noble Historian, ‘your Majesty’s treasurer hath the keeping of this fund without the most formal account, you may be abominably cozened—nor can it in any other way be prevented.’ And afterwards, to the Lord

Ashley himself he said, 'that as it was an unusual and unnatural privilege, so it never would be allowed in any court of justice, which would exact both account and discharge; and if he (Lord A.) depended on the exemption in the grant, he would live to repent it.'

In truth, no lawyer could in those days hold otherwise, or form to his mind any idea of a separate and private property in the Crown. The principles of the law, from time immemorial, have been fixed on this cardinal point, that the King of England is altogether a publick person, and has no property but what he holds *jure Coronæ*. 'All the lands the King hath' (says the first legal authority), 'are his, *jure Coronæ*; and are called *sacra patrimonialia* and *dominia Coronæ*.' *Co. Litt.* 1. 6. So those he was seized of in his private capacity, before the Crown was devolved to him, become his, *jure Coronæ*, on his accession.—*Per Holt. Skin.* 605.—*Pl. Com.* 213. 6. And so of such as he inherits from his mother, and of such as are granted him by a statute not mentioning that they are to be parcel of the Crown.—*Ib.* 105.—see, too, the venerable authority of Lord Hale. 'The King is a corporation; and purchases made by him vest in him in his *politick* capacity. As to acquisitions by conquest, as Man, the plantations on these are annexed to his Crown, as his purchases are.'—*Hale, MSS. Ap. Harg. Co. Litt.* 15. 6.

So stood our law until Mr Pitt, by his act of 39 Geo. III. for the first time gave the King a several and private estate which he might give and devise and bequeath in all chattels and lands purchased by him with his savings or with monies coming from any source other than that whence the Crown shall descend, and in all property of whatever value coming not with the Crown. Contrary to every idea of English law, he is even enabled to take *copyhold* tenements; and, by means of trustees, to be tenant to a subject; that is, to have, as far as the equitable estate is concerned, a lord over him, to whom suit and service shall be due. Surely, if any Reformer had propounded such a scheme, the whole law department would have been up in arms; and the least of the charges brought against the daring innovator, would have been, that he showed an utter ignorance of the principles of our jurisprudence, and a contempt of the dignity of the Crown. The last statute which had been passed upon the subject in the better days of the Constitution, was the Civil-List Act of Queen Anne; and it afforded a remarkable contrast to its immediate successor. By that act, the sovereign was restrained from granting, alienating, or letting any of the crown lands, for a term exceeding three lives, or one-and-thirty years.

It clearly follows from all these things, that the funds in question never were *private property* of the Crown, but stood on the same footing with all the other branches of the hereditary revenue; that, like them, it was to be taken by the Crown *cum onere*, and enjoyed by the performance of the condition annexed; that when the other branches were relieved from the burthen of supporting the national government and defence, this was relieved too; and that, when they were, in consequence, transferred to the country, whose funds were thenceforth to bear the whole weight of the publick expenditure, the fund in question ought to have been conveyed over along with the rest. Parliament and the Crown have, however, willed otherwise; and the Droits remain a separate and peculiar fund in the Sovereign, without any direct controul of the House of Commons, and only liable to be ~~examined~~ from time to time in that place. As no vote of Parliament is required to raise it, so no consent of Parliament is ever asked before applying it. The representatives of the people only know from time to time how much has been raised, and how much has been expended.

In consequence of these occasional examinations, we are enabled particularly to state its amount. From 1760 to the present time, it reached the large sum of 9,562,614*l.*; and, if we add to this the other sums received by the Crown upon a similar title, and equally independent of Parliamentary controul, namely, the four and a half Leeward-Island Duties, 2,116,484*l.*—Surplus Gibraltar Revenue, 124,256*l.*—Surplus Scotch Civil List, 207,700*l.*—Escheats, 214,647*l.*—Aliens' Property, 108,777*l.*—Sales of Captured Lands in the West Indies, 106,300*l.*—Revenue of Conquered Colonies, 159,816*l.*, and Casualties there, 104,884*l.*—we shall have a total of 12,705,459*l.*—From this, we find that there are to be made several deductions to a considerable amount, chiefly for expenses of meritorious captors; but as even these payments are altogether voluntary, much influence is derived from them; and therefore, in the point of view in which we are at present regarding this fund (as a source of influence), no such deduction can be considered. Indeed, the instance of its operation which we are presently to cite from the Tract before us, abundantly shows the accuracy of this remark.

The manner too in which the fund arises, deserves peculiar attention. It comes in large masses, and occasionally. Thus, we should form a most imperfect idea of its nature and operation, were we to average the late reign, and reckon the droits as an income of 170,000*l.* a year to the Crown. In fact, nearly the whole fund accrued during thirty years of war—and by large sums at a

fine. Thus, in 1804, one ship brought 105,000*l.*; in 1805, another brought in 55,000*l.*; in 1800, one was worth 65,000*l.*; in 1803, several taken at once netted 155,000*l.* The Dutch ship *one seizure* brought 1,030,000*l.*; the Spanish ships 2,200,000*l.* So large are the sums at one and the same moment in this rich fund, that the Crown, one year, after paying many hundred thousands to captors, and many thousands to different branches of the Royal Family, gave a million out of the residue to the public service. It is plain that this large sum was at the free disposal of the Crown, and *might* have been worse bestowed.

The instance of misapplication of this fund selected by our author, next merits our attention. No one can doubt the liability of the *clear* revenue to be used for purposes of influence; and even the most innocent part of it, that which is distributed among captors, is liable to the same abuse. It is quite discretionary, when a commander takes a vessel as a *droit*, and has her condemned, whether he shall have a farthing of the proceeds or not. They vest in the Crown instantly. But suppose the practice of making the officer *some* allowance, to be so strongly recommended by usage that something must be allowed almost as a right,—the *quantum* is mere matter of favour: and who can doubt that a man's politics, as it is called—and those of his constituents—his or their votes in Parliament—his or their borough affairs, will influence the apportionment of his reward? Many questions arising in such inquiries are of great nicety, where, without any manifest injustice, a decision may be given either for or against the captor's conduct. A King's ship takes a neutral, and the Court restores, awarding costs and damages. The captor may quite manifestly have done only his duty: and out of the fund in question, a reward may be his due, to manifest him for the rigour of the law, the strict letter of which he has violated. But it may be a doubtful case. Then let him and his beware how they act, speak and vote, while the gallant officer's memorial is before the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. On this subject, nothing further needs be said. But the case given by our author belongs to a somewhat different class. It is that of an unsuccessful claimant being rewarded, and a meritorious captor neglected.

It appears that Sir Home Popham, during the peace after the late American war, went over to Ostend, and embarked largely in a trade to India, deemed illicit by our law. His vessel was caught—seized—brought into port by a King's ship—proceeded against in the Admiralty Courts, and condemned as a *droit* of the Crown. The value was about 25,000*l.*; and the gallant Captain had also got into a difficulty, consequent upon smug-

giving value to the cargo, independent of the contraband nature of the whole voyage. There was in his political conduct and conduct, however, a something which, it should seem, was found sufficient to outweigh all these considerations;—and accordingly, a grant of the proceeds was made to him, amounting in all to about 25,000*l*. It has further been stated, that *he* had incurred no loss himself, the ship and cargo having belonged to a house at Ostend, which failed in consequence of the seizure and condemnation, and contrived to throw the ultimate payment of the above sum upon a great English house, their creditors. The officer who made the capture received nothing. This transaction is complete in all its parts; and amply bears out our author's sharp remarks upon the subject. When Dr Lushington spoke last night, before the House, and moved, "That Sir Henry Popham, in being detected in knowingly carrying on an illegal trade, had acted in contempt of the laws of his country, contrary to the duty of a British subject, and brought disgrace upon the character of a British officer, and further, that the sum of 25,000*l*, by Mr Long to him, out of the draw of Admiralty, had been a gross misapplication of public money," a debate arose on this question; and although Mr Lushington was denied or disputed, Sir Henry Popham and Mr Long were fully acquitted of all blame by a majority of 120 to 57. When one member of Parliament says the House, and another says to another such a sum of money as 25,000*l* out of the draw of the Admiralty, it accounts for that liberal disposition which we have so frequently at Parliament, of not finding fault with the misappropriation of the King's money. It exposes the absolute necessity of any movement, the fixed determination of the House of Commons to detect all sources of emolument from the Crown's hands; and shows, in a demonstration, that the Queen of Great Britain, the absolute sovereignty of the British people, approaching constantly to the Sovereign, is determined to separate the enormous fund, the Docks of London, from the private grasp of the members of the House of Commons.

It is a sad spectacle, that a small and narrow of the funds of the State being appropriated to the private use of a few; the rest being in the hands of those who may be the most corrupt, or least disposed, by having the means of doing so, to be honest or economical. The House remains in a position of utter want of a similar nature, though of far inferior amount, as the contents of failure of officers' salaries, &c. It appears from the Parliamentary returns, that in 1807, two sums came to the Crown in this way, the one of

47,000*l.*, the other of 113,000*l.*; and in 1809, a sum of 1,777*l.* accrued in the same manner. But annual and regular funds of a similar description are not wanting, to afford the means of pensioning those whom it may be worth while to influence, and not easy to gain except by such a provision, or whom it may peradventure not be safe to trust with a provision once for all, but more prudent to pay from year to year. The four and a half per cent. West-India duties falls within this description; and our author has thrown a great light upon both the origin and the application of this convenient revenue. He states it at between thirty and forty thousand a year; and thus gives its history, and the uses to which it is put.

It was created originally by a colonial law of Barbadoes, one hundred and sixty years ago; and, by the terms of the act, was to be applied to purely colonial purpose. It seems to have been first diverted from its original and legal application, in the latter end of Charles II.'s time. It was seized by the courtiers in those times, and continued apparently to be abused till the reign of Queen Anne. Upon her accession, there is a statement in the Journals of the House of Commons of the misapplication of this fund, and a formal renunciation of it by the Queen and Parliament in favour of the island of Barbadoes, and the original purposes of the act creating it. At the present day, however, the House of Commons have got almost exclusive possession of this fund. The two principal performers in the smuggling transaction, so lately referred to, are here to be found also. Sir Home Popham has a pension of five hundred per annum, with reversion to Lady Popham; and his benefactor, Mr Long, has a pension of one thousand five hundred pounds per annum charged upon this fund also. In short, it is nearly exhausted amongst members of Parliament, their wives, or sisters.

There is one name on this fund that ought never to be forgotten by the people of England. We all remember the fatal expedition to Walcheren, when an army of forty thousand men, the finest that ever left our shores, was sent only to perish in that pestilential climate. When this distressing subject became matter of discussion and complaint in the House of Commons: when it was made apparent to every man in England, that it was to the wilful ignorance of our Ministers, respecting the nature of the climate of Walcheren, that this great national calamity was to be attributed, it was nevertheless resolved in the House of Commons, by a majority of two hundred and seventy-five to two hundred and twenty-five, to negative the censure which was moved by Lord Portchester (now Lord Carnarvon) against the Ministers on that occasion. But a severer trial still was to be made of the House of Commons. A vote of approbation of the Ministers, was absolutely moved for this frightful Walcheren expedition; and was supported by a majority of two hundred and fifty-five to two hundred and thirty-two!—The Member of the House of Com-

tions who moved the vote of approbation, was General Crawford, and at that time there stood against his name, on the list of the four and a half per cent. Leeward-Island duties, a pension of one thousand two hundred pounds per annum for his life. General Crawford, no doubt, is a distinguished officer, and had been wounded in the service; but there are many, very many officers in our army, as distinguished as General Crawford, and who have been much more severely wounded, who have served many more campaigns than General Crawford, and rendered much more important services to their country; yet you may ransack all the pension lists in vain to find the sum of fifty pounds a year, much less one thousand two hundred, annexed to the names of such general officers.

• ‘To speak, then, historically of General Crawford in this transaction.—He had recently become connected by marriage with the family of the Duke of Newcastle; he represented and commanded that powerful Parliamentary interest in the House of Commons; the Minister of the Crown selected him as a fit person to enjoy a pension of one thousand two hundred pounds a year for life; and the General considered the Minister of the Crown as entitled to the gratitude of his country for his expedition to Walcheren. This is all according to form and usage in the House of Commons’ practice—but we, the Electors of Great Britain, are deeply interested in preventing, if we can, this fund of the four and a half per cent. from ever again being doomed to the same prostitution.’ p. 12–15.

We consider such statements as invaluable. They are worth a thousand general descriptions, and, as it were, theories of influence: They show the very fact—the actual working of the mechanism by which money is first unduly taken from the People’s pockets, and then used in helping the Ministers to curb their liberties, and keep their own places. With such pictures this Tract abounds.

• ‘You would suppose, by this time,’ says our author, ‘that we had exhausted the hiding places of Members of Parliament and their connexions; but there are nooks and corners to be yet looked into.’ And accordingly, he proceeds to pry into the *fee funds* of the different departments of the Revenue and Officers of State, and finds, that those fees exacted from the subject for the support of those places of business deemed indispensably necessary to the public service, are converted into a treasure applicable to House of Commons’ purposes. Take an instance or two again; for this author is a plain matter-of-fact man, who loves to proceed by example.

• Under the head of *Superannuations* in the Foreign Office, you will find no less a sum than 1000*l.* a year for life, settled upon the wife of Robert Ward Esq. of that department. Who then is this superannuated Robert Ward? The date of his pension is February, 1806. It is said he was then about three or four and thirty years

of age, and had been Under Secretary of State about ten or eleven months. It is known that, for thirteen years since, he has filled, and fills now, an efficient department in the Ordnance, with a salary from 2 to 3000*l.* per annum. How then became Mr Ward superannuated so much before his time as to entitle him to this pension of 1000*l.* per annum for the life of his lady? Why, I will tell you:—It is because Mr Ward was, and is, one of Lord Lonsdale's numerous members of Parliament, and because Mrs Ward is the sister of Lady Mulgrave, Lord Mulgrave having been the Minister who gave Mr Ward this pension.—Again, in the Stamp-Office, you will find a provision made out of the fees in favour of a Mr Estcourt, amounting to 1200*l.* per annum for his life, and, it is added, “as late solicitor to the Stamp-Office.” And who is this retired attorney, for whom so magnificent an allowance is provided, the greatest sum the Crown can grant to a subject by Mr Burke's Civil List Act? Why, Mr Estcourt is the proprietor of the borough of Malmsbury, and returns two members to the House of Commons; and this is his claim to 1200*l.* per annum for life out of our pockets; and, no doubt, an unanswerable claim too, in the opinion of all Ministers. pp. 17, 18.

By such statements of fact does this writer expose the operation of influence, and explain the unhappy estrangement of Members of Parliament from their constituents. The principal remedy which he proposes, is a recurrence to the sound provisions of Mr Burke's bill, which prevented any pension from being granted above 1200*l.* a year, and limited to 90,000*l.* a year the total pension fund: And this remedy might be at once applied, merely by cutting off all pensions upon the four and a half per cent. and other similar funds, which at present render that once celebrated bill a mere dead letter. He also proposes that the Crown should be in future restrained from making any grant out of these funds to Members of Parliament. Upon this we pause. The funds themselves, we agree, should be carried to public account; this, we think, demonstrated above. Indeed the principal one, the West India fund, does not, *by law*, belong either to the Crown or the Parliament, but to the Colonies, and is only held by an act of violence. For the act granting it in 1663, expressly states, that it was raised for specific local purposes, viz. building sessions' houses, prisons, bridges, &c.; and when, in 1701, the Islands applied to Parliament to have it restored, a committee, appointed to inquire, reported that they had fully proved their case; whereupon an address was presented to the Queen, praying that it might be given up; and her Majesty immediately promised that it should.—13. *Com. Journ.* 800. 818. 822. Before that time, it had been included in the Acts of Parliament touching the Civil List, among the smaller branches of the hereditary revenue. See particularly, 9. *Wil. 3. c. 23. § 14.*

But in consequence of this proceeding, in the year 1701, it was expressly '*foreprized and excepted*' out of these revenues, and never otherwise disposed of again by Parliament. Therefore, the Parliament first took it unlawfully from the Colonies, and applied it, as they did the other hereditary revenues, without any one ever entertaining the idea of its being a fund under the separate controul of the Crown. Then Parliament and the Crown, finding the mother country had no sort of right to it, gave it up to the Colonies. But by a strange accident it never found its way there, and has ever since been usurped by the Crown, independent both of Parliament and the Colonies.

This fund, then, if there be justice in Parliament, and law in Westminster-Hall, must ere long be rescued from its present perversion, and cease to afford the materials of corrupt influence. But we also deem the rest of these separate funds most fit to be taken, upon compensation, if necessary, from the Crown, and appropriated by Parliament to the public service. If this be done, our author's proposal to prevent grants and pensions to Members of Parliament, can only apply to the old pension fund of 90,000*l.* a year. Now, he knows too well the existing law of Parliament, to be ignorant that, at present, no person can sit in the House of Commons who holds a pension *during pleasure*. Therefore, to this class of grants, by far the most dangerous in the view of influence, his remarks have no application. Does he then mean to exclude from all Royal bounty persons who have ever sat in Parliament? No one can accuse him of so visionary a project, and indeed a project so useless in any practical view. He must, therefore, confine his plan to persons holding pensions for life; and we hesitate about excluding them. They are quite independent, except from the ties of gratitude; and we hardly think that any considerable gain would be made to the cause of liberty by their exclusion. We observe that Mr Bennet has given notice of a bill on this subject; but, as at present advised, we hardly see the necessity of such a measure. To strike at grants to the relations and connexions of Members, is manifestly chimerical in the highest degree; and the enactment of the proposed disqualification, would only drive the bounty of the Crown into that channel.

Our author next broaches a most important subject—the Abuses in the Collection of the Revenue, which make it subservient to the grand purposes of Parliamentary influence. He points to one instance in the front rank of this department, and where reform is as easy as it is safe—the Receiverships of Land-tax, and the Distributors of Stamps. There are, at least, one Receiver and one Distributor in each county and they have, for

mere sinecure places, salaries from five and six hundred, to three, four, and nearly five thousand a year. To have the benefit of the deposits, country bankers, in every town in England, would gladly execute, without salaries, the only actual duties of these placemen, those performed by their deputies; and beside cutting off so much patronage, now bestowed on connexions, domestic and political, of Members of Parliament, a clear saving would be effected to the public of 300,000*l.* a year. As for the immense patronage of the Customs and Excise, all that the author proposes, is a strict adherence to the rule laid down, or rather recommended, in the Finance Reports of 1799, namely, that succession by gradation and seniority should be rigorously attended to. At present, he observes, instead of this system being pursued, which has been found to answer so perfectly with the East-India Company, we find, in every commercial town of any importance, the Customhouse absolutely overrun with persons wholly destitute of all experience or capacity for their employment; and who are placed there only because their friends support the Member for that or some other town, and he supports the Minister.

The question of a Place-bill is very satisfactorily handled in the next portion of this pamphlet; and we entirely agree with all the author's positions, excepting the remarks on pensions for life, which we have already considered. He likens them to the parish relief, which disqualifies voters at elections, and calls these pensioners State Paupers—an ingenious, but not a very solid view of the question; *first*, because in truth paupers are not generally disqualified, but only in towns—in counties they are allowed to vote; *secondly*, because the ground of this disqualification is the legal presumption arising from it, that the pauper is a person of mean and dependent circumstances, who hardly can have a will of his own; and, *thirdly*, because it would be manifestly unjust to exclude such pensioners as our Admirals and Generals and retired Judges, who have, by their professional services, earned those annuities, and equally impossible to draw the line between such service and political services; for example, that of the Godolphins and Chathams. In all the rest of his remarks on this important head, we agree; and they merit deep attention in these times.

And now I come to our seventy-six members of the House of Commons, who divide the sum of 156,000*l.* per annum.—Here we have, happily, precedents taken from the best of times before our eyes,—precedents such as must satisfy the most timid, the most apprehensive of innovation,—that there is nothing to alarm them in the reform to be proposed. In the act of Parliament which passed in the reign of Queen Anne, and which settled the Crown of this realm

on our present Royal Family after the death of Queen Anne without issue, it was enacted, that after the Hanoverian family should come to the throne, no person who held any office under the Crown, or who enjoyed any pension during pleasure under the Crown, should be capable of sitting as a member in the House of Commons. Some three or four years afterwards, this subject was reconsidered; and in another act of Queen Anne, which created the regency in the event of that Queen's death, and the absence of the Hanoverian successor, the former disqualifying enactment as to places was repealed, and in its room was substituted this provision, viz. that from the passing of such act of Regency, all persons holding *particular* places under the Crown *therein specified*, should be incapable of becoming members of the House of Commons; that all pensioners during pleasure should be also excluded; that all members holding any other places whatsoever not therein specified, should vacate their seats as members, upon their acceptance of such places, but that they should be eligible again at the pleasure of their constituents; and furthermore it was enacted, that if any *new offices* should be created after the passing of that Act, all persons holding such offices should be incapable of sitting as members of the House of Commons.

Thus passed this Bill of Reform, and it is the law at the present day. It had for its author, the Prime Minister, Lord Godolphin—the Chancellor, Lord Cowper—and it had the support of Lord Somers—three as honest, able, and disinterested public men as this or any other country ever saw. Our present Chancellor, Lord Eldon, is very fond of saying he is always anxious to act as he thinks Lord Somers would have done in similar situations; and nothing can do more honour to himself, or more justice to the memory of Lord Somers, than this sentiment. The question, then, which I put to Lord Eldon, and to every man in England, is this—If Lord Godolphin, Lord Cowper, and Lord Somers, with all their experience, and with their known attachment to the Hanover succession—at that time, when the title of the Hanover family to the throne was more than disputed by a most powerful party in the State—when the East India Company and Bank of England were in their infancy, and the National Debt in comparison, a trifle—if those great men then thought that the power of the Crown in the House of Commons was too great, and that it ought to be regulated and reduced, as it was by their bill of reform, to what extent may we not imagine their regulation and reduction to have gone, had they lived in times when, by the collection of the taxes alone, the amount of four millions of money annually was at the disposal of the members of the House of Commons; when all such other powers of English and Indian influence, as are before enumerated, have centered in the hands of that body, and are by them claimed and used as their own undoubted property? It is with this bill of Lord Godolphin's then, this Act of Reform, that we must now go to work. We are no wild theorists in attempting to apply the principle of these great authorities, and

their act of Parliament, to our own times and our present condition.' pp. 25-27.

That all holders of sinecures should be disqualified, is another proposition on which we hesitate, as on that regarding pensioners for life; but, of the gross impropriety of the measures pursued for increasing the numbers of placemen who can sit in Parliament, who can doubt? How marked a contrast does the conduct of the great authors of the Revolution present to the policy of late times in this respect! Our author shows how Mr Pitt and Lord Melville acted in the teeth of Lord Godolphin's and Mr Burke's Reform Bills; and he instances the office of Third Secretary of State, all the branches of which are new in the eye of the law, and ought to be disqualified—but all are permitted to sit in Parliament. He also gives the striking example of the Board of Control, in which four new and lucrative offices were at once created, and their holders allowed to sit in the House of Commons, notwithstanding the salutary statute of Anne. The following remarks on this department merit attention.

'The same act which created this new establishment, repealed Lord Godolphin's act as far as related to the new places. By Lord Godolphin's bill, no new placeman was ever to become a member of the House of Commons: by this bill of Lord Melville's, no less than four new placemen were qualified to become members all at once. So much for the change in the Constitution; and now for the change in the character of the House of Commons, as exhibited by their conduct towards this new establishment. Although this government for India was announced originally under the agreeable form of being purely gratuitous, yet in 1793 or 4, as we have seen, the late Lord Melville begun his system of providing for four members of Parliament out of it (himself included); in 1812, the present Lord Melville being president of the same establishment, and his father having obtained from the East India Company a pension of 2000*l.* per annum for his lady, the present Lord, I say, brought a bill into Parliament, for raising his own salary from 2000*l.* per annum to 5000*l.*, and the same was enacted accordingly; and upon the conclusion of this connexion between Lord Melville's family and the Company, in 1813, the East India Company made the present Lord Melville a gift in hard money of no less a sum than 20,000*l.* Now I should like to know what would have been said in Lord Godolphin's time—I wonder what Lord Somers would have said to a minister of the Crown taking a present of 20,000*l.* from the East India Company! We know that the Earl of Danby was impeached, in those days by the House of Commons, for taking 5000*l.* from the East India Company. Why did not the Bank of England give 20,000*l.* to Mr Pitt, in return for all the services he rendered that corporation? The one case is just as defensible as the other; and yet when this

grant of 20,000*l.* was brought before the House of Commons by Mr Creevey in 1814, and by Lord Milton in 1815, it was considered as one of those questions called, in their own modern phraseology, *personal questions*—that is to say, an attack upon the profits or plunder belonging to Parliament men—and, as such, immediately resented and rejected. If the Company thus openly and shamefully gives away 20,000*l.* of its funds to a minister of the Crown, need one ask what it does with its patronage? Who then will say, with these facts in his recollection, that the Constitution is not changed—that the character of the House of Commons is not altered? But let us go on. After all, there is no Board of Controul for the government of India; nor was there ever a single one since the passing of the act which made it! The whole of the business is transacted solely by the president, whose duty, or whose office it is to read and to alter, if he chuses, all the Company's political despatches to India; and this he does, without any the least connexion with the Board whatsoever; so that the other members of the Board, as they are called, are not only introduced into the House of Commons, to the great injury of the Constitution, and in direct violation of Lord Godolphin's bill, but they are brought in under false pretences as holding offices, whereas they hold now nothing but the name and their salaries. And for this reason it is we have a right to exact from the candidates, for our support, a pledge to use their utmost efforts, that no other than the President of the India government shall in future be allowed to be a member of the House of Commons. It is scarcely necessary again to observe here, that although these officers are *paid* by the India Company, they are *named* by the Crown. *It is*, however, necessary to state, that in addition to the two junior Commissioners having nothing in fact to do with the affairs of India, neither the President, nor they, from modern experience, have any occasion to be in the House of Commons, as, since the passing of the last act of agreement with the Company in 1813, the name of India has never been introduced into the House of Commons but once, and, on that occasion, only for a vote of thanks to Lord Hastings.' pp. 35–38.

He next proposes the exclusion of all Welsh Judges and Masters in Chancery, which seems almost a corollary from the principle of excluding the twelve Judges.—They are neither fit for the place, nor is the place fit for them. They are injured both in their politick and judicial capacity—making worse judges, without becoming good members of Parliament.

Our acute and well informed author has, however, strangely omitted one fraud on Lord Godolphin's Bill most successfully practised almost ever since its enactment. Places directly appointed by the Crown are alone comprehended in practice within its operation. Thus, a Lord of the Treasury with 1500*l.*, or of the Admiralty with 1200*l.*, must vacate on his appointment, because he derives it immediately from the Crown—but the Secy

cretaries of the Admiralty and Treasury do not vacate, though they have 4000*l.* a year salary, because they are appointed by the Lords of the several Commissions. So neither, we believe, does the Irish Secretary vacate, though he has six or seven thousand a year.

Another omission is that of many of the Commissioners appointed for temporary purposes—as auditing West India claims—Arcot debts—Danish Piques, and so forth. Temporary they may be—but to all appearance they will last our time. Thus, the Arcot commissioners have been at work (so to speak) since 1806, and received salaries of 1500*l.* a year—an expense in salaries altogether of above 20,000*l.* to the Company (that is, the country), exclusive of the Secretaries, Officers, &c.; and to their discredit be it spoken, the Ministers of 1806, disregarding Sir F. Francis's honest and constitutional remonstrances, introduced a clause contrary to the spirit of their predecessors the Whigs of the Revolution, and enabled those three new placemen to sit in Parliament.

The concluding remarks of this valuable Tract, deserve most serious attention.

It is not only that, in addition to all other sources of influence, there are seventy-six members with 156,000*l.* divided amongst them, who are quite certain to assist the Crown in all contests with us their constituents; but these seventy-six members are always *on the spot*: their office, as part of the House of Commons, is always within reach. There is a secretary of the Treasury in the House of Commons, who has a salary of 4000*l.* per annum for little else than keeping the placemen and other ministerial adherents in order; and if by accident, a tax bill was to fail from the absence of any of these servants of the Crown, he would be severely reprimanded, and perhaps cashiered. So judge for yourselves what the state of the House of Commons must be as each Session of Parliament draws towards its close. At such a period, the patience of gentlemen from the country may very reasonably be supposed to be exhausted, and themselves to be on their return home: There are perhaps fifty, sixty, or seventy subjects to be discussed the same day, or rather night: The Minister of the Crown has the power, in the midst of all this confusion, of chusing the time he may deem most favourable for bringing on any grant of public money; and for this reason, the worst of his *money jobs* are generally withheld for the latter end of the session, and a late hour of the night. At such times, the guardians of the public purse have become reduced to the faithful band of seventy-six placemen, with a few India and Bank Directors; and with such a body as this to constitute the only representatives of the people, can any one be surprised at their being too many for their constituents? Or is there any one who does not demand that the

principle of Lord Godolphin's Place Bill shall be again applied to them?

'Electors of Great Britain!' (he adds) 'I have stated to you faithfully the present condition of your representatives—the entire ascendancy that the Crown has acquired over them—and the means by which the purposes of the Crown are accomplished. I have stated to you, likewise, what appears to me to be the only course by which our representatives are to be rescued from their present dependence on the Crown, restored to the confidence of their country, and united in interest again with us, the People.' pp. 40–42.

We have now made our readers acquainted with the substance, we may almost say with the contents, of this important Tract; and, we think, we have justified our general description both of its matter and its style. In truth, nothing can be more important than the subject is at the present crisis. Oppressed by burthens hardly to be borne, and aware how large a share of these is owing to continued misrule, the people of this country, naturally cast their eyes towards every quarter from which real and permanent relief may be expected. In none do they find any ground of solid hope, except in the wisdom and patriotism of their representatives. If that hope fails, all are ready to exclaim, 'Then we are indeed undone!' But the discussions in which we have been engaged, show how many powerful causes are constantly at work to counteract the operation of whatever integrity or wisdom the Parliament may contain. To restore its integrity to the Constitution, by abridging the means of corruption, seems indispensably necessary for the salvation of the State. Nor would the improvement in the deliberations of Parliament be the work of any very long time, if the sources of evil influence were speedily dried up. Important direct effects would at once be produced; while the authoritative discouragement given to corruption by so wholesome an interposition, would less directly occasion a similar improvement, discountenancing the bad practices which have in past times proved so noxious. May the Legislature listen to such advice as the whole of this momentous inquiry presents at every stage! This is the true way to regain the confidence, and fix the affections of the Nation;—the only sovereign remedy for wild or rebellious delirium.

ART. X. 1. *Plan d'Éducation pour les Enfants Pauvres, de près les deux Méthodes combinées de Bell et de Lancaster.* Par le Comte ALEXANDRE DE LABORDE. Paris, 1816.

2. *L'Enseignement Mutuel; ou Histoire de l'Introduction et de la*

Propagation de cette Méthode, par les Soins du Dr Bell, de J. Lancaster, et d'autres, &c. Traduit de l'Allemand de JOSEPH HAMEL. Paris, 1818.

3. *Nouveau Système d'Education et d'Enseignement ; ou l'Enseignement Mutuel, appliqué aux Langues, aux Sciences, et aux Arts.* Par M. le COMTE DE LASTEYRIE. Paris, 1819.
4. *Progrès des Ecoles d'Enseignement Mutuel en France et dans l'Etranger.* Par Mr JOMARD, l'un des Secrétaires de la Société pour l'Enseignement Elémentaire. Paris, 1819.
5. *Compte rendu des Travaux de la Société pour l'Instruction Elémentaire.* Par M. le BARON DE GERANDO, Secrétaire-Général. Paris, 1819.

IN the midst of great national sufferings, and of still greater apprehensions, it is some satisfaction to find, that we have been the means of diffusing, all over the world, the elements of instruction and improvement. In less than three years, the British System of Education has been spread over every part of Europe; and the first effect which followed the downfall of what Bonaparte called his Continental System, was the diffusion of light from that country which he had devoted to destruction. The methods of Bell and Lancaster have been carried from England into France, Spain, Italy, Piedmont, Greece, Switzerland, the States of Germany, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and even into the provinces of Turkey; in all of which, after various degrees and modes of opposition, they are at this hour established beyond the reach of further hostility. The works before us relate however only to France; and we shall confine ourselves, for the present, to the progress of the Lancasterian methods in that kingdom.

The Frenchman who appears first to have become sensible of the superiority of this system, and of the advantage which France might derive from adopting it, was Monsieur de la Borde. A casual visit to some country schools upon the new principle, gave him a wish to become acquainted with those of the capital; and his presence at a meeting of the British and Foreign School Society, where His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent was in the chair, and Mr Fox reported the progress of the preceding year, confirmed his desire of seeing them established in France. He informs us, that upon a motion of his, a sum of money was instantly voted to open a communication with other countries. The epithet of Foreign, however, which the Society had adopted, we do not conceive was intended to remain an empty title; neither had it waited for the motion of

this gentleman, to fulfil the duty which such a denomination implied.—About the same time, Monsieur Jomard, so well known as principal conductor of the great work upon the Monuments of Egypt, came to England, and collected much information relating to the new schools. If we mistake not, he was in some measure commissioned so to do by the Abbé de Montesquiou, then Minister of the Interior. To these names may be added those of the Duc de la Rochefoucault, the Abbé Gaultier, Messrs Say, Lasteyrie, de Gerando, &c. At the desire of Mr Fox, the Protestants of Montauban sent M. Martin to London to study the method; and he was soon followed by others. The well-wishers to the system formed themselves into a Society, of which Monsieur de Gerando was named President, Monsieur de Lasteyrie Vice-President, and Messrs de la Borde and Jomard Secretaries. The Society opened a subscription, the first produce of which was—20 guineas!

When Bonaparte returned from Elba, he ordered a school to be founded on the plan of Lancaster; and Monsieur Martin, the Montauban deputy, was called to Paris to superintend it. It began with eight children only; but, in three months, the number increased to forty-one; and the ‘Society for the Amelioration of Elementary Instruction,’ now composed of 800 members, agreed that each of its members should subscribe 20 francs (about 16 shillings) yearly. On the second return of Louis XVIII., the number of schools and of pupils continued to augment; and, at the end of the year 1815, 28 were established in Paris alone. The Grand Aumônier, however, thought it necessary to express the wish of his Majesty, and of all good Catholics, that their religion should be the basis of public instruction; in consequence of which remonstrance, Mr Martin, and other Protestants, were dismissed, and their places supplied by Catholics. From that time, the crucifix, and the bust of his Majesty, became indispensable pieces of furniture in every national school-room. Those who dissent from this creed, however, are (with some exceptions) not compelled to the former; and are permitted to be taught by masters of their own persuasion. Under these conditions, the King has liberally supported the progress of the new methods; and, in February 1816, a Royal mandate appeared, ordering that Committees should be formed in every Canton, to superintend elementary instruction throughout France. It is to an Englishman, Mr William Allen, a name equally known in the annals of science as of benevolence, that the Protestants of France owe much of the countenance which has helped them to surmount their first discouragement.

According to an official Report, made Nov. 1st, 1818, there existed at that time in the department of the Seine, including Paris, 67 schools, on the principle of Lancaster. Of these, 51 were in Paris, and 16 in the department; 18 of those in Paris were gratuitous, two of which were founded for Calvinists by Monsieur Delesseert, a Swiss gentleman, whose name is ever foremost among the contributors to public good in France. The number of children that can be admitted, in all these schools, is as follows.—In the gratuitous schools in Paris, 3128; in the schools where they pay, 2364; in the schools out of Paris, 1087: total, 6579 male and female pupils. Of this number, Paris contains $\frac{2}{3}$, and the department $\frac{1}{3}$. As to the rest of France, the returns of only $\frac{1}{3}$ of the kingdom for 1818, had reached the Society when Monsieur Jomard wrote; and they are as follows—360 schools, capable of receiving 40,674 children, male and female. In July 1818, however, but 19,177 attended; in August, 18,777; in September, 20,665, or about half as many as there was room for. According to a further report, however, for the first three months of 1819, it appears that, in the whole territory of France, there might be at that time something more than 1000 schools, capable of teaching 123,000 pupils, of both sexes; two thirds of which, or about 80,000, were actually filled. The expense of educating each pupil in Paris, was estimated at 12 francs per annum; but in the departments it was only 9.

In the denomination which the French have adopted for this method of teaching, they have carefully avoided all mention of the names of Bell and Lancaster, and every sound which could call to mind that it is of English origin. Their plea for so doing has the merit of nationality, if not of justice; and we shall endeavour to make it known, in the following statement of their claim to a participation in the merit of the invention, what they have denominated '*Enseignement Mutuel*.'

Among the wonders of the age of Louis 14th, was an institution for public education, founded by a religious fraternity, called the *Freres des Ecoles Chrétiennes*, or, *Freres Ignorantins*, or, *Freres de St Yon*; at the head of whom was the Abbe de la Salle. Some of the peculiarities of their mode of instruction are thus described by Rollin. 'The school is divided into several classes. Let the subject of the lesson, for instance, be "dominus domino deo," &c. One child pronounces *dominus*, another says *domino*, (by the by is this a translation of the venerable Latin quite correct?), and so on. The entire class must be attentive; for the master does not follow any regular order among his scholars, in his instruction or examination of them;

but passes, *ad libitum*, from the one to the other. When one of them makes a mistake, the master strikes the table with his ferula; and the boy is obliged to pronounce the syllable over again, until he is perfect. It is now thirty years since I saw, with great pleasure, this method put in practice at Orléans; where it was introduced by the care and attention of Mr Garot. The school which I visited contained 100 pupils; and the business was conducted with the greatest order and silence. The Chanoine Cherrier, in a book published in 1755, describes a similar method; and such was that practised by the *frères des écoles Chrétiennes*. Very large tablets, on which were traced letters of such dimensions as to be visible to the whole school, were suspended at the extremity of the room, as the common book from which every scholar studied, and repeated the lesson to be learned. In the year 1747, Mons. Herbault, Director of a school in the *Hospice de la Pitié*, in Paris, and which contained 300 poor children, having but one assistant, employed the best informed of the elder boys, to instruct the inferior classes. But Mr Herbault died; and with him fell this useful method of tuition.

About the year 1780, the Chevalier Pawlet, an officer once in the French service, but descended from a British family, if not himself a Briton, in going through the wood of Vincennes, was attracted by the screams of a child, toward a hole where it lay in the most miserable condition. Mons. Pawlet took it home with him, and resolved to take care of it. In a few weeks, the child informed his benefactor that he had three little friends, almost as wretched as himself, and requested that they might be permitted to partake of his good fortune. The Chevalier consented; and the noise of his generosity having spread abroad among the children of the neighbourhood, he soon found himself surrounded by 200, whom he formed the project of educating. To this end, he divided them into classes, with each a captain at its head, and a general staff to superintend the whole. He excluded all corporal punishments. The principal correction he inflicted was condemning them to remain idle; and this awful sentence was graduated into what he termed *petite oisiveté*, and *grande oisiveté*. The children taught each other. All the domestic concerns of his large family were attended to by each, in rotation. Rewards and punishments were distributed, upon mature investigation and deliberation, by a jury of schoolfellows. Regular records were kept of every occurrence, by the Chevalier himself; and the noble adage of his heart was, 'If they cannot all be great men, they may all be good men.' It

does not, however, appear that this method of instruction became known far beyond the limits of the little circle in which it was practised. Mons. Pawlet lived in retirement; and his institution was not of a nature to force itself into public notice in France. It did not, however, remain altogether unknown. It did find *one* supporter—one benefactor; and the situation in which this benefactor stood in the world, sufficiently proves that he could not be the only one acquainted with it. The only person from whom he received assistance—the only man who valued the undertaking, and supported it, was he of whom the French have often said, that he was the most virtuous man in his kingdom—Louis XVI. May not this trait entitle us to add, that he was the most enlightened and the most benevolent? His annual contribution amounted to no less than 32,000 francs, or 1,325 Sterling.

Every one of these methods, the best of which is the last, contains *something* of the modes applied by Bell and Lancaster; and it is certain, that whoever had studied the whole, might easily have combined a system more perfect than any of them separately. We are confident, however, that neither of our countrymen knew any thing about them. The merit, indeed, of any *discovery* or *invention* in all, or any of the modes, is very trifling. The praise which is due to them is of a higher order. It belongs to the heart, rather than the hand; and the heart which has earned it, cannot prevaricate. Messrs Bell and Lancaster never could urge a claim to the invention of a method whose merit lies all in charity, if it was not theirs.

A proverb of which no nation makes such frequent application as the French, and which, as history relates, was the favourite maxim of the most inventive and academic of dress-makers, Mademoiselle Bertin, is, 'Il n'y a de nouveau que ce qui est oublié;' and we think the history of these didactic inventions affords a striking proof of its justice. Whether the great legislator of Sparta was the first discoverer of this method, it may not be easy to determine; but certain it is, if fact can be placed in his biographer Plutarch, that Lycurgus had prescribed some of the principles now in use to the children of Sparta. He ordered that all those of the age of seven years should be collected in one place, and subjected to the same discipline. He divided them into classes, at the head of which he placed the bravest and the most expert of their number; whose orders and example the least learned were bound to follow; and by whose decree, rewards and punishments were distributed. In the Instit. Orat. lib. 1. cap. 2. of Quintilian, is

this phrase, which seems to speak of mutual instruction as a fixed and settled practice. ‘Sicut firmiores in litteris profectus alit æmulation; ita, incipientibus, atque adhuc teneris, condiscipulorum quam preceptoris jucundior, hoc ipso quod facilius, imitatio est.’ When Pietro della Valle was travelling in India, in the year 1623, he saw at the gate of a temple a number of children studying arithmetic, in a way which appeared to him remarkable. Four of them were learning the same lesson, which one of them pronounced aloud to the others, at the same time that he wrote it with his finger, on a stratum of sand that was spread upon the place round which they sat. When one of them had performed his part, another took his turn; and, as soon as all the sand was written upon, the traces were effaced, and the operation recommenced; and all this was performed without a master, or even a fixed superintendent. The practice of writing on sand is also mentioned by Erasmus. ‘Et nunc sunt qui in tabellis pulvere oblitis stilo æreo argenteove scribunt.’ From these, and other documents now before us, it is evident that every method adopted in the new schools, had been known and practised, long before the existence of any of the modern claimants to the merit of invention.

Now, every authority and passage here quoted to show the antiquity of the method, we have extracted from some one or other of about a dozen French pamphlets, upon the subject in question; yet, strange to say! there is hardly one of them which does not assert that it is altogether of French origin; and that the true sources from which it is derived, are, according to some, the Freres ignorantins; and, according to others, the Chevalier Pawlet.

We certainly cannot just admit this;—and yet we are very much disposed to believe, that both the English and the French have really invented all that they pretend to; and, after all, there is no great effort of genius. But, in France, the method of the Chevalier Pawlet never passed the threshold of his own schoolroom; and found but one patron, in the Monarch—with whose bounty it was soon forgotten;—while in England, the methods of Bell and Lancaster forced themselves at once into public notice; and spread, with the rapidity of an explosion, over the whole kingdom. Every man who reflected, became the patron of the one or of the other; and support, to an immense amount, poured in from every quarter. Looking merely to the matter of money, let us but consider the twenty guineas which was the produce of the first French subscription; the twenty francs paid annually by each member of the ‘Society for the Amelioration of Elementary Instruction;’ and all the

sums which have been expended or collected for this purpose, in that kingdom; and ask, whether, when compared with those which have been raised in Britain, they bear any relation to the respective wealth of the two countries? Let us recollect the debts which Mr Lancaster, while labouring in obscurity, and struggling with ruin, had contracted—the 6449*l.* sterling paid by five or six individuals, most of whom belonged to a class which in France is considered as little more than a mere expletive in society: the 8000*l.* subscribed, in one instance, and the 30,000*l.* in another: the contributions levied all over the kingdom, at the lectures delivered by Mr Lancaster, to explain and diffuse his system: the constant and voluntary support these schools have received from persons of every rank, from the Monarch and his sons, down to the humblest individual? If no proportion does exist between the riches of both nations, and the sums expended in both in support of these schools—as in fact there does not—to what must be attributed the more than ten times tenfold largesses of this nation, but to a stronger conviction of the advantages of educating the poor? and what sentiment could urge men thus to part with their property for such an object but true patriotism and humanity?

The following observations will put this in a still stronger light. The average price of provisions throughout England may be computed as double of what it is in France. Yet the average expense of educating each child by the new method, in the former country, is estimated at about five or six shillings; in the latter at 7*s.* 6*d.* or 10*s.*; that is to say, the expense in France is 10, when it should be 3: consequently there are seven-tenths in favour of England. But the economy of the method is in proportion to the number of pupils collected into one school; as one master, one building, one set of instruments, &c. can serve for all, when not exceeding one thousand scholars. The total number of schools in France, is said, by Mr Jomard, to be 1000; and the places to be 123,000; of which only 80,000, are occupied. The actual average for each school in France is then eighty scholars. Now, let us suppose the expense of each pupil in any given school—as it nearly is—inversely as to the number of pupils in that school, we shall have, for the average number of pupils in each school in England, $\frac{80 \times 10}{3} = 266$.

According to the late Reports made to the National and to the British and Foreign Societies, the sum total of schools in Britain upon the new methods, amounted to near 1800; and at that number we may now fairly reckon them. Hence 478,800,

for about half a million of persons, are now educating by these methods in Britain—~~or~~ six times as many as in France. But the Population of these Islands being to that of France nearly as two to three, it follows, that the *proportion* of British population actually undergoing this process of instruction, is nine times ~~as~~ great as that of the French. What a grand result—would the formula which we hazarded upon a former occasion as the expression of civilization—the quantity of good and useful things diffused through society, multiplied by their quality, and divided by their price—present if applied to the subject now under consideration: to that which is the cause of every other advantage—INSTRUCTION! It is true, that the adoption of the mode is more recent among the French; but then we had spared them the dilatory labour of the first application.

With the authorities of Plutarch, of Quintilian, of Erasmus, and the example of India before their eyes, it would have been but justice in the French to place all modern claimants upon the same footing as to invention. But no; the French have invented, and the English have not! The fact certainly is otherwise; but it is not worth disputing about;—the merit which truly belongs to this country being, not that one or two Englishmen had perceived a more advantageous method of communicating instruction to those classes of society, which usually remain uneducated; but that, no sooner was the efficacy of this method ascertained by experience, than it was universally approved of, and adopted, with as little opposition as any innovation which promised such extensive and important consequences, ever had experienced. It is infinitely creditable to England, that the expediency of spreading knowledge among all classes, was questioned but by an imponderable portion of the community; and that their arguments had no effect upon the remainder. It is no less creditable, that we had made every effort to communicate what we had adopted to every nation of the globe; for a narrow-minded interest would have suggested that, as knowledge is power, so we should keep all knowledge to ourselves.

One of the authors before us, indeed, affirms, that the other nations of Europe have been taught the methods of mutual instruction chiefly by France.

‘Without any blind prejudice,’ says he, ‘I cannot but reflect, upon the rapidity with which the method has spread from France, all over the Continent; while, though it had been practised in England 15 years, it remained circumscribed there; at least in as far as Europe is concerned. Is it not because society is more intimate, and that there is a continual interchange of facts and of reflections; because one person spreads about, in ten different places, what he has

learned in one; because strangers are received in France with a degree of hospitality which is often prejudicial to the natives; because the French language is so general, that every thing which is new, useful, and advantageous to society, is diffused with incalculable increase in France?

With every respect for this author, who is a very able and a very benevolent appreciator of all that is good, we must say that we have not read many things more ill founded, and less liberal than the above. His assertions are erroneous, and his conclusions unwarranted. It is utterly incorrect to say that France has been more instrumental than England in diffusing the method of mutual instruction. England, according to his own reluctant confession, did spread the method over Asia, Africa and America; and if Europe was for a while excepted, it was only because *the French themselves* had debarred her from all communication with its coasts. At length came peace; and Europe saw that 15 years of instruction had been lost to her entire population by means of those restraints, and took immediate measures to indemnify herself for the misfortune. As to the causes to which this author ascribes the rapid diffusion of the new methods from France, we really cannot help thinking that a free press of long standing—280 daily or weekly newspapers—innumerable pamphlets and publications of every description—epistolary correspondence, about six times greater—personal communications, about forty times greater—public meetings for serious purposes, about six hundred times greater than in his country—had been more efficacious methods of spreading useful knowledge, than the chitchat of coteries, and the prattle of boudoirs; and that Mr Lancaster alone had done more to diffuse his system, than all the capers that have been cut from one salon into ten, by the very nimblest of all the Parisian multipliers of modish intelligence. As to hospitality, all we shall observe is, that, while 7000 English travellers were arrested and detained in France, contrary to all the rules and practice of civilized nations, more than three times that number of French fugitives received their daily bread, and found security in England *only*. Such wholesale hospitality is equal to a large stock of petty politeness. The fact is, that the moment of peace, which opened our usual relations with the world, was also that which brought the armies of Europe into the French capital, where all might learn what France herself had learned but the year before in England. It is some centuries, we are happy to think, since England could boast of *such* an opportunity of communicating good.

But since the anxiety of the French for propagating the British method to foreign countries, was so great, how did it hap-

pen that she never thought of doing so till England had set her the example—and that the germs of the improvement, when scattered in her soil, were suffered to languish and expire? How does it happen, that no vestige of them has been preserved in any of her records; and that, in order to prove the Chevalier Pawlet's establishment ever had being, we must turn to two foreign journals, and one of those English—to the *Journal de Genève* for December 1787, and to the *English Repertory* for August 1788?

Although the Lancasterian methods have made considerable progress in France, it does not appear that they have received any improvement; or that they have been applied to any thing further than mere elementary instruction in writing and reading French, in arithmetic, in drawing, and in singing. Not one of the improvements which the French, at their outset, were in such a hurry to propose, has been brought to maturity. For some years they have been meditating grand reforms in the mode of teaching arithmetic; which, according to Monsieur de Gerando, one of the stoutest champions of French monopoly, is in the English system a blind routine. But nothing has yet been done;—and while they have been talking of projected ameliorations and extensions, we have actually applied the method to Greek and Latin, in the High School of Edinburgh, in the Charter-House of St Paul's, and other establishments. We have not either heard that any adults in France have, as in Britain, manifested a desire to be instructed. In these Islands, scholars of every age have flocked in with supplications to be educated; and one instance occurred, of a man aged 107, who was taught, by his great grand-daughter, and lived to enjoy his new acquirement two years.

Two parties continue, at this moment, to divide all the inapathy of France, upon the subject of mutual instruction. Those who oppose it, found their opposition upon the evils which, they say, must result from giving knowledge to the lower classes; upon its being made a tool of jacobinism, infidelity, &c.; and assert, that the schools of the *Freres ignorants* are adequate to all the purposes of necessary education. Those very schools, however, received, in their day, the same portion of abuse and oppression to which every project for instructing the people of France, has been condemned. The following account of that establishment is principally extracted from the *Life of the Abbé de la Salle*, published by the Abbé de Montes in 1783.

The first opposition which the worthy Abbé Salle met with, originated among his own scholars; who, without any provocation, reviled, insulted, and even struck their venerable

teacher. One of the brothers having carried away a sum of money which had been bequeathed to the Society, denied all knowledge of the founder, and deserted from the Order. The first school which the Abbé had founded, was immediately destroyed,—and he was condemned to labour in silence. The secrecy to which popular prejudice and clamour had reduced him and his fellow-labourers, involved the whole concern in indiscriminate suspicion and prosecution. Former teachers, who wished to maintain the monopoly they had hitherto possessed of instruction, obtained an order to shut his schools. The Regent, Duke of Orleans, refused him letters-patent; and these humane and benevolent brothers, pursued by the hisses and insults of an ignorant and exasperated populace, thought they made a very comfortable retreat through the streets of Paris, when they escaped lapidation. The schools were proscribed by a dignity of the Church, and impeached before the Lieutenant de Police. The brothers were condemned to pay a fine of 50 francs each, and the Abbé de la Salle to pay 2000. A few days before his death, this respectable man, who deserved the approbation of all who value what is truly valuable, was laid under an interdict by the Archbishop of Rouen, and expired under the displeasure of the Holy See.

But the calamities which the brothers were doomed to suffer did not end here. They were attacked in every direction at once. Should the reader wish to study the spirit of those times in France, he may find amusement in a Journal called '*Les Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*,' for 1767. The accusations preferred against the poor *Freres ignorants*, are very numerous, but may be reduced under these heads;—intrigues, religious and mundane; proselytism; fanaticism; swindling; cruelty; violence; theft; &c.

To neutralize this acrimony, however, the virtuous Abbé was exalted to nothing less than canonization, among his partisans; and many persons attested, as eyewitnesses, the miracles which he operated. A patient he embraced, recovered instantly of a fever, for which the physicians had given him over. Brother Giles was cured of a headach, by applying to the part affected, a letter he had received from his revered Superior; and brother Timothy's knee was relieved from a white swelling, by the sign of the cross, which he made over it. Another brother shook off a quartan ague, by swallowing a bolus of grease collected from off the square cap of the Abbot; and brother Bartholomew swore that he appeared to him, after death.

The world would have grown old to very little purpose, if, at the same time, it had not grown a little wiser; and it cannot be

expected that attempts made to instruct mankind should be reprobated with equal bitterness in the 19th, as in the 18th century:—Yet, even against the present methods, many strictures have appeared, which would not have dishonoured the gloomy zeal of any century, however remote,—though it is true that they have not been balanced by the same predilection for canonization and miracles. We have not room to give any particular account of these diatribes—nor are they worthy of any. But to show the spirit of the modern French opposers of improvement, we may give a word or two.

One of these begins with this phrase. ‘The schools for mutual instruction were established in England by Mr Lancaster, a Quaker. Now, it is notorious that Quakers are fanatics; enemies to all authority; who hold the reveries of their imaginations as indisputable oracles; who believe that all men are equal, and deny the existence of a future state.’ The same sage author dreads the empire which a master, uncontrouled by any other superintendant, may acquire over his scholars; and says, could *one* be found who would not make an ill use of it, and should he die, where shall we find a second? He gives a terrific picture, which we know to be a true one, of the morals of near 200 children, imprisoned in Paris for various crimes; and who are so depraved, that the Minister of Marine refused to admit them into the Royal Navy.

The Catholic *Pere de Famille*, again, is very indignant that any method imported from England should be approved of in France.

—‘Anne ulla putctis

Dona carere dolis Danaum?’

‘S’il a plu à quelques Troyens d’accueillir, avec confiance, le present des Grecs; si des Anglomanes aiment à se passionner pour une chimere, par cela seul, qu’elle nous vient du pays des mécaniques, ce n’est pas une raison pour nous de partager cette idolatrie.’—In 1816, we are then informed, this person was in England, and visited a prison (new Bedlam?), one of the seven wonders of England, which was then erecting in the quarter of Westminster Abbey. ‘It is three quarters of a mile long, and of a proportionate width; and is destined to receive the fruit of this new tree of science.’

Such absurdities, we must presume, cannot long produce any effect anywhere: But it is certain, that a very serious obstacle to the introduction of the Lancasterian methods in France, arises from the opinions of those who either condemn the Revolution *in toto*, or severely reprobate its excesses. Both the one and the other affirm, that the too great diffusion of knowledge, among the inferior orders, brought on the calamities which they deplore and

that, if so many of the people had not been taught to read and write, France and Europe would not have been thus cruelly distracted. Without espousing the opinion of either party, we would say to the former, that, if they whose interest it was to oppose the revolution in France had been more enlightened, and better stocked with arguments and means to detect the supposed fallacy of the doctrines advanced by their adversaries, the higher orders of that country might have made a happier stand against their assailants. To the latter we may say, that, if a greater proportion of the population had been educated and instructed, so many could not have been impelled to acts of barbarism and injustice, by the sophistry of ill-minded incendiaries.

The age of Louis XIV. was that from which the state of knowledge in France, such as it was at the period when the Revolution broke out, may fairly be said to have taken its tone. That Monarch, more anxious for his own glory than the happiness of his subjects, viewed, with the same feelings, their progress in arms as in the arts, in science and in literature. He used his whole influence to impel them to climb to the splendid heights of knowledge, without having trodden any of the paths which usually lead to it; but the multitude remained nearly as it was before, having caught nothing of the '*mens divini*' from those who distinguished themselves, but a vague and idle sentiment of admiration, rather than of appreciation. This, however, was all that a despot could desire at home; and it was sufficient to dazzle the world into a belief that his nation was—what he would not for his diadem it had been in reality—the most enlightened of Europe. The light there was, was collected in detached orbs, and not at all diffused throughout the system. There was but little of it certainly among the courtiers and nobility;—but it was not from its possessors that they suffered in an after age; and we would just ask the modern partisans of French ignorance this question:—Among those who burned and demolished the mansions of the rich, in every province of France; who massacred unarmed prisoners, in every town; dragged half-dead bodies through the streets of Paris; fixed the heads of the innocent on the ends of pikes; devoured the flesh, and licked up the blood of their fellow-creatures; who daily shrieked applause at the foot of the reeking guillotine,—how many were there who could read and write? how many among the Pastoureaux, the Cabochiens, the Bourguignons, the Armagnacs, in former times? how many among the defaulters of the Jacquerie? What was the state of instruction among the nobility, when, in the reign of Charles VI, Luxembourg, Harcourt, La Fosseuse, L'Isle-Adam, de Bar, Chev-

ause, Chatellux, stood up to their ankles in blood, acting a dreadful prelude to the murders of 1792? It was not the diffusion of learning, it was its rarity, which favoured both the Revolution and its crimes. It was the superiority which knowledge gives to the few who possess it, to lead or to mislead the ignorant, from which all the good and all the bad proceeded; and, if instruction had been more general, each party would have less reason to lament.

From the facts stated in the work before us, and from other facts equally notorious, we really should not readily infer that knowledge had even yet attained to any dangerous excess in France. The Comte Lasteyrie informs us, 'qu'il y a, en France, des hommes qui jouissent de quatre à cinq mille livres de rente, qui n'ont jamais appris à lire.' And in order that the reader may appreciate this fact to its full extent, he should be informed that, in point of real value, those 5000 *liv.*, or about 200*l.* per annum, are equal, in the country of France, to nearly 400*l.* in England; and, in the rank, and consideration, and preponderance which, as mere money (for birth is reckoned upon another footing) they procure to the possessor, may very fairly be computed at 600*l.*:—Such is the state of property, and the ratio of private fortunes, in the two countries. Now, can any one say, in England, that among his acquaintance there is a single proprietor of 600*l.* per annum who cannot read, unless he won it in the lottery, or by some other lucky chance?

There was a time when ignorance was held to be a mark of greatness; and the lord of many vassals disdained orthography and callography. Although the Sovereigns of France established academics, and fomented scientific discoveries (for these the world beheld), they did little towards eradicating this prejudice among their courtiers (for that was a domestic concern). To write a fair and legible hand, was derogatory to nobility; and to spell right was pedantic. The populace followed the easy example of the great; and the time is not yet beyond the memory of the living, when every sign-post contained proofs of their success. We have ourselves been struck with the difference which the great towns of France, compared to Geneva, offered in this respect; and have often remarked, how few examples of such popular ignorance occurred in the classic capital of Helvetian literature. The language of conversation, that for which the uses of polished society created a constant demand in Paris, was not thus neglected; and one of the commonest occurrences was a flow of elegant expressions, squared and polished by the inexorable rule of fashion, from the tongue of a person who could not have committed to paper a single

phrase with accuracy, or maintained an argument upon any subject, independent of the little nothings of the *beau monde*. The revolution indeed, by cutting deeply into that species of society, and forcing reflection to encroach a little upon garrulity, has brought the spoken and the written languages of France somewhat nearer to one level. Still, however, the vestiges of former ignorance are not effaced; and this one emblem of feodality has escaped the general ravage. Neither are all modern monuments exempt from it. At this present hour, two streets in Paris, the brilliant capital of European refinement, exemplify the fact; and as the Police, that is to say, the Government, is a party concerned in the transaction, we quote it with greater confidence. On the north-west corner of the Rue des Bons Enfants, the name is thus written—*Rue des Bons Enfants*. On the south-east corner of the Rue de Varennes, the name stands thus, *Rue de Va reine*. The former of these mistakes has been exposed to view for very many years; the latter is of recent date.

Knowledge of every species is more confined to one class in France, than in England; and constitutes as it were *un état*, a profession, which is little mingled with the rest of the nation. Persons who figure in the foremost ranks of society, seldom possess more than that light and easy kind of anecdotic literature, and biographical history which, when made up into squibs and cartridges, and levelled with the address which they so eminently possess, make a considerable flash in drawing-room oratory. But it is rare that, in the circles of good company, scientific or literary conversation ever takes its turn. Indeed, with the exception of a very limited society in Paris only, knowledge is but little respected throughout France. But, in Britain, science is an introduction into the highest circles of fashion; and the most eminent men, in every department, may meet with their equals in profoundness, among persons of the most exalted rank. Let a philosopher travel where he may in this Island, to the towns, to the country, to our manufactories, to the seats of our great proprietors, of our noblemen, he never will get beyond the pale of rational information; and will be able to indulge in literary or scientific conversation, as long as he continues within the wide circle, which corresponds to British ideas of the society of gentlemen. In France, a yawning chasm separates the boundaries of ignorance and knowledge; and that chasm is filled by levity and jargon. Between the savant and the ignorant there is no intermediate or connecting link in their society.

Such a state of knowledge and instruction, in the two coun-

tries, is not an effect of chance, or yet of calculation; but an event which has a higher cause, and a more imperishable foundation than either. It is a result of the strongest of all social impulses; of national character; of that which has created governments, and laws, and constitutions; has rendered permanent, institutions which human weakness had pronounced to be ephemeral, and overthrown what it had deemed eternal. That in which the French ever have delighted, in all subjects and upon all occasions, is a meteor, a blaze; which, by its overpowering splendor, dazzles those who are near it, and, by its far spread glare, astonishes those who are at a distance. In England, we prefer the uniform and steady light which comforts the eye, and guides the understanding; which illumines all, and dazzles none; and which is no less vivid at the extremities, than mild and genial at the centre.

What the effects of general education may be upon the two countries, in a century hence, we cannot pretend to say. Universal instruction, like universal ignorance, tends to equalize men and nations. Yet there is an education prior to reading and writing,—given, if not by Nature herself, at least by means beyond the controul of Art,—and which, in the great generality of cases, is more powerful than all that men can institute. A strong difference has marked the British and the French characters for centuries; and the progress of intellect has hitherto rather confirmed than modified that difference. It is probable that the same qualities of mind and heart will exist, as long as their first causes continue to operate; and that each nation will derive from this new instrument of rational perfectibility,—from this long expected supplement to the art of printing, and a free press,—advantages not less distinct and peculiar than those which they have already received from other sources of improvement.

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